

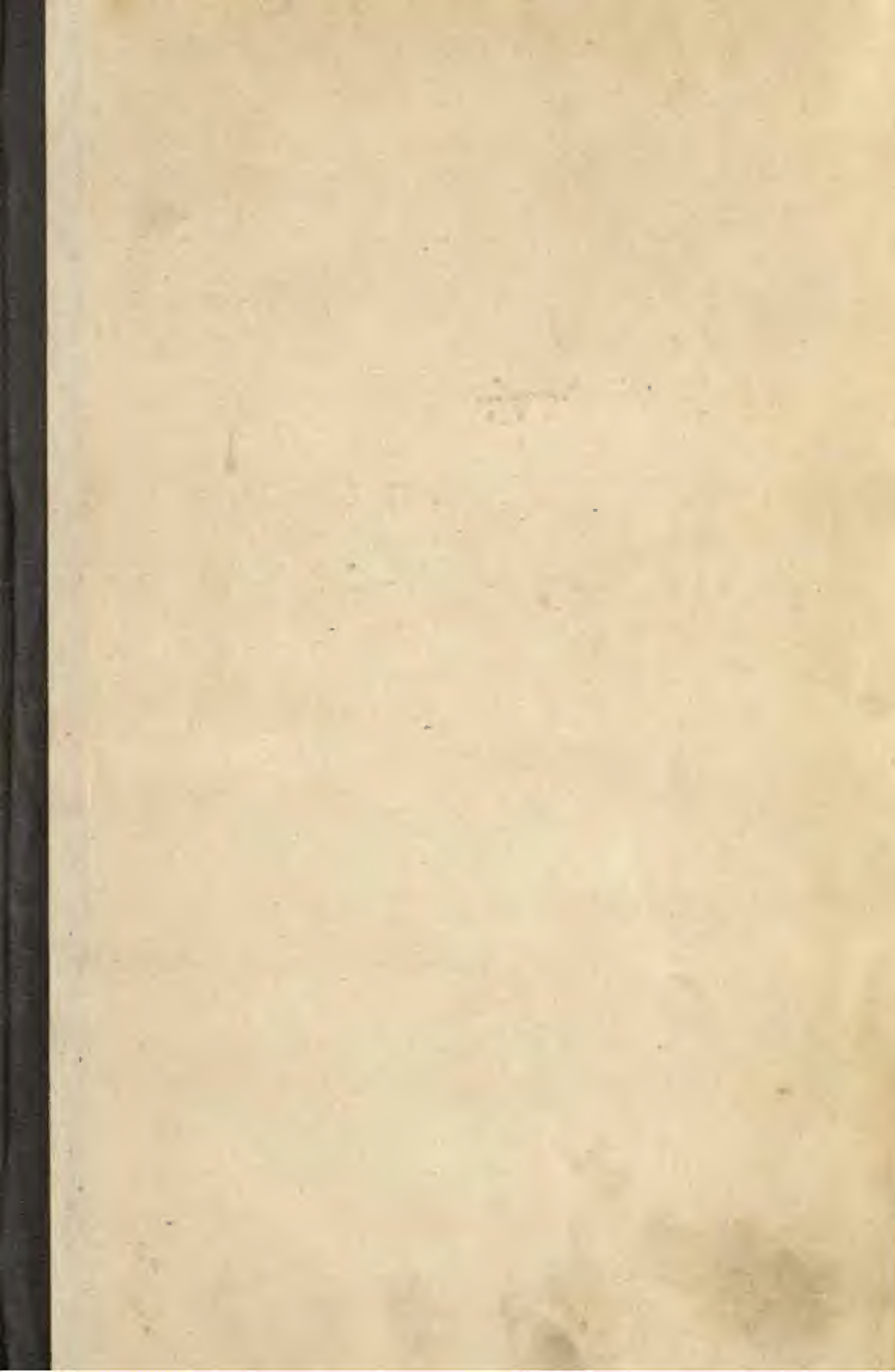
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AN ACCOUNT OF THE  
DISTRICT OF PURNEA

IN

1809-10



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BY

FRANCIS BUCHANAN

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## PUBLISHER'S NOTE.

The following is the first of a series of four volumes, to be published by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, making available for the first time (with the permission of the Secretary of State for India) the full text of the Reports relating to the districts of Bihar which, along with other districts then forming part of the Presidency of Bengal, were surveyed by Dr. Francis Buchanan under the orders of the Governor-General in Council during the years 1807-14. The results of this extensive statistical Survey of Bengal were transmitted to England in 1816; and in 1838, nine years after Buchanan's death, with the permission of the Court of Directors, Mr. Montgomery Martin (whose name alone appeared on the title page) published in his "Eastern India", three volumes, an ill-conceived and ill-executed abridgment of the Reports.

The late Mr. V. H. Jackson conceived, some years ago, the idea of publishing in its entirety a scientific work of a remarkable kind and of great value, and incidentally of doing tardy justice to the memory of Buchanan; and, with this end in view, he examined the manuscript material in the possession of the India Office Library.

The result has been the publication by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society of the "Journals" kept by Buchanan during his survey of the districts of Patna and Gaya in 1811-12 (edited, with notes and introduction, by Mr. V. H. Jackson) and of the district of Shahabad in 1812-13 (edited, with notes and introduction, by Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham). The Journal kept during the survey of the Bhagalpur District in 1810-11 will follow; that for the Purnea District, surveyed in 1809-10, appears to have been lost. The publication (from Buchanan's original MSS.) of the Journals is now being followed by the publication (from MS. copies in the India Office Library) of the Reports.



The present volume, which contains Buchanan's Report on the Purnea District, was prepared for publication by Mr. V. H. Jackson. For the general arrangement of the matter, he adopted as his model the Report on the Dinajpur District (published in Calcutta in 1833), the only one of Buchanan's Reports of his Bengal Survey which has been published. Mr. Jackson saw the whole of the text through the Press before he left India, on leave, last July; and it was his intention to write a brief introduction—leaving Buchanan's work, however, to speak for itself. The index has been compiled by Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

The next volume to be published will be the Report on the Patna and Gaya Districts; and this will be followed by the Bhagalpur and Shahabad Reports.

It should be added that the Maharaja Bahadur of Hatwa has generously contributed Rs. 5,000 towards the cost of publication.

*May, 1928.*

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*Extract from Dr. Buchanan's Instructions,  
dated 11th September, 1807.*

Your inquiries should be particularly directed to the following subjects, which you are to examine with as much accuracy as local circumstances will admit:—

1. A topographical account of each district, including the extent, soil, plains, mountains, rivers, harbours, towns and subdivisions; together with an account of the air and weather, and whatever you may discover worthy of remark concerning the history and antiquities of the country.



ACCOUNT OF THE  
DISTRICT OR ZILA  
OF  
PURANIYA

PART I

TOPOGRAPHY AND ANTIQUITIES

CHAPTER I.

EXTENT AND BOUNDARIES—SOIL—ELEVATION AND  
APPEARANCE.

THIS district, which forms the jurisdiction of a Judge and Magistrate, and the extent placed under the care of a Collector, occupies the north-east corner of what is called Bengal; but it includes also a portion of the Mogul province of Behar. Its greatest length from Chunakhali to the boundary of Nepal is about 155 British miles, in a direction between south-south-east and north-north-west, and its greatest breadth crossing the above line at right angles, from the source of the Nagar to the Daus river is about 98 miles. According to Major Rennell, its southern extremity opposite to Nawabgunj (Nabob-  
ange, Rennell) on the Mahananda, is in  $24^{\circ} 34'$  N. latitude, and its northern extremity extends on the river to  $26^{\circ} 35'$ . Its eastern extremity on the Joya is nearly north from Calcutta, and from it extends to  $1^{\circ} 28'$  west from that city.

In tracing the present boundaries on the maps of Rennell, I find that it contains about 6,264

square British miles, but in one place this distinguished Geographer has evidently been very much misinformed respecting the boundary of Morang, now belonging to the Gorkhalese; for the Company's territory instead of being bounded by the Balasan (Ballasun, Rennell) and Mahananda (Mahanada, Rennell) from Hangskongyar (Hansquar, Rennell) downwards to Haldivari (Haldubary, Rennell), extends about three or four miles beyond these rivers. On this account I have added 76 square miles to the above-mentioned extent, making the whole 6,340 square miles. No part of the northern boundary seems to have been laid down with much precision, because probably, when Major Rennell made his valuable survey, the country was in a very wild state, and rather impenetrable. I know that in several other places the Company's territory extends considerably farther than has been allowed in the Bengal Atlas; but as these places are of no great extent, and may be counter-balanced by errors of a contrary nature in other parts, I shall not venture on their account to enlarge the dimensions, by which I calculate the population or produce.

The courses of rivers and names of places have undergone such alteration since the survey, and the jurisdictions of the various officers of police have been so miserably scattered and intermixed, that I have not been able to trace many of their boundaries so as in any degree to satisfy myself. In such cases I have estimated their respective contents by conjecture, so as to give the total extent as calculated from the map in the Bengal Atlas. This conjecture however will probably be found not to err very far from truth, provided the original map is tolerably exact: and there is sufficient ground to suppose that the great outlines are so; although the changes that have taken place have much reduced the value of particulars, and there is great reason to suspect that a good many transpositions of names have taken place in engraving.

In calculating the proportion of various of land and cultivation, I have used both the employed in the western parts of Ronggopu extent of land actually cultivated, according



report of the best informed natives, amounts to more than what I have allowed in the Tables; because it evidently appeared to me that the Zemindars endeavoured to represent the waste lands as less important than they in reality are: for there is reason to suspect that they consider their claim to the property of these lands as very doubtful. In the Table, therefore, always wishing to incline to the side of moderation, I have modified the reports of the natives by what I myself observed.

The proportions of the different kinds of soil are taken from the reports of the natives.

The form of this district is tolerably compact, but at the south-east corner it runs out into a narrow wing, where it is miserably intermixed with Nator and Bhagalpur. I do not know that this wing could with any advantage be annexed to any other district; for it is as far removed from Nator, Dinajpur and Bhagalpur, by which it is surrounded, as from Puraniya; but the irregularities might with great advantage be altered, and detached portions added to the districts by which they are surrounded, the main streams of the great rivers Mahananda and Ganges being taken for the limits.

The whole northern boundary, where the Company's dominions are joined by those of Gorkha, is irregular and has never been well ascertained. This has given rise to many disputes between the subjects of the two states, and to some discussions between the governments. In a country indeed, where the inhabitants have little or no scruple in removing land-marks, and who would be far from being ashamed, were they detected, such discussions will scarcely be avoidable; and the landlords on both sides make frequent innovations, which are often winked at for some years by those on the opposite side: for every Zemindar who loses an acre makes his loss a pretence for withholding the revenue of twenty. In justice, therefore, no retrospective abatement ought to be given, and perhaps it would be necessary to render those liable to punishment who neglected to give government timely notice of such encroachments on their property.



The sub-division into Thanahs has been made with as little care as in Ronggopur. Their jurisdictions are miserably intermixed, of very unequal sizes, and population, and the residence of the officers has often, without any apparent reason, been placed very far from a central situation. In forming these jurisdictions the maps seem never to have been consulted, and the guide seems to have been a report of some native (Munshi or Amin) who knew nothing of the country. I saw a curious specimen of the ideas of such people in a plan of Thanah Dimiya, which was furnished from the public office and represented Dimiya as placed in the centre of a square district, with villages extending all round to nearly equal distances, whereas the division is in reality somewhat semi-circular, with a projection at each angle; and Dimiya, until carried away by the Kosi, stood exactly on its bank, which formed the boundary, and it was much nearer to the south angle than to the northern extremity.

THE SOIL here in general is not so rich as that of Dinajpur, and has a greater resemblance to that of Ronggopur. The clay is in general stiffer than that of the last mentioned district; but not so strong as in the former. In the parts of the district where the Hindi language prevails, a clay soil is called Kabal or Matiyal; but towards Bengal it is more usually known by the name of Pangka, which is peculiarly applied to the stiff mud which the great river often deposits. In a few parts the surface is of a red clay, but the extent of such in any one division, except Gorguribah, being less than a mile, it would be superfluous to introduce it into the general Table. In all the other divisions of the whole district it does not amount to above five or six thousand acres, and in Gorguribah it does not exceed seven square miles. The ordinary clay soil is not so light coloured as in Dinajpur, although it is usually of various shades of ash-colour when dry and of brown when moist. The black soil, which in Ronggopur is called Dal (Dol), is seldom found in this district, and that only in marshes. I have not learned that it is ever found in digging wells, except as mixed with sand, which it tinges black.



The ash-coloured or brown mixed soil resembles much that of the western part of Ronggopur, and a great portion of it, towards the Kosi especially, is very poor and sandy, and its productions are similar to those of the same kind of land in the above-mentioned district.

In most of the parts where the Hindi dialect prevails, the mixed soil, if tolerably good, is called Dorasiya, and is usually divided into two qualities. Where very poor it is called Balu or sand, but this is far from being incapable of cultivation, and with manure and fallows might be rendered abundantly productive. In other parts the whole is indiscriminately called Balubord, Balusar, Balusundre; but sometimes one or other of these terms is given only to the poorer parts, while another is applied to what is good.

Near the great rivers the soil of the inundated land undergoes rapid changes; the same field one year is overwhelmed with sand, and next year this is covered with a rich and fertile mud. This, however, is often so irregularly applied that in a field of two or three acres many spots are quite barren, while others are very productive. The changes in rivers, that have taken place in times of old, have produced in many parts of this district, as well as in most parts of Bengal, a similar intermixture of barren and fertile soils in the same plot. In these parts the intermixture is permanent, the cause of change having for many ages been removed. In a few parts there is a very little red sandy soil; but too inconsiderable to deserve notice in a general Table, or from the farmer.

On the whole the vegetation is less rank than either in Dinajpur or Ronggopur. The trees are in general small, and the reeds are of very moderate growth. Still however, in marshy places, these and the rose trees, and the Hijal (see trees, No. 36) give abundant shelter to destructive animals. In one small spot the naked calcareous stone is exposed on the surface, and is the only rock in the district.

On the whole the lands watered by the Mahananda and its branches are by far the richest. Those watered by the Kosi, especially towards the north and east, are rather poor and sandy. Those



near the Ganges have been very much neglected. At the two extremities these last are naturally fertile, and at the south-east part of the district are uncommonly favourable for the cultivation of silk. The whole banks of the Ganges in this district seem to be remarkably favourable for indigo.

In the northern corner of the district, towards the Mahananda, are a few small hillocks of earth,

and at Manihari, near the bank of the Ganges, is a conical peak of about 100 feet in perpendicular

height; but these are altogether so inconsiderable that in the general Statistical Table they have not been noticed. The country on the whole is not so uneven as Dinajpur, and is somewhat lower, so that in this respect it nearly resembles the western parts of Ronggopur. The country is highest towards the north, and gradually sinks towards the Ganges.

The inundated land occupies about 45 per cent. of the whole, and where the soil is good, is tolerably well cultivated. In this portion I have included the whole that is subject to be flooded from rivers; but on about three-quarters of this the floods only rise three or four times a year, and at each time cover the soil two or three days. On the remainder, the water continues almost constantly for from two to three months. The proportion of clay, free, and sandy soil that is found on this inundated land, will be seen from the general Statistical Table, where will also be found an estimate of the proportion of each division that is regularly inundated throughout the rains, or that is liable only to occasional floods.

Towards the banks of the Ganges the floods are so irregular, and are so apt to overwhelm fields with sand, that rice is little cultivated, and things which grow in the dry season, such as pulse, mustard, barley, wheat and millet, are the most common crops. The people there indeed live much on cakes made of pulse, and the poor seldom procure rice. In these parts the higher places of the inundated land admit of plantations of mango trees, which do not suffer from their roots being covered for a few days. A small ditch and bank, where the soil is good, renders such lands very



favourable for the mulberry, which always suffers from being inundated; although the indolence of the natives frequently hinders them from adopting so easy a precaution.

In the low sandy land near the great rivers, the principal natural production is the Tamarisk intermixed with coarse grass. In a few parts, however, there are low sandy lands, which produce a short vegetation. Near the Ganges, if the sand does not exceed one foot in depth, and has been deposited on clay (Pangka), this land produces very good crops of indigo, as will be hereafter explained, and is fit for nothing else. In the interior and northern parts the lowest lands are the richest, and winter rice sown broadcast seldom fails to be very productive. On those which are occasionally flooded, a greater variety of crops are reared, and the finer kinds of rice are transplanted; but the crops are more uncertain, though in good seasons they are more valuable. On the banks of the Kosi are some low lands called Sora, which produce a long grass that is cut in the two first months of the rainy season, and is given to cattle for forage. The field being of a very light soil, is thin ploughed once or at most twice, and is sown with rice. After heavy rains in the northern parts, the crops are often entirely drowned, owing to the water suddenly pouring down from the swelling lands into lower parts, from whence there is an inadequate outlet, a circumstance which can only be prevented by forming banks, to which the natives have paid little attention.

In the inundated parts the houses of the natives are exceedingly uncomfortable, although in some places better built than in the parts which are higher; but little or no precaution has been taken either to raise the ground by tanks, or to raise the huts on floors that resist the damp. The lands exempt from being flooded amount to about 55 per cent. of the whole, and are partly clay, partly free, and partly sandy, as will be seen from the Statistical Table, No. 1.

The high clay soil is not so stiff as in many parts of Dinajpur, nor is it so free and productive as that of Ronggopur. It cannot be ploughed in the dry season, and requires an additional implement for breaking the clods. The finest parts are in the south-

east corner, where it is in a most extraordinary degree favourable for the mulberry and mango. In other parts plantations are either scarce, or consist of mango groves reared chiefly on a poor soil, being intended more for show than use. This hard clay soil, where it has water, is valuable for transplanted rice; and in every part might become useful by rearing the Tal and Khajur palms, for both of which it is peculiarly adapted.

In favourable seasons, the high land of a mixed good soil is very productive of all kinds of grain, especially of the cruciform plants resembling mustard, which are reared for oil and are the staple commodity of the district. The high sandy soil, although in general not so sterile as in Ronggopur, is chiefly reserved for pasture. In many parts it is cultivated after a fallow, and yields especially vast quantities of the pulse which by botanists is called *Cytisus Cajan*.



## CHAPTER II.

### RIVERS—THE GANGES—THE KOSI AND ITS BRANCHES— THE MAHANANDA.

Although the changes which have taken place in the rivers of this district, since the time of Major Rennell's survey, have not been so important as those which have happened in Ronggopur, yet they have been more numerous, so that the maps of the Bengal Atlas are very little applicable to their present state. The changes that have happened in remote antiquity have, in all probability, been exceedingly great; and this has been productive of a confusion in the nomenclature that is to the last degree perplexing, and to this perhaps a considerable part of the difficulty of applying the maps of the Bengal Atlas to the actual state of things has arisen. Although I have ventured to give a map, in which I have endeavoured to lay down such alterations as I saw, or of which I heard, I cannot venture to place reliance on its accuracy, even as a rude sketch; but in the following account both of the rivers and divisions, it will enable the reader to comprehend my meaning. I must once for all notice that the geographical nomenclature, among the natives of this district, is to the last degree confused, and when passing a market-place or river, of five or six people that you may ask its name, not two will probably agree in their answer. This subject naturally divides itself into three sections, from the three great rivers by which and their dependent streams the district is watered.

The celebrated river Ganges derives its European name from a corruption of the word Gangga, which merely implies river, and is a term usually bestowed on it by way of excellence, for its proper name is the river of Bhagirathi, a holy person, by whom it is supposed to



have been brought from the mountains to water Bengal. It in general forms the southern boundary of this district, although some detached portions are scattered to the south of its mighty stream. During the greater part of its course along the frontier, the opposite or southern bank is high and rocky; and the river seems to have a tendency rather to sweep the roots of the hills than to wind through the northern plains. Various traditions indeed state that formerly its course was more distant from the southern hills, to which it has since been gradually approaching, and appearances confirm the truth of these reports.

The Bhagirathi begins to form the boundary of this district where it winds round the granite rocks of Patharghat, sixty-five minutes west from Calcutta, and in the latitude of  $25^{\circ} 20' N$ . The river there is confined within a narrow channel free from islands or sand-banks, and is almost a mile in width. At all seasons of the year it is navigable in the largest vessels which the natives use, and which are of very considerable burthen, although they draw little water. A few miles lower down, where it in fact receives the Kosi, it spreads out to an immense size, and including its islands is from six to seven miles from bank to bank. A considerable change seems here to have taken place since the survey by Major Rennell, and it must be farther observed that it is only the southern branch of the river which is by the natives considered as the Bhagirathi. The channel which bounds on the north the island Khawaspur is by the natives considered as the Kosi, and since the survey seems to have enlarged itself by cutting away from that island, and by leaving its channel towards Kangrhagola almost dry, so that except during the floods boats can no longer approach that mart. Although there is a large communication between the Bhagirathi and Kosi at the east end of the island of Khawaspur, the two rivers are still considered as separate until they pass a smaller island; and they are only admitted by the natives to form the junction a little below Lalgola opposite to Paingti (Pointy, Rennell). This place is esteemed peculiarly holy, and is a special resort of the pilgrims who frequent the river to bathe. Lalgola does not, however, receive its honours without dispute.



In the progress which tradition states the Kosi to have gradually made to join the Ganges by the shortest route, and which will be afterwards explained, various other parts lower down have obtained the name and honours of being the places of union between the two noble rivers, and still are frequented by great multitudes of the devout. The most remarkable is Kungri in the division of Gorguribah.

Below Lalgola the river, since the survey of Major Rennell, has made some encroachment on this district, but it is alleged that, since the era of tradition, it has on the whole approached much nearer the southern hills. It is said that formerly its course was to the north of the small hill at Manihari, which no doubt, from the nature of its strata, communicates with the hills of Sakarigali (Siclygulli, Rennell), and on its north side is a large old channel; but whether this belonged to the Kosi or to the Ganges would be difficult to determine. Nearly south from Manihari is a small channel separating an island from the northern bank. It is called the Maragangga, or dead Ganges, while another similar channel, a little lower down, is considered by the natives as a dead branch of the Kosi.

Below this, as represented by Major Rennell, are very large islands which, like those above, are very irregularly and uncertainly divided between this district and Bhagalpur, although they are entirely separated from the latter by the principal channel of the Ganges. These islands are bounded on the north by the old Kosi; but the channels by which they are intersected are now usually honoured by the name Gangga, and are considered as portions of the holy river, and the sacred place named Kungri, above mentioned, is on these islands near the middle channel. It seems to be the Coree of Major Rennell.

When Major Rennell made the survey, it would appear that one of these channels was then called the Kosi; but this name is now lost somewhat higher up, and the channel which bounds these islands towards the east is now called the Burhi Gangga or old river. It has swallowed up a portion of the Kalindi (Callendry, Rennell), as will be hereafter mentioned, although both the upper and lower parts of that river retain

the name, and although this lower part is now a mere branch of the Ganges, that conveys part of its water to the Mahananda at Maldeh. The Burhi Gangga is a very considerable branch, is navigable at all seasons, and is the route by which trade passes to Gorguribah and so up the Kalindi. Its depth however is more considerable than its width, which is inferior to that of many branches which in spring become altogether dry.

Parallel to the Burhi Gangga, from the Lohandara downwards, there is an old channel, in many parts deep, in others cultivated; somewhere near the present course, and somewhere at a great distance. This also is called the Burhi Gangga. Some way below the islands it sends to the left a small branch called Chhota Bhagirathi (Bogrutty, Rennell), which is revered, as equal in holiness to any other part of the sacred stream. On its bank near Sadullahpur (Saiduhcupour, Rennell, B. A. map, No. 15), is a great resort of pilgrims to bathe, and it is said to have been the place where, during the government of the Moslem kings of Gaur, the Hindu inhabitants of that city were permitted to burn their dead, a custom that is still followed by their descendants, who bring the bodies of their kindred from a great distance. This Chhota Bhagirathi in all probability, when the city of Gaur flourished, was the main channel of the river, and washed the whole of its eastern face. In the rainy season it still admits of large boats, but dries up in December. It runs east southerly for about thirteen miles, and then receives a small channel from the Kalindi, after which it bends to the south, and runs along the west face of Gaur for about thirteen miles. In this space it receives a small branch named the Tulasi Gangga, which rises near itself, and is probably a part of its own channel, the connection of which has been interrupted. Soon after it rises, the Tulasi separates into two branches, of which the one that preserves the name runs east to join the Chhota Bhagirathi, the other named Thutiya runs south to join the great river about ten miles below.

Immediately below the old channel called Burhi Gangga, the great river sends off a considerable branch called the Pagla, which rejoins the main stream



immediately above the mouth of the Thutiya, and forms an island about sixteen miles long. The whole of this is under the charge of the Magistrate of this district; but three villages pay their revenue to the Collector of Bhagalpur. The Pagla is navigable in the rainy season for boats of any size; but in the dry season, although it has many deep pools, it retains no current. Below the Pagla some miles, the great river is very wide and is filled with sands and islands mostly adhering to this district. Opposite to these it sends off two branches which go to Calcutta, and which retain the name Bhagirathi. The lower channel called the Songti Mohana was formerly the most considerable; but in the rainy season [of] 1809 it was choked, and the only practicable passage was by the upper channel. Part of the island between these branches and the great river belongs to this district, and part to Nator. Below the Songti Mohana the great river loses the name of Bhagirathi, and the greater part of its sanctity.

Between the mouth of the Pagla and where the great river leaves this district, the only marts are Motaaligunj, Kansat, Pokhariya and Sibgunj. The second and last are considerable.

Before proceeding to this great river, I may mention that an inconsiderable stream named

#### THE KOSI AND ITS BRANCHES.

Dhemura passes by the north-west corner of this district, forming for a little way the boundary between it and Tirahut. It arises in the territory of Gorkha and passes into the last-mentioned district where I have had no opportunity of tracing it.

Kosi is the vulgar pronunciation, generally used by the people who inhabit its banks, and is probably the original name, which in the sacred dialect, perhaps for the sake of a derivation, has been changed into Kausiki. The river is said to be the daughter of Kusik Raja, king of Gadhi, a very celebrated person. Besides this nymph he had a son Viswamitra, who was a strenuous worshipper of Para-Brahma, or the supreme being, and rejected the worship of the inferior gods, such as Vishnu and Sib. On this account he received a power almost equal to these deities, and created several kinds of grain now in

common use. He intended to have made men of a nature much superior to the poor creatures who now tread the earth. His were intended to live upon trees; but at the solicitation of the gods he desisted when he had proceeded only to form the head, and from this is descended the cocoa-nut, as is demonstrated by its resemblance to the human countenance. Kausiki, although daughter of a Kshatriya, was married to a holy Brahman, a Muni named Richik, who, although a saint, seems to have been rather unreasonable, as he became very wrath with his wife for having borne a son that was fonder of fighting than praying, while his brother-in-law Kusik, although only a king, excelled even the Muni in holiness and power. The saint therefore prayed to the gods, and changed his wife into a river. Its magnitude will, I hope, prove an excuse for my having thus detailed its parentage, according to the information of my Pandit, from the Skandha-Puran. In geographical matters this work is considered as the highest authority, and its value and accuracy concerning these points may perhaps be appreciated by the above account, which does not differ much, in respect to probability, from other accounts that I have heard from the same authority.

The Kosi descends from the lower hills of the northern mountains by three cataracts, or rather violent rapids; for I learn from undoubted authority that canoes can shoot through at least the lower cataract, which is nearly forty British miles north and between three and four miles east from Nathpur. Below this the breadth of the Kosi is said to be fully a mile. From thence it proceeds south, winding round a low hill called Belka or Bhalka, after which its channel widens, and it comes to the Company's boundary, twenty miles north from Nathpur, about two miles in width and filled with sands and islands. From the cataract to the Company's boundary the river is said to be very rapid, and its channel is filled with rocks or large stones, and is nowhere fordable; but small boats can at all seasons reach the bottom of the cataract at Chatra.

The Kosi continues for about 18 miles to form the boundary between the Company and the Raja



of Gorkha, the latter having the eastern bank and the former the western, while the islands, although they are of trifling value, have given rise to many disputes. During this space the river undergoes little change. Its course is more gentle, and is free from rocks or large stones, but it is nowhere fordable. The channel is about two miles in width, and in the rainy season is filled from bank to bank, but contains numerous islands, which are covered with tamarisks and coarse grass. In the dry season most of the space between these islands becomes dry sand, but there are always several streams: one is usually rapid, rather muddy, from four to five hundred yards in width, and nowhere fordable; the others are shallow and clear, in many places being almost stagnant, which allows the mud to subside. Boats of four or five hundred *mans* can frequent this part of the river at all seasons; but larger cannot pass in the spring, owing to a want of sufficient water. As such boats do not draw above  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet, it might be supposed that the river must be fordable where they cannot pass; but so far as I can learn, the natives seldom or never attempt to ford the Kosi. They indeed say that the bottom is very irregular, at one step they may have only three or four feet of water, and at the next they may have seven or eight, and that, the channel constantly varying, boats cannot find the way through the deeper parts. I am however informed by a very old European resident here, that he remembers one year in which the people discovered a ford, which although very intricate, and chin deep, they preferred to using the ferry. This is a pretty clear proof that in ordinary years the river is nowhere fordable.

From this account it will appear that where both rivers come from the mountains, the Kosi is a more considerable stream than the Bhagirathi or Ganges, as this river is every year forded in several places between Haridwar and Prayag or Elahbad, where it receives the Yamuna. The reason of this seems to be that all the sources of the Bhagirathi would appear to arise from the south side of the snowy mountains; whereas the Kosi not only receives the drainings from a great extent of the southern side of these alps, but one of its branches, the Arun, passes between their



mighty peaks, and receives the torrents which rush from their northern face. The Kosi, being near the mountains, is very subject to sudden and great risings and fallings of its stream, and in summer its water, even at Nathpur, retains a very considerable coolness. On the 12th of September, although the river was then uncommonly low, I found its stream, in the evening, eight degrees of Fahrenheit's scale lower than the stagnant waters in its vicinity. Early in the morning the difference would of course be more considerable.

Soon after entering the Company's boundary, the Kosi sends to the right a small branch named Naliya, and about eight miles below again receives this stream increased by the waters of the Barhati, which comes from the district of Saptari, in the dominions of Gorkha. In the dry season neither the Naliya nor Barhati contain a stream, and they do not afford any convenience to commerce; nor on the Company's side of the Kosi, during the whole space in which it forms the boundary with the Gorkhalese, is there any place of trade.

After both banks of the Kosi belong to the Company, the river passes to the south for about 30 miles, very little altered from the space last described. On its right bank it has the divisions of Dimiya and Dhamdaha, and on the left those of Matiyari and Haveli. In Dimiya it has encroached considerably on the right bank, and has carried away the mart called Dimiya from whence the division derived its name; but Nathpur, including dependent markets Sahebgunj, Rajgunj, and Rampur, is a place of very considerable trade, and Ranigunj is a mart from whence goods are exported and imported by this river.

At Sahebgunj there enters from the north a small river which has a course of ten to twelve miles. In its upper part it is called Ghaghi, and in its lower it assumes the name of Rajamohan. On the former stands a mart named Kusahar; but it is only navigable, even in canoes, after heavy rains. In Dhamdaha and Haveli there is no mart on this wide part of the river; but in Matiyari there are several, Nawabgunj, Dumariya, Garhiya, Devigunj, and Kharsayi. It must be observed that below Devigunj the channel near the

left bank is very narrow, and in the dry season contains no water. It is therefore called Mara-Kosi, and is considered now as a different river, which must be distinguished from several other channels of the same name.

From lat.  $25^{\circ} 55'$  southward, Major Rennell represents the channel of the Kosi as much contracted, except towards its southern extremity; and in one place, where I crossed it, at Saptamighat (Satummi, Rennell) I found this to be at present the case. The river was about 1,000 yards wide and free from islands; but contained many sands. The water in February was confined to one stream, about 400 yards wide, rather slow and turbid but about 15 feet deep. On either side were large sandy spaces, covered with tamarisks like the islands in the upper parts and intersected by channels which during the floods contain water. At Dhamdaha, a little higher, I found the character of the river exactly to resemble its appearance at Nathpur, that is, it consists of a channel about two miles wide, filled with sands and islands and intersected by various channels, one of which was deep and wide. The most exact way, perhaps, of representing this river would therefore be by a channel of from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles wide, extending from where it enters the Company's territory to where it really joins the Ganges. In this space perhaps a fourth part is covered with reeds and tamarisks, and is sometimes disposed in islands and sometimes is contiguous to the bank; but the whole is changing every year, produces new islands, and joins some old ones to the continent. In the map, however, I have not ventured to alter the delineation of Major Rennell except where I saw, or learned from a survey by Colonel Crawford, that alterations had certainly taken place.

The whole right bank of this part of the river extending from lat.  $25^{\circ} 45'$  to its actual junction with the Ganges at Khawaspur, is in division Dhamdaha, nor during that whole length is there any mart immediately on this side, although Dhamdaha is at no great distance, and the merchants there, during the dry season, embark their goods at the bank nearest them. The left bank is partly in Haveli, where there



are two marts, Burhidhanghata and Ekhtiyarpur; and partly in Gondwara, where there are no marts. About seven miles above its actual junction with the Ganges, the Kosi receives into its right bank a small river called the Hiran. This arises from a marsh about three miles north-west from Nathpur; but is there called Gadhi. This, after a course of about seven miles, is joined by a smaller rivulet called the Garara, which rises immediately south from Nathpur. The united streams assume the name of Hiran, which proceeds to the boundary of Dhamdaha parallel to the Kosi, from whence in the rainy season two channels convey a supply of water. The Hiran continues the remainder of its course through the division of Dhamdaha to near its southern end, and winds parallel to the Kosi. About fourteen miles from the boundary of Dimiya and thirty from its source is a mart, Dorha, to which, it is said, canoes can at all times ascend, and where, during the floods, boats of 1000 *mans* burthen can load. About four miles lower down are two other marts, Krishnapur Rup and Aligunj, where the river becomes still deeper. About seven miles lower down, Dhamdaha and the adjacent town Garel are situated, between it and the Kosi, on the two banks of a channel which in spring is dry, and at both ends communicates with the Hiran. It also communicates with the Kosi by a short channel, which in the rainy season, like the other, admits of boats.

A little below the rejunction of these channels the Hiran receives a river called the Nagar, which rises from a marsh near Virnagar, and has a course of about eighteen miles in a direct line. About five miles from its mouth is a mart called Barraha, to which canoes can ascend in the dry season, and where in the floods boats of 1000 *mans* burthen can load. From its junction with the Nagar unto where the Hiran falls into the Kosi, is about seventeen miles in a direct line; but there is no mart on its banks. About two miles below the mouth of the Hiran the Kosi receives the Gagri (Gogaree, Rennell), which comes from the district of Bhagalpur, forms for a short way the boundary between that and Puraniya, and then passes east through the south-west corner of the latter. Within this district there is no mart on its banks.

About eight miles from the junction of the Gagri with the Kosi, but within the district of Bhagalpur, the former river receives a branch named the Daus, which during almost the whole of its course forms the boundary between this district and Tirahut (Tyroot, Rennell). It rises from the southern extremity of an old line of fortification, which after passing some way through the division of Duniya terminates exactly at the boundary of the two districts. From thence the Daus winds along the boundary, parallel to the Kosi, until it reaches the southern extremity of Tirahut, after which it for some way forms the boundary between Puraniya and Bhagalpur; but near, where it falls into the Gagri, a corner of the latter extends across its eastern bank. In this district there is no mart immediately on its bank, but Belagunj stands about two miles east from it and twenty miles from its entrance into the Gagri, and its merchants, in the rainy season, bring small boats so far; but in the dry season even canoes cannot enter. The river seems to owe its origin to drainings from the ditch of the works, which however, except towards its southern extremity, is totally dry in spring.

In giving an account of the Ganges, I have already mentioned a tradition which states that the Kosi on reaching the plains, instead of running almost directly south to join the Ganges, as it does at present, formerly proceeded from Chatra to the eastward, and joined the Ganges far below; and many old channels are still shown by the populace as having been formerly occupied by its immense stream, and are still called Burhi the old, or Mara the dead Kosi. The change seems to have been very gradual, and to be in some measure still going on; nor will it be completed until the channel north from the island of Khawaspur has become dry or dead. Even at present three or four different routes may be traced by which the river seems to have successively deserted its ancient course towards the south-east, until finally it has reached a south or straight direction.

This tradition of the vulgar is not only supported by the above-mentioned appearance, but by the opinion of the Pandits, or natives of learning, who inhabit its banks. These indeed go still farther, and allege



that in times of remote antiquity the Kosi passed south-east by where Tajpur is now situated, and from thence towards the east until it joined the Brahmaputra, having no communication with the Ganges. I know not the authority on which this is stated, whether it be mere tradition, or legend that has little more authority; but the opinion seems highly probable. I think it not unlikely that the great lakes, north and east from Maldeh, are remains of the Kosi united to the Mahananda, and that on the junction of the former river with the Ganges the united mass of water opened the passage now called Padma, and the old channel of the Bhagirathi from Songti to Nadiya was then left comparatively dry. In this way we may account for the natives considering that insignificant channel as the proper continuation of their great sacred river as they universally do, a manner of thinking that, unless some such extraordinary change had taken place, would have been highly absurd, but which, on admitting the above hypothesis, becomes perfectly natural. I have had no opportunity of finding any grounds for fixing the era of these great changes; nor have I access to any of the older geographical accounts of the vicinity, which might enable me to judge how far such a situation of the rivers as I have supposed could be reconciled with them, or could illustrate points in these curious monuments of antiquity which are now doubtful. I have also much to regret that at present I have no access to the paper on the changes of the Kosi, which has been published by Major Rennell in the *Philosophical Transactions*, as it might probably have saved me from entering into a great part of the following detail.

From the above-mentioned change no rivers fall into the Kosi from its left bank, at least below where it enters the Company's territory; but several branches separate from it, and the Mahananda receives the various streams of the northern mountains, several of which in all probability joined the Kosi when its course was more towards the north and east than at present is the case. I shall now therefore proceed to give an account of the various branches sent off by

the Kosi, many of which retain names denoting that formerly they were the channels which it occupied.

To commence with that branch which separates highest up from the Kosi, I begin at Chatra, and am told by a gentleman who has repeatedly visited the place that, immediately below the third cataract, a large channel filled with rocks and stones proceeds east by the foot of the hills. It is alleged by the people of the vicinity to be the original channel of the river. In the dry season it now contains no water, but during the floods has a small stream. I am apt to suspect, although I cannot speak decidedly on the point, that this has given origin to a river called Burhi or the old nymph, which enters the division of Matiyari from Morang seven or eight miles east from the Kosi. It is a very inconsiderable stream, and after passing south-east for about three miles divides into two branches.

That to the west called Sitadhar I consider as the chief, for at some distance below it recovers the name of Burhi, and the eastern branch called Pangroyan communicates with the Mahananda, and shall be considered as a branch of that river. The Sitadhar, therefore, passing from the separation of the Pangroyan about ten miles in a southerly direction, and having about midway left Matiyari at some distance from its left bank, divides into two branches.

The branch to the west is inconsiderable, and soon after joins a small stream called the Dulardayi, which, arising from a marsh south-west from Matiyari, preserves its name after its junction with the branch of the Sitadhar, and at Maulagunj, a market-place about twelve miles road distance south from Matiyari, admits of canoes in the rainy season. From thence it passes to the boundary of the division of Haveli, and so far boats of 200 *mans* burthen can ascend during the rains.

Some miles below this the Dulardayi is lost in the Saongra, which arises from a marsh about ten miles south from Matiyari, passes south and east for a little way, where it is joined by another draining of a marsh called Vagjan. The united stream, after passing through a corner of Arariya, enters Haveli about fourteen miles direct from Puraniya, and some miles



lower down receives the Dulardayi. The united stream is much of the same size with the Dulardayi, and even in floods admits only of small boats.

About six miles north-west from Puraniya the Saongra sends off a considerable part of its water by a channel called Khata, which in January, when I crossed it, contained a pretty rapid stream. Below that the Saongra was almost stagnant. About four miles above Puraniya the Saongra receives from the north-east the drainings of a marsh which form a river named Gargada, into which during the floods, although it is of a very short course, boats of 200 *mans* burthen can enter.

A little below this the Saongra is much more enlarged by receiving the Burhi Kosi, a continuation of the eastern and principal branch of the Sitadhar, to which I now return. From its separation from the western branch it runs east towards the boundary of Arariya, and about midway, without any visible reason, assumes the name of Burhi Kosi, and is considered as the old channel of the great river, which confirms me in the opinion that the name Burhi, which is given higher up to the same river, is a mere abbreviation for the Burhi (old) Kosi. This old channel passes then for a considerable way through the south-west corner of Arariya, and enters Haveli. About twelve miles road distance from Puraniya it becomes navigable for small boats in the rainy season. Some way down, gradually increasing, it separates for a little way into two branches including a considerable island, in which there is a market-place. Soon after it joins the Saongra, and loses its name.

The Saongra is the vulgar name of the river. In the more polite dialect it is called Samra. Soon after receiving the Burhi Kosi it passes through Puraniya and its dependent markets, where there is much trade, and even in the dry season it admits boats of from 50 to 100 *mans*, and in the floods it will receive very large ones.

A little below the town of Puraniya the Saongra receives the old channel of the Kali-kosi or black Kosi, a river that will afterwards be described. This old channel retains its original name, although in the dry season many parts contain no water, and others

become vile marshes that infect the air of the part of Puraniya inhabited by Europeans, which is situated between it and the Saongra. In the floods, however, it becomes navigable, and a considerable trade, especially in cotton, is conducted through it.

Six or seven miles below Puraniya, at a mart called Rajigunj, the Saongra unites with the principal channel of the Kali-kosi, before mentioned, and loses its name in that of the Kali-kosi, which I shall now proceed to describe.

About a mile or two south from the boundary of the Gorkhalese dominions, the Kosi sends from its left bank a channel which is called the Burhi or old Kosi, and in the dry season contains no water. After running to no great distance east it receives from Morang a small river called Geruya, which loses its name, although in the rainy season it serves to float down timber. The Burhi Kosi, from where it receives the Geruya, flows south, parallel to the great Kosi and very near it. In one part, by separating into two arms, it forms an island. About the boundary of Haveli it changes its name to that of Kali-kosi, usually pronounced Karikosi by the natives, whom the Pandit of the Survey accuses of not being able to distinguish between the sounds L and R, a defect that seems to me pretty universal in India, and nowhere more common than in Calcutta, his native country.

Some miles below where it assumes this new name, the Kali-kosi is joined by another river, which comes from Morang a little east from the Geruya, and continues its course all the way parallel and near to the river which it is to join. Where it enters the Company's territory this river is called Kajla. Some miles south from the boundary the Kajla, which in the rainy season admits canoes, divides into two arms that include an island, where there is a market-place. The western arm retains the name, the eastern is called Nitiyadhar. On their reunion the stream assumes the name of Kamala, and joins the Kali-kosi far below.

The united stream, passing some miles south, receives from the Saongra the above-mentioned branch called Khata, and soon after sends back the old channel lately mentioned, which still is called the Kali-



kosi, but does not deprive the present channel of its name. This proceeds south and east, as I have before mentioned, to receive the Saongra on the boundary between Haveli and Sayefgunj.

Immediately before the junction of the Saongra with the Kali-kosi the latter sends off an arm, which is called Chhoti (little) Kali-kosi, and which, having passed a considerable way through Gondwara, rejoins the greater arm, but the lower part of its course derives its name Syamapur from a neighbouring market-place. In the rainy season it admits of boats carrying 200 *mans*.

The eastern branch, which retains the name of Kali-kosi, serves for a considerable way as a boundary between Sayefgunj and Gondwara, and from the former receives a small river called Bhesna, which arises from a marsh in Haveli, and after a short course there divides into two branches. The western retains the name and joins the Kali-kosi, after having separated into two arms, which reunite. In the rainy season small boats can ascend this branch, but it has no mart on its bank.

The eastern branch is smaller, and is called Kamaleswari, having probably, at one time or other, had a communication with the Kamal of the northern part of the district. After winding south for about twenty miles it receives a branch of the Panar, which leaves that river by the name of Ratoya, but soon changes this appellation for that of Manayen. This small channel has a course of about twelve miles, and by the way has a communication with the Phular by a creek called Baliyadahar.

For the next ten miles the Kamaleswari winds towards the east, but in the lower part of its course it is called the Kankhar. The Kankhar divides into two branches. One runs east, and retains the name for a little way until it receives the Phular, when it resumes the name of Kamaleswari, but this is immediately lost in the title Kalapani, which it retains for a few miles until it joins the Ghoga, and then takes the name of Kalindi, to which I shall again return.

The Phular has been already mentioned as communicating twice with the Kamaleswari. It arises

from the lower part of the Panar by the name of Maniknath, but on joining with the drainings of a marsh called Gyanda, takes that name. Soon after it sends to the left a branch called Kankhar, which has no sort of communication with the river of that name lately mentioned, but joins the Ghoga, and in the rainy season admits of small boats. Azimnagar is a small mart on its bank.

After sending off the Kankhar the Gyanda takes the name of Haranadi; but very soon receives the drainings of a marsh called Gidhari, and after sending the Baliyadahar to join the Manayen, as above mentioned, it takes the name of Phular, and runs south, fourteen or fifteen miles, to join the eastern branch of the Kamaleswari, as lately mentioned.

The right branch of the Kamaleswari turns almost straight west, and for some way is called Gangrel. It is then called Kodalkati, Hatgachhi and Khar-khariya; but just before it enters the Kali-kosi at Kasichak, it resumes the name of Kamaleswari, and contains, or is supposed to contain, nine deep pools, which are sacred.

Immediately west from the town of Sayefgunj on the left bank of the Kali-kosi is Ranigunj, a Ghat or landing place, which is a kind of port for that town. In the rainy season large boats pass, but in the dry [season] goods are usually sent down to the mouth of the river on floats, as is the case everywhere from Puraniya downwards. These floats are constructed of bamboos on two canoes, are called Singri, and each carries about 100 *mans*. The passage is very tedious.

Soon after the reunion of the two arms of the Kali-kosi it enters the division of Manihari, and here the people sometimes call it Saongra, in order to occasion less confusion with another Kosi which they have, and with which it unites near Nawabgunj, a place of some trade. This other river is called the Burhi, or old, Kosi, and passes Kangrhagola. It will be hereafter described.

From Nawabgunj the Kali-kosi runs southerly to Kasichak or Bhairavgunj, near which it has a communication with the Ganges, and receives the Kamaleswari, as I have before described. Although the communication with the Ganges is here so wide as



might justify us in stating that it was here joined by the Kali-kosi, this is by no means admitted by the natives, who allege that it passes behind a large island, as I have mentioned when describing the Ganges. It is now supposed to terminate at Gorguribah; but in the time of Major Rennell the name was continued to a passage that intersected the large islands by which this part of the Ganges is filled. In this part of its course is Bakurgunj, a considerable mart. At Gorguribah the Kali-kosi communicates with the Kalindi, and a branch of the Ganges which would appear to have cut away part of the last-mentioned river, of which I shall now proceed to give an account.

The name Kalindi first appears, as I have lately mentioned, at the union of the Kalapani with the Ghoga. The former has been already described. I shall now give an account of the latter:—The Ghoga arises from the right bank of the Mahananda, a little above where it divides into two branches. It is navigable at all times for canoes, and in the rainy season large boats can ascend it. A few miles below it communicates with the Kankhar by a small channel, and then winds towards the south and east for about ten miles. On this part are Tulasihatta and Kolabarat, two small marts. Then it sends off a small channel called Baramasiya, which about its middle passes through a marsh called Dhanikuji, that communicates with the Mahananda by a small channel named the Samsi. The Baramasiya joins the Kalindi a little below Gorguribah. After sending off the Baramasiya, the Ghoga turns to the west, and soon is joined by the Kankhar, as before described. It then winds very much for six or seven miles, until it joins the Kalapani, and assumes the name of Kalindi.

The Kalindi is not wide but is very deep, and a very considerable trade is carried on at Gorguribah and the adjacent markets, which I consider as forming one town. A little below this a branch of the Ganges called Gangga Pagla or Burhi-Gangga has swept away a part of the Kalindi. The remainder separates from this branch of the Ganges about three miles from Gorguribah, and runs with a very winding course for about seventeen miles, to join the Mahananda opposite

to Maldeh. In the way it has a communication, by two small creeks, with the west branch of the Mahananda, and with the Chhota-Bhagirathi. On this part of its course is a considerable mart named Mirzadpur, to which boats of any size can pass until November, but in that month the navigation usually ceases, although this part of the channel is very wide.

Near the northern boundary of Gondwara the great Kosi sends from its left bank a small branch called the Barhandi, which soon after divides into two branches, the Barhandi and Mara (dead) Barhandi. This last seems to have gone past Gondwara to the north, and to have joined the Kali-kosi by a channel called Ghagri which at its east end has now been entirely obliterated, and the Mara Barhandi returns its water to the other arm by a channel called Bhojeta in the upper part of its course, and Nuniya in its lower, on which Gondwara is placed. In the rainy season boats of 400 *mans* can pass through the Mara Barhandi, and those somewhat larger can pass through the other arm. The reunion takes place a little south-west from Gondwara, and from thence the Barhandi turns south and west, and rejoins the Kosi opposite to the mouth of the Ghagri.

About two miles lower down, the Kosi sends off a branch called Kosiprasad, which runs easterly to Kangrhagola. In the time of Major Rennell this would appear to have been a wide arm of the Ganges, which surrounded a large island north from Khawaspur; but now in the dry season it is wholly unnavigable, and in the flood boats of more than 500 *mans* cannot reach Kangrhagola. At this place the Kosiprasad divides into two branches. The one retains the name and passes to Lalgola, the port of Kangrhagola on the Ganges, or on the Kosi as the natives will have it. The other branch runs east. At its western end it is called Ganggapanth, and it has on its bank Kantanagar and Bhawanipur, two marts for the exportation of goods. Boats of 500 *mans* can pass through in the rainy season. At its eastern end this river assumes the name of Burhikosi, and as before mentioned joins the Karikosi or Saongra at Nawabgunj.



About two miles south from the upper end of the Kosiprasad, the great river actually joins the Ganges; but as I have said before, this is not admitted by the natives, who call the branch on the north of Khawaspur the Kosi, and that on the south side of the same island is called the Bhagirathi. On this part of the Kosi stands Lalgola, a place of some trade, where a good many boats are built, and where the ferry on the great road from Puraniya towards Bhagalpur, Bardhaman (Burdwan, Rennell) and Murshedabad is situated. The passage, although protected by the two islands which separate the two mighty streams, is very wide and dangerous, and a ferry some miles lower down would be much shorter and safer, but then the land there is so low as to be flooded, to a great distance from the banks, for several months in the year.

In my account of Dinajpur and Ronggopur I have already described part of this river, both towards its upper and lower ends, where it forms the boundary between

THE  
MAHANANDA.

these districts and Puraniya; but a great part of its course is entirely within the country of which I am now treating.

From the north-east extremity of Puraniya, for between seven and eight miles, the Mahananda forms the boundary between this and Puraniya, and has been already described. After this, the Mahananda has this district on both its banks, and for about twenty miles runs between Bahadurgunj and Udhraïl, but does not form the exact boundary the whole way, some parts of Udhraïl being on its right bank. About five miles below, where both sides begin to belong to this district, the Mahananda receives a river at least as large as itself. This arises from among the mountains of Sikim, and having passed the Gorkhalese fortress of Hangskongyar, where it is called Balakongyar, it enters this district, assumes the name of Balasan, and separates Bahadurgunj from Udhraïl for the whole length of its course. The people whom I consulted differed widely in their accounts of this river. Some said that like the upper part of the Mahananda, it did not admit of navigation; but others alleged that in the

rainy season boats of 250 *mans* burthen could ascend it. Opposite to where it enters, the Mahananda sends off a small arm, which surrounds a market-place and then rejoins the principal stream.

About eight miles below the mouth of the Balasan the Mahananda receives from the same quarter a river called Chengga, which was said to be as large as the Balasan and in the rainy season to admit of small boats. This, however, I think liable to the same doubt as the account given of the Balasan.

Opposite almost to the mouth of the Chengga is a considerable mart named Kaliyagunj. The Mahananda there has a channel of about 400 yards wide with high banks, which it does not overflow. In the dry season it contains a broad clear stream, which admits of large canoes, on which are constructed floats that at all times can transport 80 *mans* of goods.

Some way below this the Mahananda receives by two mouths, distant about two miles, a river called Buridanggi, which though small contains a stream at all seasons. This also is said to be navigable during the rainy season up to the very frontiers of Morang, from whence it comes. This, however, from its appearance in January I should suppose a mistake.

From the boundary of Udhraïl, the Mahananda passes for about twenty-two miles chiefly through Krishnagunj, but in one small corner it reaches Bahadurgunj, and has on its banks Dewangunj, a mart from whence some trade is conducted. Large boats are said to be able to ascend in the rains, and small ones of 200 *mans* burthen at all seasons, and where I saw it, in this part of its course, it seemed to be considerably larger than at Kaliyagunj.

In this part of its course it receives two rivers, the uppermost, from the right, named the Deonayi; the other, from the left, named Dangk.

The Deonayi is said to come from the lower hills subject to Gorkha, and soon after entering the plain is said to separate into two arms, of which that to the west preserves the name, and enters the Company's territory as a stream useful for floating down timber. At no great distance from the boundary it is rejoined by the eastern branch, called Mecki. The united streams seem to be more navigable than the upper



part of the Mahananda, although its channel is neither so wide nor deep. I found many timbers scattered on its banks, and some large boats were lying in it ready to be loaded at the commencement of the floods. From the size of this river, I suspect that in Morang it receives some addition of water from the Kankayi, which is a river far more considerable than the Mahananda.

The Dangk, which enters the Mahananda from the east, arises in the north-west corner of Ronggopur, and after running about seven miles through Udhraail receives into its right side another small stream called the Berang. This comes from the same quarter, and has high steep banks. In the dry season both are rapid clear streams. In the rainy season they admit canoes. The united stream passes thirteen miles more through the division of Udhraail. Where I crossed it, in this space, it might be fifty yards from bank to bank. The water was about two feet deep, and filled the channel from side to side. The current [was] very slow.

At the boundary of Krishnagunj the Dangk receives from the left a very large channel, which is called Burhi, or Sukha, Changolayi, which arises near the source of the Dangk and appears from the sands it has left to have been once a large river. It probably may at one time have brought the waters of the Karatoya this way, as its source is very near the present channel of that river. Immediately on entering this district from Ronggopur, the Changolayi sends a branch which communicates with the upper part of the Dangk, and then continues its course parallel to that river. In the dry season it contains no stream, and in many parts is cultivated.

From the boundary of Udhraail the Dangk winds through Krishnagunj for about fifteen miles, without including turnings, and has on its banks Kharkhari, a mart to which boats of 400 *mans* can ascend in the rainy season.

Immediately after leaving Krishnagunj and entering Dulalgunj, the Mahananda divides into two branches, the western of which contains a stream in the rainy season only, and is called Sukha Mahananda. In the rainy season, however, boats of 400 *mans* can

pass. This dry arm runs parallel to the present channel for about seven miles, and before it rejoins, sends a branch to communicate with the Kankayi.

Immediately below the rejunction of this dry channel, another is formed from the same side of the river and surrounds Thanah Dulalgunj, dividing into two branches. The chief branch of the Mahananda at Dulalgunj, which is a very considerable mart, admits of small boats at all seasons and of very large ones in the floods; but the navigation is very troublesome.

A little way below Dulalgunj, the right bank of the Mahananda receives a great addition from the Kankayi. This addition is by far the most considerable river between the Tista and Kosi, as all accounts agree that it reaches the mountains covered with perpetual snow, and some even allege that its sources are in Thibet, beyond the highest peaks of Emodus. It enters the division of Bahadurgunj as a stream useful for floating down timber, and which in the rainy season admits small boats. As I have before mentioned, I suspect that a great part of the water of this river passes in Morang by some channel and joins the Deonayi, which by its union first renders the Mahananda considerable.

Soon after entering the Company's territory, it sends to the right a channel called Mara, or dead, Kankayi which, however, admits of small boats in the rainy season. The Mara Kankayi, which seems to have been the great Conki of Major Rennell, rejoins the principal channel after a separation of about twenty-five miles in a direct line; but in that space it also is divided into two arms, that rejoin. The eastern of these is very considerable, and passes Bahadurgunj, a place of some trade. This channel is called Guna. The west and principal channel receives from Morang a small stream called Kharra.

The principal Kankayi, after having sent off the dead channel, passes a little way south, and then receives from the left a small river which does not admit vessels of any kind, and comes from Morang. A little south from the mouth of the Berang, the Kankayi receives a river of the same name and size, but which, to distinguish it from the other, is called



Chhota or little, and Burhi or old. This, I have no doubt, is formed in Morang by a separation from the other branch, and it is no doubt the little Conki of Major Rennell, which by the junction of the eastern branch of the western arm has become the principal channel of the Kankayi. These numerous subdivisions of its channel, while in the plains of Morang, will account for this great Alpine river making so small an appearance in our maps. This small or old Kankayi, as it comes from Morang, serves to bring timber from that country. In the dry season, I found in its mouth several boats waiting for a cargo, and several floats of timber.

From the mouth of the Burhi-Kankayi downwards, the Kankayi at all seasons admits boats of 200 *mans* burthen, and in the floods it will receive those carrying 1000 *mans*. On this part of its course is a mart called Kuti. A little below where the two arms of the chief Kankayi reunite, the stream is joined by the Ratoya, of which I now shall give an account. The river now in question is called Mara or dead Ratoya, and must be carefully distinguished from the Bahi or running Ratoya, which is placed farther west. It comes from Morang unfit for navigation of any kind, and some way below receives from the same quarter, and from its west side, another small stream, the Krishnayi. Farther down, and from the same side, it receives the Loneswari, which rises from a marsh in Bahadurgunj, and in the rainy season becomes navigable for canoes. A little way below this it receives a river from the east side. This is called Kamal, and comes from Morang, and in the rainy season is navigable with canoes, serving to float down timber. The Ratoya then runs straight south to join the Kankayi. In this distance, which is about ten miles, are Majkuri, Sohandar, and Sisauna, marts for the exportation and importation of goods. In this part of its course canoes can ascend at all seasons, floats of timber descend even in the dry season, and in the floods boats of 500 *mans* burthen can navigate its channel, which is deep though narrow.

A little below the mouth of the Mara-Ratoya the Kankayi receives, from the west also, a small river named Das or Baruya, which arises on the boundary



between Bahadurgunj and Arariya, and continues to separate these divisions until it comes to the boundary of Dulalgunj, through which it passes some way. It is nowhere navigable.

From the mouth of the Das to the junction of the Kankayi with the Mahananda is about ten miles. In this space the Kankayi receives the channel from the Mara-Mahananda before mentioned, and immediately afterwards divides into two arms, which reunite before it joins the great Mahananda. The west branch is dead, and is called the Mara-Kankayi.

The next branch of the Mahananda which I shall mention, enters the Company's territory from Morang in the division of Bahadurgunj, and is there called the Bahi or running Ratoya. There seems to be little doubt but that it is a newly-formed channel, which now conveys most of the water of the Mara-Ratoya, and cuts off several other rivers. I am apt to suspect that this also is a branch of the Kankayi. In the rainy season it admits canoes, and brings down floats of timber.

Soon after entering the Company's territory, the Ratoya receives from the west a small river named the Lona, which seems to have been cut off by the new Ratoya, and its lower portion now forms the Loneswari before mentioned as a branch of the Kankayi. Near the junction is Sisaugachhi, a small mart. The Ratoya, a little below that, enters the division of Arariya and some way below receives from its right another small channel named Jogjan, which comes from Morang, but in the dry season is rather a marsh than a river.

Immediately below the junction the Ratoya increases a little in size, and in the rainy season admits boats of 200 *mans* burthen. A little way lower down, the Ratoya receives from its right another marshy channel named the Beri, which is a branch of the Bakra.

A few miles below this, near a mart named Vaghmara, the Ratoya without any evident reason changes its name to Pangroyan, a name which we shall afterwards find towards the north-west; but the channel in its progress towards this place has been obliterated, and intersected by several streams. At



this mart, during the floods, the Pangroyan admits boats of 300 *mans*.

Towards the boundary between Arariya and Dulalgunj, the Pangroyan receives a small river named Kathuya, which rises from a marsh near Arariya, and in the rainy season admits small boats for a little way. The Pangroyan runs for a very considerable way through Dulalgunj, and joins the Mahananda by two channels, the upper of which in the dry season has become dead. From the lower of these two mouths an old channel extends behind Nawabgunj, a mart, and is considered as a dead branch of the Pangroyan. It joins with a small but pretty deep channel called the Phvala, which arises from a marsh communicating with the Pangroyan, and which, after dividing into two arms that reunite, falls into the Panar; but where the dead Pangroyan joins it, this river loses the name Phvala, and assumes that of Pangroyan. The western branch of the Phvala is called the Deonayi, a name with which we met far to the north and west.

A few miles below the mouth of the first-mentioned Pangroyan, the Mahananda receives a pretty considerable river which undergoes many changes of name. I shall begin with its most westerly branch.

In my account of the Kosi I have mentioned that a river called the Burhi, which I suppose to have been a former channel of the Kosi, enters the division of Matiyari from Morang, and soon after divides into two branches. The one which runs to the east is named Pangroyan, and I suppose once communicated with the river so now called, that I have just now described, but at present the channel of communication has been interrupted. This Pangroyan is an inconsiderable stream, and in its course eastward soon receives a small supply from the Songta, which arises from the lower part of Morang. Soon after proceeding farther east, it is very much enlarged by receiving the Rejayi, which comes from the hills of Morang, and admits canoes at all seasons and boats of 500 *mans* burthen in the floods. The united streams under the name of Pangroyan soon after enter Arariya, and receive another petty river named Bahaliya or Lohandara, which in the rainy season admits floats

of timber, and communicates the name for five or six miles, when it is swallowed up by the Bakra.

The Bakra comes from Morang, and after crossing a corner of Matiyari, passes through Arariya to receive the Lohandara. In this space, even in the fair season it admits boats of 50 *mans* burthen, and of 400 *mans* in the floods, and it sends off the Beri to join the lower Pangroyan, as before described. The united stream of the Lohandara and Bakra is by some called Bakra and by others Pangroyan, and in the rainy season admits boats of 1000 *mans*, while at all seasons it can be navigated by those of 100. On its bank is a mart called Bochi.

Some way below Bochi this river receives from the west a small stream, which arises from a marsh and is named Balakongyar, or Kagjiya, or Trisuliya. After the junction of this petty stream the river is most commonly called Balakongyar, but it is also known by the name Lohandara, and retains these names through the remainder of its course in the division of Arariya. After leaving this, and running for about twenty-four miles between Haveli and Dulalgunj, it joins the Mahananda. In some places it forms the boundary between these divisions, in others, irregular angles of these jurisdictions cross the channel. Here is Ekamba, a considerable mart. The names given to this part of the river change in a manner that is very inexplicable. As it enters Dulalgunj, it is first called Lohandara. It then is called Panar. At Belgachhi it is again called Balakongyar. A little way below it is called Pichhli, and where it joins the Mahananda it is called Rauta. Even the natives seem to be perplexed by such numerous changes, and apply these names with great confusion. In the dry season boats of 300 *mans* can ascend this part of its course.

From this part of the river now described, as well as from the lower part of the Mahananda, several small branches are sent towards the right, but these have been already described. I shall therefore proceed to give an account of the branches which the Mahananda receives from its left.

From opposite to Dulalgunj the Mahananda sends off a dry arm named the Burha Mahananda, which



some miles below rejoins the stream. About four miles below the mouth of the Panar, the Mahananda receives the Sudhano, which arises from a marsh about ten miles in a direct line north-west from Krishnagunj, and is there an inconsiderable stream. About two miles from Krishnagunj it receives a rather larger stream called Rumjan, which arises from a marsh rather farther north than the source of the Sudhano, and in the rainy season admits boats carrying 100 *mans* to Kotobgunj, a mart on its bank opposite to Krishnagunj.

From its junction with the Rumjan the Sudhano passes with little change to the boundary of the division Krishnagunj, and from thence to its junction with the Mahananda forms in general the boundary between Nehnagar and Dulalgunj. Into the latter it sends an arm named Gyangra, which rejoins it after a course of some miles. In this distance the Sudhano receives from the north-west a small stream called the Pitanai, which rises from a marsh on the boundary of Krishnagunj. In the rainy season it is navigable for canoes. Below Nehnagar, the Sudhano in the rainy season admits pretty large boats, and some goods are exported from Nehnagar and Kansao.

Just before the Sudhano joins the Mahananda, a branch separates from it to join the Nagar, or the two rivers may rather be said to communicate by a chain of marshes which in different places is called by various names. This channel again communicates with the Mahananda by a deep dirty channel called Dhaungchi. Below the mouth of the Sudhano there are on the Mahananda two marts, Barasayi and Khidarapur, to which in the dry season boats of 500 *mans* burthen can ascend. About thirteen miles from the mouth of the Sudhano, in a direct line, the Mahananda divides into two branches, both of which retain the name. That which goes towards the east is the most considerable and requires the constant use of a ferry; but on joining the Nagar it loses its name.

The western branch of the Mahananda is not so large. I crossed it in December, and found it neither deep nor wide, but it contains a quantity of dirty water, sufficient at all seasons to enable small boats to ascend. This branch continues to form the western



boundary of the division of Kharwa for about twenty-seven miles in a direct line, when it receives the Nagar, a much more considerable river than itself. This branch of the Mahananda communicates also with the Nagar, by another branch which is called the Mahananda, and divides the jurisdiction of Kharwa into two unequal portions.

In my account of Dinajpur I have described the whole course of the Nagar, which arises from a marsh on the boundary between that district and Puraniya. I have here therefore only to mention the streams which it receives from the right. About four miles from its source, it is joined by a rather larger stream called the Nagari or female Nagar, which rises from a marsh in the division of Udhrail, and has a course rather longer than that of the male.

At the boundary between Krishnagunj and Nehnagar, the Nagar receives a small stream called the Pariyan, which rises in the former division and has a course of about fifteen miles. From thence downwards, until it loses its name in the Mahananda, the Nagar receives no other stream except the branches of the Mahananda that have been already mentioned, and a channel which drains from the marshes of Kharwa and is called Saktihar. On this part of its course the Nagar has on its western bank Bhapla, Muhammedpur, Tarapur and Dumrail, marts for the exportation of goods.

From the junction of the Nagar to that of the Kalindi, about seven miles in a direct line, and twenty miles farther to the junction of the Punabhaha, the Mahananda forms the boundary between this district and Dinajpur, and has been already described. On the former, Tipajani; on the latter, English Bazar, Nischintapur, Mahishmardini, Bholahat, and Bahadurgunj are marts for the exportation and importation of goods.

From the mouth of the Punabhaha until it is lost in the Padma or principal stream of the Ganges, the Mahananda in general forms the boundary between this district and Nator, but several detached corners of the latter extend to the right bank of the river. On this part are Chaudola, Sukravari, and Baraghariya, marts belonging to this district, to which large boats can at all seasons ascend.



At Nawabgunj, about sixteen miles below the Punabhaha, the Mahananda divides into two branches which surround an island, partly belonging to this district and partly to Nator. The channel which passes towards the right is named Chunakhali; and has of late been gradually filling up, so that after the month of October large boats can no longer pass. It enters the Ganges just opposite to Songti, and at the place where the sacred Bhagirathi turns to the south towards Murshedabad and Calcutta, and where the great river takes the name of Padma. In this channel there enters a small stream. It arises from the lakes behind Gaur by the name of Argara, and soon after sends a channel to join the Ganges. This is called Jaharpur-dangra, and where it separates another branch is sent to join the Mahananda, and is called Saluya. The direct channel passing south is called Bara-dangra, and separates into two branches. One called Bangsvariya joins the main channel of the Mahananda, the other, called Dangra Bajna, falls into Chunakhali. In the rainy season all these passages are navigable.

The principal branch of the Mahananda falls into the Padma at Godagari, about eight miles from Nawabgunj, and forms part of the boundary between this district and Nator. This is at all seasons navigable for large boats.

I have now only to add that the Karatoya forms the boundary between this and Ronggopur for about ten miles. I have nothing to add to the general remarks which I made on the rivers of Dinajpur and Ronggopur, these being entirely applicable to the rivers of this district.

## CHAPTER III.

### LAKES AND MARSHES—AIR AND WEATHER.

The Jhils, or marshes formed by old channels of rivers, which have lost all connection with their stream, are fully as numerous

#### LAKES AND MARSHES.

as in Ronggopur but are not so fine, as in general the climate being drier, they contain much

less water throughout the year, and in the dry season become offensive. They however contain many springs, and give rise to several small rivers. The most remarkable Jhils of the district form a long chain, passing with some interruptions from Gondwara to Maldeh, and seem to be a congeries of broken narrow channels winding among low lands. This tract in the dry season contains water in many parts of its channels, and is overgrown with reeds, rose-trees, and the tree called Hijal; but might in a great measure be drained and cultivated, as several streams lower than its channels pass through it. At present it is a noisome abode of disease and destructive animals. This appears to me to have evidently been the channel of a very great river, either the Kosi or Ganges. The natives incline to suppose it the ancient channel of the latter, to which indeed it is nearly parallel.

In this district there are fewer Bils or lakes than in Ronggopur, and owing to a greater dryness they do not contain so much water in spring. The most remarkable are in or near the ruins of Gaur. These are of a very large size; but a great part, as it dries up, is cultivated with spring rice, and much of what is constantly covered with water is covered by a thick mat of aquatic plants. I saw therefore nothing in this district that resembles the beautiful lakes of Europe, except an artificial pond in Gaur. In this



district are many pools, called Daha, which resembles irregular tanks, but are not surrounded by the bank formed of the earth which is thrown out in digging. At all seasons these contain water, and the largest which I saw may have been five acres in extent. Some are said to have been formed by the brick-makers of powerful chiefs; others are said to have been formed by the earths suddenly sinking; but the usual manner of accounting for them is that formerly they contained rocks, which were plucked up by Hanuman, and hurled against his enemies in the wars between Ravan and Ram.

No registers of the weather have been kept, or at least have come within my knowledge; the following account is therefore chiefly taken from the report of the natives. In every part of this district the cold of winter seems

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to be more considerable than either in Ronggopur or in Dinajpur, and it was everywhere stated that when strong westerly winds blew at that season for two or three successive days hoar frost was found in the morning, and that these frosts once in three or four years were so violent as to destroy some crops, especially the pulse which by botanists is called *Cytisus Cajan*. I myself saw no frost; but some of the mornings in January, when a westerly wind blew, were very sharp, and the thermometer sunk below 40° of Fahrenheit's scale. In spring again the hot winds from the west are usually of longer duration than even in Dinajpur; at least towards the Ganges. But towards the frontier of Morang, they are as little known as in the northern parts of Ronggopur.

In the south-east corner of the district, the winds resemble those that usually prevail in the south of Bengal, intermixed, however, somewhat with those of the western provinces. The prevailing winds are north in winter and south in the rainy season; but for three months of spring, Chaitra to Jyaishta (13th March to 12th June), the winds incline to the west, and from Bhadra to Agrahayan (16th August to 13th December) easterly winds are the most prevalent. North again everywhere from the Rajmahal hills, by far the most prevalent winds are the east and west.

In the southern parts of the district the westerly winds continue almost the whole of the dry season, and the east winds are common during the periodical rains; during these, when southerly winds happen they are apt to do great injury to the crops of grain which ripen in summer, and are imagined by the natives to occasion abortion in all kinds of cattle. In the northern parts again, as in the northern parts of Ronggopur, east winds blow for ten months in the year. There I have even observed that the violent squalls of spring, which are attended by hail, rain, and thunder, come as often from the east or north-east as they do from the north-west; whereas in the southern parts of Bengal they so regularly come from the last-mentioned quarter that among the English they are usually known by the name of north-westers.

In this district these squalls seem to be very frequent, and are accompanied by uncommon quantities of hail. In one storm which I saw, by far the greater part of the stones were as large as walnuts, and vast numbers were like small apples, while several were like ordinary sized oranges. In another there were many like walnuts, and some like small apples.

The rainy season is of shorter duration than in Ronggopur. It usually lasts from Asharh to Aswen, or from the 13th of June until the 16th of October. Rains in Kartik are not usual, and are not here considered as beneficial; for they interfere with the winter crops, which are more valuable than in Dinajpur, Ronggopur, or the south of Bengal, where such rains are considered as essential to a good harvest.

Fogs and dews are not so heavy as towards the east, and in spring everything is exceedingly parched, until the squally weather commences. This year in March the bamboo had entirely lost its leaves; and at a little distance a plantation of bamboos strongly resembled a clump of larch trees, when out of leaf.

Earthquakes are pretty common. There are usually several slight shocks every year; but I have not heard that they ever did any injury.



## CHAPTER IV.

### TOPOGRAPHY OF THE DISTRICT.

#### PREFACE CONTAINING HISTORICAL NOTICES.

The natives of this district have less curiosity concerning the transactions of men in former times than any people with whom I have ever met; and are less informed on the subject than even those of Ronggopur. In many places of the district the best informed people whom the Pandit could find did not know that the parts which they inhabited had ever been called by any other names than they now bear, a degree of stupidity which I have nowhere else observed; in general, however, it was said by those whom we consulted that this country formerly contained part of the two old divisions of India called Matsya and Mithila, and the whole of Gaur.

In my account of Dinajpur I have given an account of Matsya, of its sovereign Virat, and of his brother-in-law Kichak. Concerning this last personage some doubts have arisen in my mind, from what I have here seen. In Ronggopur I have mentioned a tribe of the same name, and here I shall also have occasion to recur to the same race, who seem at one time to have been very powerful in Kamrup, Matsya, and Mithila, and who are still very numerous in Nepal. It may be supposed that Virat married a sister of the Kichak Raja, and not of an individual of that name. As however the Kichak are an infidel (Asur) tribe, the Pandit of the mission will not allow that Virat could so far degrade himself. The ruin of the house of Kichak, which has been a very large building, is now shown, and is called Asurgar, or the house of the infidel, to whom however many of the neighbouring Hindus still offer worship. In these remote times also the high castes seem to have made little difficulty

of intercourse with low women, and the mother of even Vyas, the great Muni, was not of the sacred order.

The boundary between Matsya and Mithila would in general appear to have been the Mahananda and Kankayi rivers. Two learned persons of Udhrail, whom my Pandit consulted, agreed with this opinion; and both the manners and the language of the common people, on the east side of these rivers, resemble those of Matsya, while on their west the Hindi language and the manners of Mithila prevail. It must, however, be observed that the Kosi is more usually alleged to have formerly been the boundary; but then it is supposed to have run in a very different direction from what it does at present, and perhaps then occupied nearly the present course of the Kankayi and Mahananda. It must, however, be observed that Manihari is usually considered as in Matsya, although it is to the west both of the Mahananda and of the old course of the Kosi; but this seems to have been a detached corner separated from the main body by Mithila and Gaur.

On the west, Mithila is bounded by the Ghosh river, which is said to pass through Serkar Saran; but in the Bengal Atlas this name seems to have been omitted. On the north it extends to the hills, as it includes Janakpur, and there bounds with Nepal, an old division of India. On the south it has the Ganges or Bhagirathi; but as I have said, it would not appear that the south-east part of the country, beyond the chain of marshes which I have considered as an old course of the Ganges, was ever included in Mithila.

By the Pandit I am assured that Tirabhukti in the Sanskrita, and Tirahut in the vulgar dialect, are perfectly synonymous with Mithila, and are in more common use; but as Tirahut (Tyroot, Rennell) is now applied by the English to denote the district adjacent to Puraniya on the west, I shall in order to avoid confusion always use the word Mithila to denote this old division of India, which comprehends a great part of three districts under the Company's government, and a portion of the dominions of Gorkha.

The oldest tradition concerning Mithila is that it was subject to a Janak Raja, whose daughter Sita



was married to Ram, king of Ayodhya, one of the incarnations of Vishnu. I have found no traces of this prince, and am told that at Janakpur there are no remains of buildings. Yet I am told on the high authority of the Sri Bhagwat that this prince had rather a long reign, as he not only gave his daughter in marriage to Ram, but continued to govern until the same god Vishnu reappeared on earth under the form of Krishna, which was a good many hundred thousand years afterwards, and he retained to the end a good vigour, as he is said to have instructed in war Suyodhan a brother of the emperor of India, who was deprived of his kingdoms by Yudhishtir; who succeeded him, I have not learned.

By those who have studied the Purans it is alleged that, when Yudhishtir was sent to heaven, his four brothers were desired to accompany him; but as the way to that place is very difficult and leads over the snowy mountains of the north, the brothers, who were loaded with sin, fell from the precipices and were lost in the snow. I shall not take upon myself to determine what foundation there may be for this legend; but it is not impossible that a dotard prince may have taken an affection for a boy, and have preferred for his successor a grand-nephew instead of a brother, and Yudhishtir is said to have been succeeded by his grand-nephew Parikshit, the son of Abhimanyu, the son of his brother Arjun; and in order to avoid a disputed succession, he may have ordered all his other relations to have been sent into banishment, or perhaps to be privately murdered.

The people of Nepal, however, give a different termination to the legend. They say that Bhimsen, one of the brothers of Yudhishtir, when he was sent to the snowy mountains and lay benumbed with cold, was taken by a very pious Yogi named Gorakshanath, restored to health, and made king of 110,000 hills that extended from the sources of the Ganges to the boundary of the Plub, or people of Bhotan. There Bhimsen and his spiritual guide Gorakshanath performed many wonderful works, and among others introduced the custom of eating buffaloes in place of offering human sacrifices. In doing this the prince seems to have had some difficulty, and is said to have



fairly crammed the buffalo meat down his priest's throat. Both however lost their caste by this action, which one would imagine to have been rather a pious deed, and in fact, although by the Hindus they are admitted to have lost caste, they are both considered as gods. The priest is the tutelar deity of the family reigning in Nepal and all over that mountainous principality; and throughout Mithila Bhimsen is a very common object of worship.

When this story, contradicting the authority of the Purans, was related by a priest of Hanuman from Nepal, I had great difficulty to restrain the wrath of the most learned Pandit of the district, who happened to be present. He declared that this Bhimsen was a prince who lived at Belkakoṭh near the Kosi not 500 years ago, and who although he was a powerful chief was only a barbarian from the hills. The priest of Hanuman was no less enraged at such contemptuous terms applied to a god, and a severe squabble ensued.

That Bhimsen had been a powerful chief, and governed both Nepal and Mithila, is exceedingly probable from the respect that is so generally paid to his memory, and it is very probable that he may have lived at Belkakoṭh, which is in a central situation, convenient both for his dominions in the hills and for those in the low country. That he was the same with Bhimsen the son of Pandu is, however, exceedingly doubtful; for although this is universally maintained by his worshippers, they are miserably ignorant of history. That he lived within these last 500 years, on the other hand, is, I am persuaded, not true; as immediately after the destruction of the Hindu kings of Bengal, this part of the country, as will be afterwards mentioned, fell under the dominion of a colony of Rajputs from the west of India. That Bhimsen, who governed at Belkakoṭh, was not an orthodox Hindu is probable from the tradition of his having a Yogi named Gorakshanath for his spiritual guide.

In my account of Ronggopur, I have mentioned that Haripa, the pupil of Gorakshanath, was a person distinguished in the time of Dharmapal, one of the kings of Kamrup; and that the dynasty of Pruthu Raja, which preceded that of Dharmapal, was destroyed by a vile tribe called Kichak. These



circumstances may enable us in some measure to connect the traditions of these times. The Kichak, I have since learned by conversation with some mountain chiefs, are the same with the Kirats, who occupy the mountainous country between Nepal proper and Bhotan, and therefore formed part of the subjects of Bhimsen, and were probably the governing nation, as that prince is said to have lived at Belkakoth, which is in their country. Bhimsen may therefore have been the conqueror of Prithu Raja, and Dharmapal may have been descended of a branch of his family that governed Kamrup. Both are alleged by the natives to have been Kshatriyas or Rajputs, and both were heterodox followers of the priesthood called Yogis. In my account of Ronggopur I indeed considered it probable that Dharmapal was a branch of the next dynasty that will be mentioned: but I was then unacquainted with the circumstances which in some measure tend to connect his history with that of the Kichaks.

I have not been able to form any rational conjecture concerning the time when Bhimsen lived; but as his spiritual guide Gorakshanath is a very celebrated personage in the ecclesiastical history of India, the era in which he flourished may be perhaps ascertained. Whether or not Bhimsen was a Rajput who governed the Kirats, as we know has since happened, or whether he was really a Kirat, would be difficult to ascertain, because the complaisance of the sacred order in all things relative to the low tribes permits every person in great power to assume a claim of belonging to the military or noble caste; all the chiefs of the Kirats call themselves Ray, and in Matiyari some refugees of this kind are now called Ray or hill Rajputs, but they are clearly marked by their features as being a tribe of Chinese or Tartars.

The people of this district also have confused traces of the invasions and conquests of the Kichak or Kirats, and mention several old princes of Morang, that is, of the country of the Kirats, to whom they still offer worship, and whose usual priests are the Pariyal, who are said to have been their soldiers. These of whom I heard are Bhimsen, Dadar, Dhenu, Danak, Udhrail, Konar, Chobra, Nanhar, Sambaris,

Dhanapal, Kusumsingha, Dudhkumar, Someswar, Bhadreswar, Sobhansingha, Jagadal, Ranapal and Bilasi. Many of these, from the small traces left behind, were probably mere tributaries, and some of them may perhaps have belonged to the dynasty which will be next mentioned. It is also probable that the kingdom of Bhimsen may have split into several petty principalities, for he is said to have had no children; but that assertion may be owing to the legend in the Purans, in which Bhimsen, the son of Pandu, and all his family are supposed to have perished in the snow.

The province in ancient Hindu geography called Magadh, which includes the country south from the Ganges in the vicinity of Patana (Patna, Rennell), seems formerly to have been in a great measure possessed by Brahmans who cultivate the soil, who carry arms, and who seem to be the remains of the Brachmani of Pliny. They are called by a variety of names, and seem to have been leading persons in the government of the Pal-Rajas, one of the most powerful dynasties that has appeared in India, and which immediately preceded that of Adisur. There is indeed some reason to think that the sovereigns, although of the sect of Buddha, belonged to this sacred order, some of whom, as the Rajas of Varanasi (Benares) and Betiya, still retain high rank and influence.

There can I think be little doubt but that the Pal Rajas possessed the whole of Mithila, and confined the Kirats within the limits of their mountains. The Brahmans of Magadh still form a considerable part of the agricultural population; and although there are no traces of works attributed to the Pal Rajas themselves, there are many remains attributed to chiefs of these Brahmans, probably descendants of the nobles of the Pal Rajas, some of whom retained more or less independence until a much later date, and after the overthrow of the dynasty of Adisur seem to have recovered much authority.

I now come to the time when the Hindu and orthodox dynasty of Bengal overthrew the heretical sects, and freed at least a portion of Mithila from their hated influence. This happened in the time of Lakshman or Lokhyman, the third prince of that dynasty,



and the event seems to have occasioned much joy, for in the almanacs of Mithila it forms an era, of which this year, 1810, is the 706th year. This places the conquest in the 1104th year of our era. Lakshman, on the conquest, added the new province of Mithila to his dominions, and in the territory of Gaur built a great city which he called after his own name and made the principal seat of his government; whereas his predecessors, Adisur and Ballalsen, seem to have had in that vicinity merely small fortresses, to which they occasionally came from Sonargang to watch over the frontier. In Mithila the names of these princes are totally unknown. During their government it probably continued subject to petty chiefs who had formerly been subject to the Pal kings.

It must be observed that this district contains the whole of Gaur and Mithila, two of the six provinces into which Lakshman seems to have divided his kingdom, and it even contains a part of a third named Barandra, which is separated from Mithila by the Mahananda.

Having now deduced the history of Mithila to its union with Gaur, I shall notice what I have been able to learn concerning the history of that petty territory. It is said that an immense number of years ago it was the residence of a certain thirsty personage named Jahnu Muni, who one day swallowed the whole Ganges, as Bhagirathi was bringing it down from the mountains to water Bengal. After this there was in Gaur a passage to the infernal regions, by which the brother of Ravan attempted to ensnare Ram, and the mouth of this is still shown, as will be mentioned in the account of Sibgunj. A long time after these extraordinary events we find some more probable traditions. One is that Janmejey, son of Parikshit, son of Abhemanyu, son of Arjun, brother of Yudhishthir, and the third king of India of the family of Pandu, removed all the Brahmans from Gaur and settled them to the west of the Ganges beyond Hastinapur, where their descendants still remain. Another tradition is that in the time of Salivahan, king of India, who is supposed to have resided at Singhal about seventeen or eighteen centuries ago, this territory belonged to a Raja named Vikram Kesari.



The authority of this rests on a most improbable legend sung in praise of the goddess Chandi, and composed in the poetical dialect of Bengal, but this is supposed by the Pandit to be merely extracted from the Purans of Vyas. This however appears to be problematic, for he does not profess to have ever read the passage in the Purans, and it is an usual custom to suppose everything that is respectable as extracted from these works; and this I imagine is often done without the slightest foundation. The extent of the province of Gaur seems always to have been inconsiderable, and so far as I can learn is confined to the angle of this district which projects towards the south-east.

Having now traced the component parts of the Hindu kingdom of Bengal, so far as relates to this district, I shall proceed to notice some circumstances relative to its history.

In the course of the rainy season [of] 1809, having embarked to examine the low parts of Ronggopur while in an inundated state, I proceeded to visit Sonargang, the eastern capital of this kingdom, in order if possible to procure some information concerning it before I went to Gaur, and in order to ascertain what credit was due to the reports which I had heard at Maldeh, concerning a person who claimed a descent from Ballalsen. On my arrival at the Sunergong of Major Rennell, which I naturally supposed was the Sonargang of the natives, I was informed that the place was indeed in the Pergunah of Sonargang, but that its proper name was Uddhabgunj; and I was also told that Subarnagram or Sonargang, the former capital of Bengal, had been swept entirely away by the Brahmaputra, and had been situated a little south from where the custom-house of Kalagachhi (Kallagatchy, Rennell, *B. A. No. 12*), now stands; for it must be observed that what Major Rennell calls the Burrumpooter creek is considered by the natives as the proper Brahmaputra, the present main channel losing that name at Egarasindhu (Agarasondu, Rennell, *B. A. No. 17*). At this place I found some intelligent Pandits, who laughed at the pretensions of Rajballabh of Rajnagar to a royal extraction. They said that he might possibly have as much pretensions to such a birth as the Rajas of Tripura and Manipur



have to be descended from Babrubaha, the son of 'Arjun. About the end of the eighteenth century, they said, the former chief wishing to marry a daughter of the latter, there arose a difficulty on account of the difference of their tribes. The chiefs therefore came down to the bank of the Brahmaputra under the pretence of bathing, and they soon found genealogists (Ghataks) who gave each a pedigree in a direct uninterrupted male line from Babrubaha, so that all difficulties were removed, both chiefs being of equal rank, and both descended from the sun; although a few generations ago the ancestors of both were infidels, who ate beef and committed all other abominations. The Pandits said that Rajballabh, having been a very rich and liberal Zemindar, had probably found genealogists equally skilful; but his father was a low man, who had raised a fortune by trade.

These Pandits entirely agreed with the accounts which I received from their brethren in Dinajpur, and considered Adisur, Ballalsen, Lakshmansen, and Susen as the only princes of the Hindu dynasty. They farther alleged that Susen died without issue, as by a fatal accident his women and children put themselves to death, and the Raja being too much afflicted to survive them followed their example.

These Pandits farther directed me to a place called Rampul, where I would find the ruins of the royal palace, which is properly called Vikrampur, but its name also has been extended to a Pergunah. I found the place about three miles south from Ferenggi Bazar, and paddled into the ditch through a canal which communicates with the Ichchhamati river, and is called Nayanerkhal. The ditch may be from 100 to 150 feet wide, and encloses a square of between four and five hundred yards, which was occupied by the palace. The entrance was from the east, by a causeway leading through the ditch, without any drawbridge; and it is said that a road may be traced from thence to the bank of the river opposite to where Sonargang stood. Whatever grandeur may have formerly existed, no traces remain by which it could be traced. Bricks, however, are scattered over the surface of the ground, and it is said that many have been dug and exported to Dhaka. The principal



work remaining is a small tank called the Mitha Pukhar, which it is said was in the women's apartment; and near it is shown a pit, which is said to have been the Agnikundra, where the funeral fire of the family was kept, and into which the whole Raja's family are said to have thrown themselves on receiving false intelligence of his having been defeated by the Moslems. Although both Hindus and Moslems agree in this circumstance, and detail nearly the same silly and extravagant circumstances concerning the event, and although the barbarous treatment of prisoners in the east has induced the natives to honour such ferocious pride in the families of their princes, a great difficulty exists among the Pandits concerning this story. They say that this family, being Sudras, had no right to throw themselves into an Agnikundra, an honour which is reserved for the three higher castes.

The people near the ruins of the palace are almost entirely Moslems, who showed me with great exultation the tomb of a saint named Adam, to whom the overthrow of the Hindu prince is attributed. Although they agree with the Hindus in the extravagant parts of the story, they differ essentially concerning the person, and allege that the Raja's name was Ballalsen. In my account of Dinajpur I have already stated that the prince who in the year 1207 was overthrown by Bukhtyar Khulji was named Lokhymon or Lakshman, and he escaped from Nadiya in a boat. Now, although the pretensions of Rajballabh to be descended from Ballalsen, on which I then laid some stress, are ridiculous, I have little doubt that the descendants of that prince long continued to govern Swarnagang and the vicinity of Dhaka; for in the manuscripts procured at Maldeh we find the discontented Moslems retiring from Peruva to that place for refuge, at least 150 years after the Hindus had been expelled from Gaur, and as the conquest of Sonargang is said on that authority to have been made so late as the reign of Sheer Shah, who governed from A.D. 1541 to 1545, there can be no doubt that this remnant of the Hindu kingdom is the Batty (low country) of the Ayeen Akbery, which indeed delays the conquest until the reign of Akbur; but Abual Fazel is such a flatterer that such an alteration may be naturally expected. It must have been



one of these princes who was destroyed by Pir Adam, or rather by the folly of his family. Whether his name was Ballalsen or Susen I cannot determine, but the tradition of the Hindus is probably the best founded, although they constantly mistake this Susen, the last of their native princes, for Susen the son of Lakshman, who governed Gaur in the 12th century of the Christian era. Lokhymon or Lakshman, the son of Ballalsen, as I have said, seems in the year 1104 to have extended his conquests over the whole of this district, and perhaps farther west; for by all the people of Mithila he is considered as one of their most distinguished princes.

There is a line of fortifications which extends due north from the source of the Daus river to the hills, and which is attributed by the best informed natives to a prince of this name. This line has evidently been intended to form a frontier towards the west, has undoubtedly been abandoned in the process of building, and has probably been intended to reach to the Ganges along the Daus, which is nowhere of a size sufficient to give any kind of security to a frontier. As the lines are said to extend to the hills, it is probable that the Bengalese province of Mithila included the whole of the country called Morang. As the works were never completed, and have the appearance of having been suddenly deserted, it is probable that they were erected by Lakshman the Second, who in the year 1207 was subdued and expelled from Nadiya by the Moslems. Lakshman the First seems to have been a conqueror, and in order to check the progress of his arms, the king of Delhi is said to have erected a fort at Serayigar in Tirahut (Tyroot, Rennell). These two Lakshmans are usually confounded by the Hindus; but when giving an account of Dinajpur, I have had occasion to show that probably there were two kings of this name. It is curious to remark that, by the tradition on the spot, the works said to have been erected by Lakshman are not alleged to have been as a defence against the Muhammedans, but against a people called Oriswa, the R being of that kind which is difficult to distinguish from a D. Now in D'Anville's map of Asia, I find laid down exactly beyond these works a country called Odyssa, which no

doubt must be the same. I am ignorant of the authority on which this learned geographer proceeded; nor can I pretend to ascertain whether the Oriswas were a people who had wrested part of Mithila from the weak successor of Lakshman the First, or were the remains of tribes who had governed the country under the kings of the Pal dynasty. Neither am I sure whether the Moslems suffered the Oriswas to remain undisturbed, or swallowed up, at the same time, both them and their opponents of Bengal. At any rate, it would appear clear that soon after that period a colony of Rajputs from the west of India proceeded towards this quarter, and obtained a considerable portion of this district. Of this colony I shall now proceed to give some account.

According to the traditions universally prevalent among the northern hills, an invasion of the Rajput country in the west of India, by one of the kings of Delhi, produced an emigration from that country under a number of the officers of the dethroned prince; and the officers having seized on the mountainous country, together with some of the adjacent plains, formed a number of petty principalities, extending west from the Kankay to the Ganges, and perhaps to Kasmir. A great part of these have lately been reduced under the authority of the chiefs of Gorkha, who have taken up their residence in Nepal; but this is a very modern event. A story related in the translation of *Fereshtah* by Colonel Dow so nearly resembles the account given of the attack made by the Moslem king on the Rajput prince that we may consider the two histories as relating to the same event, and this fixes the era of the emigration to the year 1306 of our era.

In the confusion which immediately followed the overthrow of the Hindu kingdom of Bengal, and which in the northern parts of this district continued until the firm establishment of these Rajput chiefs, several of the Brahman nobles and the heads of other native tribes seem to have recovered a temporary power. On the west side of the Kosi are several monuments of a chief named Karnadev, and of his three brothers, Ballabh, Dullabh, and Tribhuvan, who are said to have been powerful chiefs of the tribe of Doniwar



Brahmans. Various opinions are entertained concerning the time in which they lived; some traditions place them before Lakshman Sen, some make them contemporary and his tributaries, and some allege that they lived after his time. This is the opinion of Sonabhadra Misra, the chief Jyotish Pandit of the vicinity, and is confirmed by a manuscript account of the Rajas of Morang, which I shall mention in my account of that country.

In the north-east parts of the district, again, a certain Brahman of the Domkata tribe, named Beru Raja, seems to have had great influence. He had three brothers or kinsmen who ruled the country, and who were named Sahasmal, Bali and Barijan. The latter left a son named Kungja Vihari, who also seems to have been a chief of some note. The works left by these personages are numerous, but not great. All these Brahman chiefs are considered by the modern Hindus of the vicinity as objects of worship.

The progress of the Rajputs in subduing the mountainous country seems to have been by no means rapid, and in my account of Morang I shall detail such notices concerning it as I have been able to procure.

Concerning the history of the Muhammedan kings of Bengal, I have little to add to what I have stated in my account of Dinajpur. It would seem that the Moslems, on the capture of Gaur, were unable to extend their authority over the whole Hindu kingdom, not only towards the north and east, as I have mentioned in the account of Ronggopur and Dinajpur, but even towards the west. It was not until a late period of the Mogul government that they took regular possession of the northern parts of this district; and Julalgar, about ten miles north from the town of Puraniya, was their boundary towards that quarter.

I have not learned what form of government the Moslem kings of Bengal adopted for their provinces, nor whether they continued the same divisions of the kingdom which had been adopted by the dynasty of Adisur, but this is not probable, as at least early in their government their dominions would appear to have been far less extensive. The only separate government of which I have heard was that of the



south, and the governors seem to have resided at various places, according as different native chiefs were compelled to retire or were able to recover their influence. The capital of the province was however always called Haveli Dakshinsahar, and at one time seems to have been on the banks of the river, a little above Calcutta. In the time of Hoseyn Shah it was situated near the Bhairav river, in the Yasor (Jessore, Rennell) district, some way east and south from Kalna, where there are very considerable remains of a city, with buildings of a respectable size. There the tomb of Khanjahanwoli, the governor, is an object of religious devotion both with Moslems and Hindus. After the Mogul government was established, an officer called a Fouzdar resided at Puraniya, with the title of Nawab, and although under the orders of the Subahdar of Bengal had a very high jurisdiction both civil and military.

The following is said to be the succession of these officers:—1. Ostwar Khan. 2. Abdullah Khan. 3. Asfundiyar Khan, twelve years. 4. Babhaniyar Khan, thirty years. 5. Sayef Khan, and 6. Muhammed Abed Khan, eighteen years. 7. Bahadur Khan, one year. 8. Soulut Jung, seven years. 9. Soukut Jung, nine months. 10. Ray Nekraj Khan, eleven months. 11. Hazer Ali Khan, three months. 12. Kader Hoseyn Khan, three years. 13. Alakuli Khan, four months. 14. Serali Khan, three years. 15. Sepahdar Jung, two years, when the government (Dewany) was given to the Company. 16. Raja Suchet Ray. 17. Ruzziuddin Muhammed Khan. 18. Muhammed Ali Khan, succeeded by an English magistrate, Mr. Ducarrel. Sayef Khan seems to have been a man of considerable enterprize, and it was he who taking advantage of internal dissensions added to his province a very large proportion of Morang, which he took from the Rajputs about the year of the Bengal era, 1145 (A.D. 1738). This now forms a Serkar, annexed to the Mogul empire since the time when the Ayeen Akbery was composed. Some portions, however, were added before the time of Sayef Khan. A Hindu officer named Nandalal seems, under the government of Sayef Khan, to have had the settlement and care of this newly-annexed territory, and



has left behind him many traces of his piety or vanity. By some he is said to have been the Dewan or land-steward of the Nawab, while others give him the more humble title of Jumadar, or captain of the guard.

In the government of Seraj Doulah, Soukut Jung the son of Soulut Jung rebelled against that weak prince, to whom he was very nearly related. In a battle which ensued, the rebel was killed, although orders had been given by Seraj Doulah that the utmost care should be taken for his kinsman's personal safety.

## CHAPTER V.

TOPOGRAPHY OF THE DIVISIONS OF THE DISTRICT, UNDER THE THANAHS OF HAVELI PURANIYA; SAYEFGUNJ OR DANGHKHORA ; GONDWARA ; DHAMDAHA ; DIMIYA ; MATIYARI; ARARIYA; BAHADURGUNJ; UDHRAIL; KRISHNAGUNJ; DULALGUNJ; NEHNAGAR; KHARWA; BHOLAHAT; SIBGUNJ ; KALIYACHAK ; GORGURIBAH ; MANIHARI.

Since the English Government, a great deal has been annexed to the Moslem Serkar of Puraniya, even as enlarged by the addition of Morang; and this district now contains a portion of Serkars Tajpur, Jennutabad, and Urambar, in the Subah of Bengal, and a part of Serkar Mungger in the Subah of Behar. In this district, a more regular system of native officers has been introduced than prevails in either Ronggopur or in Dinajpur. Each division is provided with a Darogah, Munsuf, and Kazi, whose jurisdictions are commensurate, and except where otherwise specified these officers always reside at the same place, which is attended with considerable advantage to the subject. Once for all I refer to the General Table No. I for the nature of the soil and many other particulars concerning these divisions, which it will be unnecessary to repeat.

### 1. HAVELI PURANIYA.

Although the capital of the whole district is situated in this division, which is of great size, no separate officer has been appointed to superintend the police of the town. This division being unusually compact, and the town being central, the want of an additional officer does not appear to have produced any considerable neglect or inconvenience. A native



officer of the Judge's court determines small suits, and as usual has a higher jurisdiction than the Munsufs of ordinary divisions.

By far the greater part of the Hindus are under the guidance of the Dasnami Sannyasis, but these are numerous, and no one has considerable influence. The same is the case with the teachers of the sect of Nanak, who have also numerous followers.

There are no considerable lakes (Bil); but there are many marshes, formed from the old channels of rivers. Some are of considerable length, but their width is comparatively small. Except near the town the country is very bare, and contains few trees or bamboos. The villages therefore are quite naked, and they are built compact. There is no forest, nor any wastes that harbour destructive animals.

Rani Indrawati, the chief proprietor in the district, had a brick house; but since her death it has gone to ruin. Dulal Chaudhuri, an active landlord, has a house becoming his station. Two new men who have purchased land in other divisions have decent houses in this, where they reside and still continue to trade.

The town of Puraniya, like Ronggopur, is very much scattered, and consists of various detached parts on both sides of the Saongra river, altogether occupying a space of about three miles square; but much is occupied by plantations, gardens, and open spaces, for the soil is so poor that it admits of little cultivation. On the east side of the river is the most compact and considerable portion of the town, called by various names, about which no two persons agree. This compact part, which may be called the town, consists of one wide and tolerably straight street, decently built and tiled and extending about half a mile from east to west. Many lanes pass from each side to two streets which run parallel to the principal one, but which are very irregular and ill-built, although some of the best houses are situated behind them, and have no entrance except through these miserable lanes. A short but good street runs north from the principal

street, towards its east end, and the whole is surrounded by thickets of trees and bamboos, among which are many huts and a few tolerable houses. At a little distance south, but on the same side of the river, is Abdullahnagar, which may be considered as a detached suburb. North from the town is another detached suburb called Miyabazar. On the opposite side of the Saongra is Maharajgunj, a large but poor suburb, which extends south to Rambag, a poor sandy plain, on which the houses of the Europeans have been built, where the courts of justice are situated and where the office of the Collector stands. The buildings there are very much inferior to those at Ronggopur, nor will the soil admit of their being ever neatly ornamented, while the marshy channels of the Saongra and Burhi-Kosi, between which Rambag is hemmed, render it a very unhealthy situation. The lines where the provincial corps is stationed are beyond the Burhi-Kosi, west from the residence of the Judge, and this a higher and better situation than Rambag; but the soil there is also wretched, and attendance on the courts, were they removed to that place, would be extremely inconvenient to the natives. The courts of justice and jail are very mean buildings, and the latter would afford very little opposition to the escape of the convicts, were they much disposed to quit their present employment. A wooden bridge built across the Saongra, to open a communication between Rambag and the eastern parts of the town, is the only public work of respectable magnitude.

The Darogah has established nine Chubuturahs or guards, in what he calls the town; but this extends much farther north than the space which I have admitted, and I have comprehended much that is little entitled to be considered in any other light than that of miserable country villages. Under the whole of these guards the Darogah estimates that there are 8,234 houses and 32,100 people; but of these, 2,698 houses and 9,951 people belong to villages that I consider as entirely in the country, leaving 5,536 houses and 22,149 people for the town, which at least contains nine square miles of extent. I am apt to think that the Darogah has greatly underrated the population;



but however that may be, we must form no idea of the population of Indian towns by comparing them with the extent of cities in Europe. This town, which occupies a space equal to more than a half of London, most assuredly does not contain 50,000 people, although it is one of the best country towns in Bengal. It is supposed to contain about 100 dwelling houses and 70 shops built entirely or in part of brick, and 200 that are roofed with tiles. Two of the houses are very respectable. One belongs to Baidyanath, formerly a merchant, but who now manages the principal estate in the district. The other belongs to Hasanreza, one of the sons of Muhummedreza, a Persian officer who quitted the army of Nader Shah in disgust and settled in Bengal. Besides these, about 30 of the houses belonging to natives are tolerable, and are occupied by merchants or possessors of free estates; for none of the zemindars frequent the town when a visit can possibly be avoided.

There are ten private places of worship among the Moslems, and five among the Hindus; for in the town the manners of the former sect prevail. The only public place of worship in the town, at all deserving notice, is a small mosque built by an Atiyajamal Khan. It is in tolerable repair, and a crier calls the people to prayer at the hours appointed by the prophet.

A good many tolerable roads made by the convicts lead to different parts of the town; but there is a great deficiency of bridges, although the one across the Saongra is by far the best that I have seen in the course of my journey.

Besides Puraniya; Bibigunj, Tamachgunj, Kusbah, Ekamba, Mathar, Ruzigunj, Bellouri or Gopalgunj, Burhidhanghatta, and Bashatthi are small towns in this division, and each may contain from 100 to 200 houses, except Kusba which contains 1,500. No remains of Moslem splendour are to be found near Puraniya although the son of the last Nawab remains on the spot, and has a decent house. Many tombs, where persons of the Nawabs' families were buried, remain at Mukbura-bag, about a mile north from the town. They have never been magnificent, and have become ruinous; but originally

they were probably neat, and becoming persons of rank. The largest is that of a wife of Asfundiyar Khan, who is called the great lady.

It is supposed that the whole of this division is situated in Mithila. The northern parts formerly belonged to Morang.

The only remains of times in any degree ancient that are to be found in this division are round Jivat Pukhar, a place of worship nine or ten miles north from the town. In Tirahut there formerly lived a very holy Maithila Brahman named Basanta, who was banished by the jealousy of the Raja then governing the country. This chief having been informed by an astrologer (Jyotish) that the Brahman would acquire immense riches, was perhaps naturally enough alarmed. He probably took care that none of his subjects had anything, and might therefore be allowed to suppose that the acquisitions of the Brahman would be at his expense. While the Brahman, on his journey, was sitting near the Kosi, part of the bank fell, and discovered a pot containing pigment for the eyes, that had been properly consecrated according to the rules of the Tantras. Having applied some of this, he immediately, as usual in such cases, became endowed with the faculty of discovering hidden treasure, which he accordingly accumulated to a vast amount, and then took up his abode near Puraniya. There he dug 72 tanks, among which was Jivat Pukhar, or the pool of life. This was formerly much frequented, but the Nawab Mahiyar having built a fortress near it, in order to secure the frontier from the attacks of the people of Morang, the Hindus have since, in a great measure, shunned the place, and no one now bathes in it except women who have been unfortunate in losing their children. This Raja Basant would appear to have been the chief proprietor of Serkar Puraniya, before it came into the possession of the family by which it was lately held.

In the Ichchhamati river, about five miles north-east from the Thanah, from one to two thousand people assemble annually to bathe on the 1st of Vaisakh.

In Chaitra many Moslems frequent the monument of Nabi Saheb, where there is a small building.



There is no other place of worship of the smallest note. The most common village deity is Kali.

## 2. THE DIVISION OF SAYEFGUNJ OR DANGRKHORA.

This is a large jurisdiction, and would be tolerably compact were not its eastern boundary inextricably mixed with all the adjacent divisions, so that even the one which bounds it on the south has a portion thrust beyond its north-east corner. The native officer of police formerly resided at Dangrkhora, in a situation tolerably central, although rather too far west and south; but he has since been removed to Sayefgunj, a place within a mile of the western extremity of his jurisdiction and near its south corner. He assigns as the cause for his removal that Dangrkhora was in the vicinity of a forest occupied by numerous destructive animals, such as elephants, buffaloes, deer and hogs, which I should have considered as a strong additional reason for his being fixed at that spot, where his exertions and those of his guard might have been some protection to the wretched inhabitants. From this original residence of the Darogah at Dangrkhora the division is often called by that name. The court for the trial of petty offences is at Hasangunj, about ten miles north from the residence of the Darogah, and still more inconveniently situated. The Kazi lives at Katiya, about two miles north from the office of police.

The western edge of the division is a poor naked sandy country, but is not subject to inundation. In this part of the country the villages are bare, and the huts are huddled together; but there are many plantations of mango trees. By far the greater part, towards the east, is exceedingly low but rich and well cultivated, although it suffers considerably from the depredations of wild animals, that are harboured in the wastes of the territory by which its southern side is bounded.

Three zemindars of an old family that now claims the succession to the chief part of the district, and one Moslem lady, reside. One of them has a brick house; the houses of the others are thatched, nor has anyone a private chapel built of brick. Sayefgunj,



including several adjacent hamlets, is a large miserable place containing about 400 houses, which are quite bare and overwhelmed with dust from old channels by which it is surrounded. Motipur, Mahadipur, Bhagawatpur, Kathari, Kusarhat, Arara, Muhammedgunj, Parsagarhi, and Nawabgunj are also places which may be called towns, each containing from 100 to 200 families.

The only Muhammedan place of worship that is attended is the monument of Bala Saiud Saheb, built about 200 years ago. He is supposed to have been a holy man, and both religions make offerings. A person who has charge (Mozouwor) burns a lamp, and has a small endowment.

An image of Priapus at Baradi, supposed to have come there of itself, attracts some notice, and about 5,000 people annually assemble to celebrate the feast of Sibaratri. The temple is a hut. At Jagannathpur is supposed to be a grave under a Pakar tree. No one pretends to know the person who was buried at the place, but about 2,000 people assemble annually on the birthday of Ram, and offer sacrifices of pigeons. On the 1st of Vaisakh from 1,000 to 1,200 people bathe in the Ichchhamati. At Kangpachandi is a pond called Jivat, in which many people bathe on the same day, especially women whose infant children have died. At Dangrkhora is a brick temple of Priapus, built by a Sannyasi about eight years ago. Although it has been endowed, few people attend, as no miracle is supposed to have accompanied its foundation. For a similar reason a brick temple (Mandir) of Gopal has attracted no more attention. The Hindus in spirituals are chiefly under the guidance of the Dasnami Sannyasi.

It is generally admitted that this division is in Maithila.

In the eastern part of this district is said to be a tower (Deul) of brick, fifty or sixty feet high and twenty feet square, with a stair in the middle. It is said to have been built by a Barandra Brahman named Mahindra, in order to have a pleasant view of the country from its top. No one can tell anything of the history of this personage. I was assured that the building contains no inscription, and therefore did



not think it worth while to visit it, having not heard of it while in its vicinity.

Basant Raja, of whom I made mention in the account of Haveli Puraniya, had a house here also, at Baharampur, and is supposed to have been the proprietor of all the adjacent territory.

### 3. THE DIVISION OF GONDWARA.

This is a very large territory, but it is tolerably compact and the native officers reside in a convenient situation. The greater part of the Hindus are under the guidance of the Sannyasis called Dasnamis; next to these, thirteen disciples of Nanak Guru have the most numerous flocks. The Goswamis have very few adherents, but the whole are under one man of the sect (Bhav) of Radhaballabhi.

No proprietor of assessed lands resides, but one proprietor of a free estate, Hoseynreza, son of the Muhammedreza whom I lately mentioned, lives at Kangrhagola in a manner becoming a gentleman. Besides a decent dwelling-house of brick, he has a mosque, a Taziyakhanah and Imamvari for celebrating the memory of the sons of Ali, and a place where he entertains European travellers: for he extends his hospitality to Europeans and Hindus as well as to the faithful. He seemed to be a man of gentlemanlike manners; but he has involved himself in great pecuniary difficulties by this liberality, if squandering money on the promiscuous entertainment of every vagrant that chooses to apply can be dignified with such a name. Besides this, there are two houses belonging to natives that are built of brick.

The villages are in general very bare, and the huts are huddled together without gardens or trees, but the country is overwhelmed with plantations of mango, in general totally neglected. Bamboos are scarce, but the country in some parts is adorned with scattered palms (*Borassus* and *Elate*), which are very stately and beautiful. A great extent of this division is overgrown with reeds and stunted Hijal trees, that protect numerous herds of wild buffaloes, hogs, and deer, and to which a few wild elephants resort. These animals are gaining ground on the people, and the numerous

plantations that have been deserted are daily giving additional shelter to these enemies of mankind.

Gondwara, the capital, is a large but scattered and wretched place, containing however three market-places and perhaps 250 houses, but they are separated by waste spaces that are overgrown with trees and bushes, totally wild and uncultivated. Kangrhagola is also a small town, is close built, and may contain 200 houses. Kantanagar is the largest place, and contains about 700 houses. Bhawanipur contains 200 houses.

Although the religious buildings of Kangrhagola above mentioned are the only ones belonging to the Moslems which deserve the smallest notice from their architecture, they are little valued by the faithful, and there are several others which, although less amply endowed, are beheld with great veneration. At Gondwara a certain Brahman was converted to the faith in Mahummud, and took the name of Aladud Khan. When he was buried, it is alleged by the person (Mozouwor) who manages the lands belonging to the tomb, that flowers fell on it from heaven, nor is the fact disputed by any of his neighbours, Hindu or Moslem, several of whom have equal claims on the faith of the public, and very prudently do not attack the veracity of their friends.

The army of Hoseyn Shah having come to Gondwara, and being in great distress both for food and drink, applied to two holy men of the place who, although they had dedicated their whole lives to religion, were but indifferently provided with worldly effects. Nezam Shah Chandan had only one pot containing some pease, from which he began to distribute, and it so happened that he continued pouring from it until the whole army, man and beast, was satiated. Shah Pani with one pitcher of water was equally successful in quenching the thirst of this mighty host. The king seems to have dealt rather partially towards these two men, as the former received only ten bigahs of land, while the latter has procured no less than 334.

About five coses north and west from Gondwara is a monument of Pir Mugan, near the bank of the



Kosi. The building has been inconsiderable and is ruinous, although the keeper (Mozouwor) has 300 bigahs of land for its support. Near it are many (perhaps thirty) large stones, which would not appear to have ever belonged to the tomb; nor is it known how they came to the place.

The principal public worship of the Hindus is performed at three places on the Kosi, where from five to ten thousand people assemble to bathe on the full moon in the month Paush.

On the day called Dasahara, in the month of Aswin, there are several assemblies of people, but the only one at all remarkable is at Phulwari, about two miles east from Gondwara. From two to three thousand people assemble there annually, and in two huts at the place there are Linggas, one of which is much venerated, as it is supposed to have placed itself there without human assistance, on which account the priest, who is a Brahman, has an endowment of fifteen bigahs.

On the 1st of Vaisakh many children of weavers, who have been taught to dance and sing, perform the dance Ghangto by the side of a marsh at Bangunj. - About 1,000 people assemble to view the sport.

A Brahman of Bhawanipur has an endowment of twenty-five bigahs for supporting the worship of the Goddess of Love (Kamakhya or Kamaksha), and many votaries offer goats. The Brahman wisely considers that the deity can be alone pleased by the pious intention of the votary; the temple therefore has disappeared, and its place is supplied by a Banyan tree.

The Goddess of Love is the most common village deity.

There is a petty ruinous mud fort built by Vir Singha, a refractory zemindar, who not long ago seized on some lands. To the westward such practices were common; but to the eastward they have been little known.

The people whom I consulted did not know whether or not this belonged to Mithila.

## 4. THE DIVISION OF DHAMDHA.

This is an enormous jurisdiction extending about sixty miles from north to south, and the whole very populous. At both extremities it runs out into narrow projections, which might be more conveniently superintended by the Darogahs of the adjacent divisions, were not their jurisdictions already too extensive. It includes a small detached portion of Dimiya, situated at a great distance from the place where the Darogah of that division resides. The capital is exactly at one boundary of the district, but nearly about its middle in respect to length, and the width is nowhere so great as to render the present situation inconvenient; but were some two of the small divisions towards the south-east united, the two enormous divisions west from the Kosi might without additional expense be reduced to a more moderate size, and Bhawanipur, Virnagar, and Kusabar would be places very convenient for the residence of the public officers; for although Dhamdaha and Nathpur are very large, neither is conveniently situated, and the latter in particular is placed too far from the frontier of the dominions of Gorkha, which require a constant and vigilant attention.

In this immense and populous territory there is no dwelling house of brick, but one shop is built in that manner, and one Moslem and three Hindus have private places of worship composed of the same material. Dhamdaha, the capital, is a large place, consisting of huts close-huddled together on the two sides of a small channel, which in the fair season is dry, and falls into the Kosi a little from the town. It consists of two market-places, which are surrounded by about 1,300 houses. Bhawanipur, including Mahadipur, which is adjacent, contains 500 houses. Virnagar is a place of some trade and contains about 250 houses, while it is surrounded at no great distance by Azimgunj, containing 50 houses; Maharajgunj, containing 100 houses; and by Sibgunj and Nawalgunj, in the division of Dimiya, containing about 200 houses; all market-places, some of which have a good deal of trade. Besides these three places, Belagunj, Maldiha, Bhawanipur, Aligunj, Dharraha, Rampurpariyat,



Pharsun, and Barraha are small towns containing each from 100 to 240 families.

The huts of the villages are very naked and are huddled close together, but there are vast plantations of mangoes, with some bamboos and a few palms. Several of the plantations have in a great measure run into a wild state, and together with several natural woods and the bushy banks of the Kosi, harbour many destructive animals. The only natural woods of any size are at Janakinagar, which is said to be four miles long and two wide; and at Aurahi, which is said to be eight miles long and from two to three wide. These are high and contain a variety of trees, as is the case with some which are smaller and inconsiderable.

The Hindus in spirituals are under the same guidance as in Gondwara. Among the Hindus the Kosi is the chief place of public worship, and at the full moon of Paush almost every creature assembles to bathe. The whole is reckoned equally sacred; but the people, not to hide their light in a bushel, generally assemble in large companies at places where they can be most conveniently supplied with provisions, and where the stream approaches the bank. A small temple called Janakiballabh, although only built 100 years ago, has acquired some celebrity. The priest, a Maithila Brahman, has procured a whole village for its support, and about 1,000 people assemble on the ninth day of the lunar month Chaitra, on which day Ram was born.

At Bhawanipur the Moslems have a small mosque, built by the Nawab Asfundiya Khan, and provided with an endowment.

Twelve tombs have been erected over the Moslems who were killed in an engagement at Saiudgunj, which was fought with the refractory zemindar mentioned in the account of Gondwara. 1,200 bigahs were appropriated to burn lamps, and to support pious persons to pray for their repose.

The common deities of the villages are Beshahari Sahal, Bhim and Rahu.

At Virnagar the above-mentioned refractory zemindar built a mud fort containing about seventy bigahs, and it was his chief place of residence; but

the only antiquity at all remarkable is at Sikligar, about four miles from Dhamdaha, on the east side of the Hiran river. There I found the traces of a square fort, each side of which, measuring on the outside of the ditch, is about 700 yards in length. In each side there may be observed traces of a gate, defended as usual by large outworks. The ditches on the south and east sides have been obliterated. On the north and west there appear to have been two ditches, separated from each other by an outer rampart of earth. The inner rampart has been both high and thick, and from the number of bricks which it contains has probably been faced with that material, although I saw no wall remaining, but it is thickly overgrown with bushes. The space within the rampart is occupied by fields and mango groves, in one of which a Fakir has placed the monument of a saint. Bricks thickly scattered over the surface, and rising into several considerable heaps now half converted into soil, show that the buildings must have been of a respectable size.

About 400 yards from the north-west corner of the fort is a heap of bricks, which is of a size sufficient to allow us to suppose that it may have been a considerable temple. In a grove at its east side is a stone pillar standing erect. About nine feet of the pillar are above the ground, and it is a rude cylinder of about eleven feet in circumference. In its upper end is a cylindrical hole descending perpendicularly, and about six inches in diameter. This was probably intended to contain the stem by which some ornament of iron was supported. The pillar is called Manik-Tham. The people of the neighbouring village had absolutely no tradition concerning the persons who had either erected the fortress or temple, but paid a sort of worship to the stone. It would be difficult to say whether these works are Moslem or Hindu, as Manik-Tham signifies the pillar of a legendary jewel now never seen, and which is equally celebrated among both people. Sikligar is however a Hindi word signifying the Chain fortress. An old road may be traced for some way leading south from the fort.

It is generally admitted that this division forms a part of Mithila.



## 5. THE DIVISION OF DIMIYA.

In the account of the preceding division I have mentioned the disadvantage that attends this. One proprietor of a large assessed estate and several who have considerable estates free from revenue, reside, but none of them have brick houses, although by the exertions of Mr. Smith, a merchant of Nathpur, the native traders of that place have built several that are very comfortable. In the whole division are eight brick houses built after the fashion of this country, and eighty-seven of a structure somewhat intermediate between that of Europe and Nepal.

The town of Nathpur consists of the following market-places:—First, Nathpur proper, in which the office for collecting the rents of the zemindar is placed, contains about 480 houses. Second, Rampur, in which the native officers hold their courts, contains about 425 houses. Third, Rajgunj contains about 300 houses. Fourth, Sahebgunj or Hanumangunj contains about 400 houses, among which are most of those built of brick and covered with tiles by workmen from Nepal. These villages, although they must be considered as forming one town, are as usual in Bengal a good deal scattered. By the care of the same gentleman, roads conducting through these villages and opening communications with the neighbouring country have been formed, and several of the streets are wide, straight, and regular. In fact, the exertions of this worthy individual have produced as good effects as those of most magistrates in the country, although these have been assisted by the labour of numerous convicts, and by the exertions of those wealthy and powerful individuals whom business necessarily compels to a frequent residence near the courts of justice. The principal disadvantage under which Nathpur labours is that in the dry season very extensive sands lie between it and the navigable stream of the Kosi, so that goods have to be carried on carts to and from the boats at Dimiyaghat, about five miles from Sahebgunj where the principal merchants reside.

The only other places that can be called towns are Kusahar, Ranigunj, Muhammedgunj, Nawalgunj and Motipur, each of which contains from 100 to 200

houses. The appearance of the villages and plantations are similar to those in Dhamdaha, only there are fewer bamboos and palms. The same kinds of woods exist but not to such an extent, they having been a good deal reduced by the activity of some emigrants from Morang.

In spirituals the Hindus are mostly under the guidance of the Dasnami-Sannyasi, and of Sangyogis of the sect of Nanak. The former have the greatest influence.

Two neat small mosques have been lately built near Nathpur, one by a merchant, another by an old dancing girl; but there is no place which the Moslems consider as uncommonly holy. The monument of Mahabub Sobhani near Nathpur is the most celebrated. It has a Fakir, provided with a small endowment, and about 500 people assemble annually to celebrate the festival of the saint.

The best Hindu temple is one of Hanuman at Sahebgunj. It is in excellent order, but is not large and has no celebrity. The same is the case with a Math containing a Lingga, and built by a merchant after the fashion of a Mosque. Except the Kosi, where vast numbers bathe on the full moon of Paush, the only object which the Hindus worship in great numbers is a small image of Kangkali. It formerly stood in a small temple of brick, which was much frequented by all persons high and low. About two years ago a female religious mendicant (Avadhautini) removed it by stealth to Morang, and from thence to Darbhanga. While she was there, making a good living by her booty, it was stolen from her by a low woman (Gungrhini) of this division, who brought it back, to the infinite joy of the people. It has no endowment, but a Brahman Pujari attends and receives many offerings. The Goddess prefers a hut to her old residence of brick. The most common village god is Karnadev, a former chief of the vicinity, together with his three brothers, Raja Bhimsen, Sahal the porter of the latter, Hanuman and Rahu.

The whole of this division is reckoned in Mithila. A considerable part belonged to the Morang Rajas, and was taken from them by the Nawabs of Puraniya.



✓The most remarkable antiquity is the line of fortifications running through the north-west corner of this district for about twenty miles. It is called Majurnikhata, or dug by hired men, although by far the greater part of the natives attribute its formation to a different cause. They differ however considerably in their account, some alleging that it was made by a god (Devata), while others give the honour to a devil (Rakshas). It is only a few that support the opinion which I have adopted of its being the work of man. I traced it from the boundary of Gorkha to that of Tirahut, at which it terminates; but all the natives agree that it reaches to the bank of the Tiljuga, a river which comes from the west to join the Kosi. They say that on a hill overhanging the river there was a fort of stone, from whence the works ran south. Mr. Smith has not seen the fort, although he has visited the place, but he had not previously heard of it. He also observed that the line extends north from the Tiljuga. Where the Majurnikhata enters the Company's territories, it is a very high and broad rampart of earth, with a ditch on its west side. The counter-scarp is wide, but at the distance of every bow-shot has been strengthened by square projections reaching the edge of the ditch. The whole runs in an irregular zig-zag direction, for which it would be difficult to account. Farther south, the width and dimensions of both rampart and ditch diminish, nor can any of the flanking projections be traced. For the last mile it consists merely of a few irregular heaps clustered together, apparently just as if the workmen had suddenly deserted it when they had collected only a small part of the materials by digging them from the ditch and throwing them from their baskets.✓

On the east side of the Majurnikhata, about one mile and a half from the boundary of Nepal, is a ruin called Samdadahar, attributed to the family of Karnadev, and said to have been a house of one of the four brothers. It consists of a large heap of earth and bricks, about 380 feet from east to west, which rises high at each end, so that the wings have been higher than the centre of the building. In the western wing has been made a deep excavation, which has laid open a chamber. The wall of this, towards the centre,

is entire, and contains a door of plain brick-work without any ornament or trace of plaster. At the end of the east wing is a small shed containing some stones, which the natives call the seat of Karnadev. The stones have evidently been parts of doors or windows very rudely carved. South from each wing is a small tank, and these, together with the intermediate space, have evidently been surrounded with buildings of brick, although not so massy as in the large heap first mentioned. The most considerable is on the north side of the eastern tank, where there is a large heap of bricks called the Kotwali or Guard. South from the western tank is a long cavity, seemingly the remains of a canal, but it does not communicate with the tank.

About five miles south-west from Samdadahar is another ruin attributed to the same family, and called Karjain. It is about two miles west from Majurnikhata, and near it are several pools of considerable extent, said to have been formed by the brick-makers employed at the works. If this be the case, the buildings must have been very large, as the ponds seem to occupy six or seven acres, and even now are seven or eight feet deep. The space said to have been occupied by the buildings extends about 500 yards from east to west, and 700 from north to south. In some places, especially on the west side, there are evident remains of a ditch. No traces of a rampart can be discovered, nor does there remain any great heap of bricks. There are however many elevations, and the soil contains, or rather consists of small fragments of brick. It is therefore probable that most of the entire bricks have been removed, in doing which the ruins have been nearly levelled. From the recent appearance of several excavations, it would appear that the people have lately been digging for bricks. Within the fort has been one small tank, and on its west side there have been two.

From this ruin to another named Dharhara, and attributed to the same family, is about nine miles in a westerly direction. At Dharhara, north from the villages, is a small square mud fort, containing perhaps three acres. At each corner it has had a square bastion, and another in the middle of each



face except towards the west. Near the centre of that face, at a little distance within the rampart, is a high mound of earth like a cavalier, which seems to have been intended for a gun to command the whole. On the east side of the village is a very small fort containing scarcely a rood, but at each angle it has a kind of bastion. South from that is a small tank extending from east to west. At its west end is a heap of bricks covered with grass, which has evidently been a hollow building, as by the falling of the roof a cavity has been formed in the summit. In this cavity are five stones; four appear to have been parts of doors and windows; one resembles a large phallus, and by the natives is considered as such. South from thence is a high space of land, on which there are two very considerable heaps of bricks covered with soil. Near this there are several tanks extending from north to south, but some of them are evidently quite modern. The whole of these works are attributed to Karnadev, but he and his brothers are the usual village gods; and the two forts, from their similarity to those erected by the Moslems on the frontier of Vihar a very short time ago, are evidently of modern date. The temple and heaps of bricks have the appearance of much greater antiquity, and may be what the natives allege.

#### 6. THE DIVISION OF MATIYARI.

This large jurisdiction is of a very irregular form, a projection about twelve miles long and three wide extending at right angles from its north-east corner, and being hemmed in between Arariya and the dominions of Gorkha. Neither is the residence of the native officers near the centre of the mass of their jurisdiction. The late Rani Indrawati, the principal proprietor in the district, usually resided in this division and had a brick house, which with the adjacent buildings occupied a considerable space, but it never was a habitation becoming the immense fortune which the lady possessed. During the disputes which have taken place about the succession, the buildings have been allowed to fall into ruin. No other dwelling-house of brick has been erected.

Matiyari, the capital of the division, is a poor town containing about 125 houses. The best town is on the bank of the Kosi, and consists of two adjoining market-places, Devigunj and Garhiya, which may contain 200 houses, and carry on a brisk trade. Banka, on the frontier of Morang, contains about 100 houses. Kursakata contains above 250 houses, but is not a place of so much stir as Devigunj. Near Hengnahat is another large but dull place, which contains 400 houses, as is also the case with Ranigunj; Kharsayi contains 200 houses.

Except on the islands of the Kosi, which are covered with tamarisks, this division is very well cleared; but its northern frontier suffers from the depredations of the animals fostered in the territory of Gorkha. The northern parts of the division are very bare of plantations, and both bamboos and mangoes are scarce. In the southern extremity a vast deal is wasted in plantations of the latter. In the villages the huts are huddled close together.

The only place of Moslem worship is the Durgah of a saint, which is the property of a Fakir who has a small endowment. This monument is placed on the side of a tank which, from its greatest length being from north to south, is a Hindu work. The chief celebrity of the place arises from its being inhabited by a crocodile, who is considered as the same with the saint; and he is accompanied by a smaller, which is supposed to be the saint's wife. On the 1st of Vaisakh about 5,000 people of all sects assemble to make offerings to these monsters, which are then so glutted with kids and fowls that the multitude surround them without danger. At other times the supplies are casual; and sometimes the animals become so voracious, that they occasionally carry away young buffaloes which come for drink. This year, as a man was attempting to drive out a young buffalo that had imprudently gone into the water, he was carried down and devoured. The natives, far from being irritated at this, believed that the unfortunate man had been a dreadful sinner, and that his death was performed by the saint merely as a punishment. Were twenty accidents of the kind to happen, they would consider it as highly improper to give the sacred animals any



molestation. I went to view them in company with a Brahman of very considerable endowments, and by far the best informed person in the vicinity. I took with me a kid, the cries of which I was told would bring out the crocodiles. As I found the saint and his wife extended on the shore, where notwithstanding the multitude they lay very quietly, and as the kid made a most lamentable noise, I was moved to compassion and directed it to be removed. This not only disappointed the multitude, but the Brahman said that such a proceeding was very unlucky, and that the neglect shown to the saint might afterwards produce very bad consequences. The claims of the kid however seemed most urgent, and the people appeared to be satisfied by my observing that I alone could suffer from the neglect, as the piety of their intentions was indubitable.

The Hindus here seem to be more than usually indifferent concerning the objects which they worship; and several places recently and avowedly built by mere men attract as much notice as, in other parts, would be given to those of which the foundation had been accompanied by events that in some countries would be considered as extraordinary.

The Kausiki, as usual, is a place of great resort on the full moon of Paush, and about 15,000 people generally assemble then and bathe at Kausikipur. Dulal Chaudhuri, a zemindar now alive, has built a hall for the reception of some idols of Ram, Lakshman, Sita and Hanuman, and 5,000 people assemble to celebrate the birthday of the first-mentioned deity.

At Prasadpur the late Rani Indrawati built a temple of Priapus, in form of a Pangcharatna, and 1,000 people assemble on the day consecrated to the worship of the great god (Mahadev).

The spiritual guide of two merchants has lately built a temple of the same deity, which is as well attended. Nandalal, Dewan of the Nawab Sayef Khan, built another, but its votaries do not exceed a half of those who attend the others.

The most common village deity is a female spirit named Deha Varuni, but many worship male gods, such as Karnadev, already mentioned, Bhimsen, Ramanath Thakur, Dukhacharya and Latihar.

In spirituals the Hindus are chiefly under the guidance of the Dasnami-Sannyasis.

The monuments of antiquity are very trifling, and consist of seven or eight inconsiderable mud forts, concerning the founders of which I found no one who had the slightest tradition. The most remarkable are Benugarhi, Asurigarhi, and Danakrajgarhi. The first and last are named after two deified princes of Morang. The other is probably named after some other, who was an infidel, as indeed the whole would appear to have been.

The whole of this division formerly belonged to Morang. The people whom I consulted had no tradition concerning its ancient designation.

#### 7. THE DIVISION OF ARARIYA.

This is a large compact jurisdiction and its officers reside in a place that is convenient for all parties. It is very thoroughly cleared of all thickets that harbour wild animals; but the face of the country is bare, and the number of plantations is comparatively inconsiderable; bamboos are therefore scarce. The huts in the villages are huddled close together. No zemindar resides. One merchant had a house of brick, but it is in ruins. The agent of a zemindar has his house surrounded by a brick wall. A well lined with brick, and between seven and eight cubits in diameter, is by the natives considered as a respectable public work, and the founder's name is celebrated.

Arariya for this country is rather a good town, its principal street being somewhat straight and close built, and in some places so wide that two carts can pass. It is also adorned with two or three flower gardens, a luxury that in this part is very rare. It contains about 250 houses. No other place in the division can be called a town.

The Moslems have no place of worship at all remarkable. A small mosque, built by a servant (Mirdha) of Nandalal, has gone to ruin.

Nandalal built several temples. At Madanpur he erected two (Maths) in honour of Sib. The one Priapus is called Madaneswar and the other Bhairav. Their sanctity was discovered in a dream, and at the



festival (Sibaratri) from ten to twelve thousand people assemble, and remain ten or twelve days. The temple of Madaneswar is twenty-two cubits long, and its priest (a Sannyasi Pujari) has an endowment of fifty bigahs. The same person erected at Barol a hall (Dalan) for the images of Ram, Lakshman, Sita, and Hanuman, which he is said to have discovered by accident in digging the earth, and he settled a similar endowment on the religious person (Ramayit) to whom the care of the images was given; but not above 1,000 people assemble to celebrate the birthday of Ram.

A few villages have Kali for their tutelar deity; but by far the greatest part is divided among Dehar Varuni, a female, and Jasuya, Raja Sahasmal, and Jasangchar, who are males.

The Hindus in spirituals are chiefly under the guidance of the Dasnami-Sannyasis.

The only building of considerable antiquity is a small fort, four coses north from the Thanah. It is said to have been built by the above deity Raja Sahasmal, who was brother of Benu, once king of the country. I was assured that it contained nothing remarkable except a heap of bricks, and that its extent did not exceed twenty bigahs. As I had seen another fort of the same family which answered to the description given, I thought it unnecessary to visit this.

Nandalal erected several mud forts, but these are quite modern, and totally insignificant.

This division is said to have formed a part of Mithila, and was all included in the Hindu principality of Morang.

## 8. THE DIVISION OF BAHADURGUNJ.

This enormous jurisdiction has a frontier, towards the dangerous neighbourhood of Gorkha, of above forty-five miles in a direct line. One-half of this is in a narrow tongue, hemmed in between Morang and Udhraïl, and it has been so contrived that in its turn this tongue should hem in another belonging to Udhraïl, between it, Ronggopur, and Morang; all of which circumstances facilitate the depredations of robbers. The north-east corner of this division is reckoned nineteen coses and the north-west corner

fourteen coses, road distance, from the residence of the native officer of police, while other jurisdictions are within four or five miles.

In spirituals the Hindus are mostly under the guidance of the Goswamis. The Santipur and Gayes-pur families have nearly equal influence. The Dasnamis and Nanaks have some followers, but not many.

This is not only a very extensive, but a very rich and populous district. Except on the immediate frontier of Morang it is highly cultivated, so as to harbour few or no destructive animals. The soil is so free that few ploughs require iron. It is badly wooded, and like Ronggopur its plantations consist chiefly of bamboos; but these not disposed so as to shelter the huts, as in that district; on the contrary the huts are quite naked, but they are surrounded by little kitchen gardens, which is seldom the case to the eastward. Along the frontier of Morang runs a chain of woods, about a mile wide, but in many parts now cleared. These woods contain a variety of stunted trees, with many reeds.

There are two respectable dwelling-houses; one belonging to Subhkaran Singha, a zemindar, and the other to Rameswardas, who has made a fortune by managing the estates of others. Both have large buildings of brick, with gardens, plantations, and several thatched but neat and comfortable houses for the accommodation of their numerous attendants, and of the vagrants on whom they bestow entertainment; but Subhkaran Singha lives himself in a thatched house, and it is only his household deity that is accommodated in brick. Two free estates are of respectable size, one belonging to a Moslem saint, the other to a Brahman; but neither indulges himself in a house of a dimension suitable to his rank, although each has a small chapel of brick, as is also the case with a merchant.

Bahadurgunj, where the officers of government reside, is a very poor place, and does not contain above seventy houses, nor is there any place in the division that can be called a town.

In this division there are several antiquities of some curiosity, although splendour cannot be expected.



The fort of Benu Raja, the brother of Sahasmal, who is worshipped in Arariya, stands here, about seven or eight miles from Bahadurgunj, between the Kamal and Ratoya rivers. The ruin consists of a rampart about 600 yards square, which contains so many broken bricks that it has probably been once a very high and thick brick wall. In some parts there are traces of a ditch; but in many places this has been entirely obliterated, which is a proof of very considerable antiquity. Within there are no remains of buildings, except many fragments of bricks scattered over the fields. It is probable that there have been buildings which have been entirely obliterated by those who removed the entire bricks. It contains a small tank, to which a small assembly resort on the 1st of Vaisakh, in order to celebrate the memory of the prince.

South from Bahadurgunj about five miles, I visited another ruin, said to have belonged to the same family, and called the house of Barijan, who was a brother of Benu and of Raja Sahasmal. The fourth brother is said to have been called Bal Raja, and his house was seven coses north and west from Bahadurgunj. It is said to be about the size of the fort of Sahasmal, and he also is an object of worship. It is universally admitted that these persons were Domkata Brahmans. Few pretend to know when they lived; but some place them immediately after Virat Raja, the contemporary of Yudhishtir. The ruins of the house of Barijan consist of eight heaps disposed very irregularly, and at very different distances. Four extend nearly in a line from north to south, and four in a curve from east to west. The extent in the former direction may be between five and six hundred yards, and from east to west somewhat more. The space between and near the heaps contains many scattered bricks. The heaps have all been opened to the very foundation, and the entire bricks have been removed, so that the heaps consist only of broken fragments, mixed with earth. At one of them, however, are three stones. One is a rude irregular block. Another contains some rude mouldings, and an ogee, and seems to have been part of an entablature. The third has been the lintel of a wide door, and is rudely

carved with an escutcheon in the centre, containing a figure of Ganes. Near the heaps are several small tanks.

About twelve miles north and east from Bahadurgunj is said to be a fort not so large as Benugarhi, but it is said to contain some stones, among which is an image of Nanakana the founder, which is still worshipped. He is said to have been a religious Hindu; but nothing further is related of his history.

After the Muhammadan conquest above twenty small mud forts were erected, chiefly by Nandalal.

The only place of worship remarkable among the Muhammadans is Saiud Pokhar, a tank containing about twenty bigahs, and situated ten coses north-west from Bahadurgunj. It contains some fish which are considered sacred, and bathing in it is believed to be efficacious in curing agues. At Rasulgungj is the monument of a saint, which has a very respectable endowment of about 3,000 acres.

The Hindus have no place of worship at all remarkable, and are exceedingly divided in the deities which protect the villages, almost each of which has a different one, with names uncouth and barbarous, such as Singhanath, Dudhkumar, Banvagh, etc., etc. The people say that there may be about 500 such personages who are worshipped in this division.

The whole of this belonged to the principality of Morang, but I met with no one who pretended to know any more ancient designation. The manners of the people in general resemble more those of Matsya than those of Mithila.

## 9. THE DIVISION OF UDHRAIL.

This is a large and populous jurisdiction; but as I have mentioned in my account of the last, is not well contrived. By annexing to it the long tongue which belongs to Bahadurgunj, and by removing the courts to the banks of the Mahananda, the Darogah would be enabled more easily to watch the frontier of Morang.

The appearance of this division and its villages much resembles those of Bahadurgunj, although it is not quite so fertile. Its soil is equally friable, and no iron is required in the plough. Its plantations



consist mostly of bamboos, with a few betel-nut palms intermixed. Near the river Dangk there are a few small woods. In the whole division there is no house of brick, and only one man, a Moslem, has a private chapel of that material.

There is no place of worship of the least celebrity. The village deities are Kali, Bishahari and Raja Kurila. In spirituals almost all the Hindus are subject to Atalvihari, who lives in Gaur.

Four Rajas, Konar, Chobra, Nanhar, and Udhraail, are said to have governed this country before the dynasty that possessed Morang. The people point out tanks dug by these persons, but do not pretend to say of what caste they were, nor whether they belonged to the same family. The names are said to be barbarous, and may have belonged to some of the Kichak who overran this part of the country.

In my account of Ronggopur I have mentioned that Hoseyn Shah, king of Gaur, was born in the division of Boda. Immediately on the borders of that territory, but on this side of the Karatoya, is shown a fort called Gangarigar, which is said to have been built by the mother of that prince.

At Haldivari is a small mud fort, built by the Moslems after the reduction of the country, which is a part of the last acquisition that the Moguls gained from Morang towards the end of the 17th century. I could not learn from the people here any designation that the country previously possessed; but the manners of the people resemble those of Matsya.

Udhraail, where the native officers reside, is a scattered place, containing three markets and perhaps 100 houses. Ranigunj, where the Commercial Resident at Maldeh has an agent, is a small town with 150 houses. Kaligunj, where the Commercial Resident at Patna has an agent for the purchase of sackcloth bags, is a very thriving but small town, not containing above seventy houses.

#### 10. THE DIVISION OF KRISHNAGUNJ.

This is a large, compact, and populous jurisdiction and the residence of the native officer is conveniently situated. The country much resembles the last division, the plantations consisting mostly of

bamboos, with a few betel-nut palms intermixed; but there are no woods, and the villages are more sheltered, the gardens containing many plantain trees and the bamboos being more intermixed, so that the country has more the appearance of Bengal than is seen towards the west. There are two houses belonging to two brothers of the same family, which possess a very large estate; both contain some buildings of brick; but they are very sorry places, and not becoming persons of a respectable station.

The Muhammadans have a mosque of some size, which is built at Mahinganj, where some time before the conquest there lived a holy female named Akbur Bibi, who was of the orders of Fakirs.

The Hindus have no place of religious worship of the least celebrity. The most usual village deities are Maharaj, Masan, Singhanath, and Golab Ray. In spirituals they are much divided. About equal numbers are under the guidance of Atalvihari, of the Dasnami-Sannyasis, and of Nanak Guru.

There is a small fort a little north from Krishnagunj on the east side of the river. It is said to have been built by the Morang Rajas. ✓

Krishnagunj, where the native officers reside, is a poor place; but it is situated between two market-places. The one to the west is by the natives called Line-bazar, as containing the military cantonment. The officers' houses are all thatched, but are neat and comfortable, and the parade is very fine, being at all seasons dry and firm. The hospital is exceedingly comfortable. Besides the military there may be 500 houses. The market east from Krishnagunj is called Kotubgunj, is situated on the opposite side of the river, and contains about 600 houses.

Khagra is for Bengal a neat small town and contains about 125 houses. Kharkhari is rather larger, as is also Dhantola.

The whole is said to have been in the principality of Morang. I could not learn from the people any anterior designation that it may have had.

#### 11. THE DIVISION OF DULALGUNJ.

This is a very fertile jurisdiction, and is of a moderate size, nearly of a triangular shape. The



native officers reside in a convenient situation. It is tolerably compact, except that some portions of other jurisdictions pass across the rivers, which in most parts form the boundaries.

This is the residence of three possessors of assessed estates, but the property of one is in the Dinajpur district. Part of each family is accommodated in buildings of brick. Two Fakirs and a farmer have brick mosques as private places of worship. Three families have Mandirs dedicated to Sib.

At Nehnagar, in a wood, is a Durgah dedicated to Mukhdum Shah, which is the only place of public worship of any sort of celebrity that the Moslems possess. The Hindus have none. Kali is the usual deity of the villages. In spirituals the greater part of the Hindus are divided between Atalvihari and the Dasnami Sannyasis.

This part of the country is acknowledged to be in Matsya, and a ruin is pointed out as having been the house of Kichak. It is usually called the Asura Gar, or house of the Infidel, and in general the natives do not pretend to know who this personage was. Some intelligent people, however, as I have said, allege that this infidel was no other than Kichak, the brother-in-law of Virat the Raja of Matsya, and this is in some measure confirmed by its having been said in Dinajpur that the neighbouring parts of that district belonged to this personage. The Pandit of the mission is however unwilling to admit that Kichak was an Asur, and supposes it more probable that the fort belonged to some of the infidel chiefs of the mountains, who are known to have made an irruption into this part of the country. The people here also allege that Matsya extended all the way to the Kosi; but that must refer to the situation of the country when the Kosi came east from its entrance into the plains of Tajpur, and its left bank would then be nearly the south boundary of the Kirats; or Kichak Virat may very probably have married a sister of the prince of that country, as in early times it is generally admitted that there was no restriction to prevent men of rank from marrying low women. It is also said that in the low country now subject to the Gorkha there is a large wood called Kichak-jhar, in which

Kichak Raja had a fortress built of stone; but several persons who have gone there with herds of cattle tell me that although they know this wood, they never observed any such ruins.

Asurgar is about four miles from Dulalgunj, at a little distance east from [the] Mahananda, but on the side of a large channel, through which in all probability that river once flowed. What is called the Gar is a space of irregular form, and about 1,200 yards in circumference. It rises suddenly from the surrounding plain to a height of ten or twelve feet, so that on approaching it I thought that it was the rampart of a fort; but on ascending, I perceived that within there was no hollow space, and that in some places the surface within rose into little eminences or heaps. Only at one side there was a small cavity, which was separated from the outer plain by a mound like a rampart. This has all the appearance of having been a tank, although it is now dry. I then conjectured that this eminence was a natural elevation; but on going to the residence of a Fakir, which occupies the centre of the area, I was informed that adjacent to his premises a small tank had been lately dug to the depth of fourteen cubits. After passing a thin soil, the workmen found ruins of many small chambers and halls filled with bricks; I was also informed that openings have been made in several places in order to procure materials for building, and everywhere similar appearances were found. I therefore conclude that this has been a very large building, probably consisting of many courts surrounded by apartments. The people on the spot said that some hundred years ago the place was covered with trees, and that no Hindu would venture to live on it, lest Asur Dev should be offended. At length a Moslem saint came, killed a cow, and took possession, which his descendants retain. They have cleared and cultivated the whole, have erected decent buildings, and enjoy considerable reputation. The Hindus come occasionally to the hollow place before-mentioned, and make offerings to Asur Dev. The Moslems on the contrary venerate the intrepid saint by whom the ruin was cleared, and about 1,500 of the faithful assemble, after the fair of Nekmurud, to celebrate his memory.



At Kangjiya Aonglai, about twelve miles road distance from Dulalgunj, and on the bank of the Kankayi, is said to have resided Kungjavihari, sovereign prince of the neighbouring country and son of Barijan Raja, whose house was at no great distance and has been described in my account of Bahadurgunj. The natives at their marriages make offerings to Kungjavihari under a tree which stands on the bank of the river, and which is supposed to be immediately over the Raja's treasury. The Kankayi has exposed to view several heaps of brick, which at one time would appear to have been entirely covered with soil. This prince is said to have dug two tanks, which still remain, one at Kanhar, two miles south from his house, and another at Bhetiyana, one mile farther distant. Between them is an old road. There is an old road, which is said to have come from Tirahut through Puraniya, and to proceed to Asam by the way of Nawabgunj. No one can tell by whom it was built, although from the line it follows it was probably a work of the Moguls.

Another old road from Gaur to Morang comes through Shah Alumpur in Nehnagar, through Baror wood, close to Nehnagar, and through Durmalpur of this division.

Old Nehnagar, although it gives its name to another division, is situated in this, and there are some bricks and tanks in a wood where it stood. It was a place built not long ago by a clerk of the Register of the country (Kanungoe), and contained some brick houses which have gone entirely to ruin.

All the northern parts of this division belonged to Morang, and were added to Puraniya during the viceroyalty of Shah Suja, son of Aurungzebe. The person employed was Merja Mahaiyar, the son of Asfundiyar Khan, Fouzdar of Puraniya, who obtained a grant of 10,000 bigahs by the tenure of Jaygir Ayma. Part is still in possession of his descendants, one of whom, a well-bred young man, is now Munsuf of the division.

In the southern corner of the district is a wood of considerable extent, consisting mostly of Hijal and reeds, but it also contains some Mahuya trees from whence it derives the name of Mahuya-Kari.

The country and villages are well sheltered with bamboos, but contain few trees. A few palms are scattered among the gardens. The immediate vicinity of the Mahananda is very poor, sandy, and bare.

Dulalgunj, where the native officers reside, is a place of some trade, and several of the houses, although it is a confused scattered place, have flower gardens and an appearance of decency. It may contain 150 houses. Harragachhi with the adjacent village of Nischintapur, Mahinagar, Sukkurpur, Kaligunj, Kanaiya or Rasulgunj, Belgachhi, Amaor, Deuri, Baysa, Durmalpur, Kilpara, Chaupar, Sibgunj, Sakma, Gengruya and Nawabgunj are small towns, containing each from 100 to 300 houses.

## 12. THE DIVISION OF NEHNAGAR.

This is a moderate-sized jurisdiction, but is of a very long irregular shape, while its southern boundary is very ill-defined, and much intermixed with other territories. As I have already mentioned, it derives its name from a small town now in ruins, which was in the division of Dulalgunj, but the village where the officer of police resides is now called Nehnagar. It is surrounded on three sides, within 300 yards of the Thanah, by the jurisdiction of Dulalgunj. The officer who decides petty suits (Munsuf) resides at a place called Andhariya, which is still more inconvenient. At neither place is there a market.

It is a very fertile low tract, but it is badly wooded. The villages are, however, well sheltered, as in Bengal, and are surrounded by plantain trees and bamboos. There are some small natural woods, which contain trees intermixed with reeds. There are many Jhils or marshes, which throughout the year contain water in their centres; but they all are narrow like the old channels of large rivers. Only one family that possesses an assessed estate resides, and, being Moslem, it has a brick chapel and a store-house of the same material; but the lodging apartments are thatched.

The two largest places are Bhapla and Tarapur, although they can scarcely be called towns. The former is the place laid down in Major Rennell's maps as Tajpur, from which it is separated by the Nagar,



but when the maps were constructed several gentlemen resided there, and the ruins of their houses still remain.

The Moslems have three or four monuments (Durgahs) of brick, which seem to have either been built by some of the relations of Hoseyn, king of Bengal, or to have been dedicated to some of his kindred, but none of them are much frequented. The Hindus have four brick private chapels (Maths), but no place of public resort that is at all remarkable.

Kali is the deity of all the villages. In spirituals more than a half of the Hindus are under the guidance of the Dasnami Sannyasis, and most of the remainder are nearly equally divided between the Goswamis of Maldeh and Santipur.

It is pretty generally admitted by the natives that this is in Matsya, and formed part of the kingdom of Virat. Although so near Gaur the Hindus seem to have no knowledge of Adisur, which will perhaps show that in the time of that prince Gaur itself was on the frontier of the kingdom of Bengal.

Karna-Dighi is a pretty considerable tank, being about 550 yards long by 275 wide. It is said to have been constructed by a Karna Raja; but I cannot venture to determine whether this was the same personage with the Karnadev who resided in the north-west part of the district. The Moslems say that he was a zemindar, but they say the same of Adisur, who was king of Bengal. If this Karna was the same with the Karnadev of the north-west, he must have been a person of very considerable note.

A son-in-law of Hoseyn king of Bengal, named Shah Alum Buduruddin, dwelt at Shah Alumpur about six miles south-east from the Thanah, where there are many bricks in the ground. He dedicated a monument now standing to a Pir named Shah Omur Daneshmund: for it must be observed that in the Moslem kingdom of Bengal every person called a saint took the title of Shah. This son-in-law of the king seems also to have been a saint, for he made a road which extended from Gaur through Peruya, this division, and Dulalgunj, to Morang, and is called the Mukhdumi road, and I believe that it is his monument which in Dulalgunj is called the Durgah

of Mukhdum and receives offerings. At Shah Alum-pur where he resided are many tanks, one of which is pretty large.

North-east from the Thanah about ten miles, Pir Muzles Gazi, another son-in-law of Hoseyn, the king of Bengal, and undoubtedly considered as a saint, had a house which has fallen, but his monument remains.

In the government of Sultan Suja, a woman named Pithawali, who sold flour (Puja Phulari), made a road from Rajmahal which joined the Mukhdum road in this division. How such a person obtained means to make a road no one can say.

### 13. THE DIVISION OF KHARWA.

This is a very small jurisdiction; but being narrow, it extends to a great length. In general it is bounded by the Mahananda and Nagar, and includes the islands formed by these two rivers; but a wing extends beyond these into the division of Nehnagar. The native officer of police resides at a place as convenient as any other for a jurisdiction of such a shape, although a more considerable town is near, has been chosen for the residence of the Munsuf, and would be equally convenient for that of the Darogah.

The southern parts are overrun with part of the low marshy forest which passes through the low part of this district to join the woods of Peruya in Dinajpur. The northern are populous, and resemble Bengal, the villages being buried in fine plantations of trees and bamboos. The huts also are more comfortable than those towards the west, and the people are more cleanly. Three proprietors of land, four Brahmans, four goldsmiths, six brokers (Dalal), two coppersmiths, and nine merchants, have houses built of brick; and there are two private places of worship (Math) of that material.

Kharwa, where the native officer of police resides, is a poor small town with about 100 houses. It has neither market, bazar, nor shop; but several of the inhabitants oblige a friend by selling him provisions in private; for it must be observed that among the Bengalese the sale of grain, oil, and other articles in common demand, is considered as far from creditable.



Kaligunj, where the court for trying petty suits has been placed, is the chief town in the division, and contains about 700 houses compactly built. Besides a subordinate factory belonging to the Company, it contains several good brick houses, and is celebrated for its manufactures of cotton cloth called Khasas.

Dumrail is a place of great trade, and may contain 100 houses. Many of the villages are very large and populous, but their houses are so much scattered and so buried in gardens and plantations that they can scarcely be considered as towns.

There is no place of public worship of the least consequence. Kali is everywhere the village deity.

The whole is reckoned in Matsya, and it is said belonged to Kichak, the brother-in-law of Virat. There are no remains of antiquity.

#### 14. THE DIVISION OF BHOLAHAT.

Although this is a small jurisdiction, it extends an enormous length along the bank of the Mahananda, which separates it from Dinajpur. This boundary is well defined, but in every other part the limits are uncommonly confused and irregular. Two detached portions of Sibgunj are surrounded by this division, and a portion of the district of Bhagalpur is hemmed in between it and Kaliyachak. A detached portion of this division again is entirely surrounded by Gorguribah. The reason of this irregularity seems, as usual, to have been a wish to accommodate the zemindar, which has here produced a curious anomaly. The Raiuts of some villages here pay seven-eighths of their rent to one zemindar and one-eighth to another. One of these zemindars happens to reside in this division and the other in Kaliyachak, and as the extent of each jurisdiction is supposed to include the whole of one of these zemindaries, the Darogah of one ought to have the cognizance of seven-eighths of the offence that any one of the inhabitants may commit, and the other Darogah has the cognizance of the remainder, while a creditor must sue the same debtor for seven-eighths of his debt before one Munsuf, and for one-eighth before another. How far attention has been paid in practice to such regulations I cannot say. It is probable that in matters of police no great

harm would result, either Darogah being empowered to seize offenders; but the people of these villages are exposed to a double share of the vexations which the native officers are alleged frequently to occasion.

The western parts of this territory are in general occupied by the ruins of Gaur, overwhelmed with reeds, and the trees of old fruit gardens now become wild and intermixed with many palms; but chiefly owing to the exertions of Mr. Charles Grant, and of his agents Messrs. Creighton and Ellerton, some progress has of late been made in bringing the ruins into cultivation, although the immense number of dirty tanks, swarming with alligators, mosquitos and noisome vapours, is a great impediment. The soil, however, is very fine, and rests on a layer of hard tenacious clay which strongly resists the action of the rivers; the reason probably why this situation was chosen for building a large city.

The eastern parts, towards the Mahananda and Kalindi, are almost one continued village, and the soil is of a most extraordinary fertility, and uncommonly fitted for the mango tree and mulberry, which seem to thrive infinitely better on a narrow space on each side of the Mahananda, from the mouth of the Kalindi to the mouth of the Tanggan, than they do anywhere else. The extent is only about ten miles in a direct line, and the bank fit for the purpose on each side may probably not exceed half-a-mile in average width, but even this small extent would produce a very large amount indeed were it fully occupied; that however is by no means the case. The middle parts are bare of trees, very dismal and low, and a great deal is covered by lakes or marshes. On the banks of these much spring rice is cultivated, and they produce great quantities of fish, and many reeds and vegetables used for eating by the natives, but they are very noisome and ugly objects, and must always have rendered Gaur a disagreeable and unhealthy place. In all probability, however, they were considered advantageous, as adding to its strength.

Three hundred houses, chiefly on the banks of the Mahananda, are built entirely of brick, and 100 of them are of two stories. Many of these are very decent dwellings and are becoming the rank of the



inhabitants, who are chiefly traders of the Gosaing sect. 200 houses are partly built of brick. The villages, wherever not close-built and regular, are finely sheltered by trees and gardens.

The office of police and court for the decision of petty suits are so near that no inconvenience can arise, although nominally they are in different towns; but in fact the market-places called Tangtipara, Bahadurpur, Bholahat, Chauarir Bazar, Kamarpur, Govindapur, Mahishmardini, and Nischintapur must all be considered as forming one town, and that is much more closely built and more resembles a city of Europe than most of the country towns of Bengal. The streets, however, are very narrow and irregular, and the communication from place to place for every passenger, except those on foot, is very much interrupted; but everything is carried by water, the whole town running on a narrow elevation along the Mahananda. These places may in all contain about 3000 houses, many of which are of brick, and to judge from the outside they are very comfortable.

Another town, where the Company's factory of Maldeh is established, consists of a similar collection of market-places, called English Bazar, Gayespur and Nimesary, where there is said to be about 900 houses, although from appearances I should think the number greater. This town, owing to the care of the different Commercial Residents, has several excellent roads, both passing through it and in its vicinity; and a street in English Bazar, laid out by Mr. Henchman, is wide, straight and regular. The whole town contains many good houses. The Company's factory is a large building full of conveniences for the purposes for which it was intended, and defended by a kind of fort, which, if garrisoned, might keep off robbers or detachments of predatory horse, against whom it was very necessary to guard when the factory was constructed. The architecture of the whole is totally destitute of elegance. It has indeed been built by degrees, and numerous additions have been made as convenience required.

Another town is composed of three adjacent market-places called Kotwali, Tipajani and Arefpur, and may contain somewhat more than 600 houses; but

more scattered, and not so well built as the former. The people of Tipajani are subject also to the officers of Kaliyachak, who have a superintendency over one-eighth of their conduct and property. Naoghariya, Pokhariya, and Nawadahare, small towns, each contain about 100 houses.

Of all the numerous mosques built in their capital city by the Moslem governors and kings of Bengal, only four continue to be places of worship; and even these are so little regarded that the Darogah, although one of the faithful, did not know their names. They shall be mentioned in the subsequent account of Gaur.

The intolerance of the Moslem kings, and the desire of erecting their buildings at Peruya with the materials taken from the conquered infidels, have left no monuments of the piety of the Hindu kings. Some places, however, are considered as sacred, and these also shall be mentioned in my description of the antiquities.

It is said by Major Rennell, on the authority of Dow, that Gaur was the capital of Bengal 730 years before Christ, a circumstance of which I cannot find among the natives the slightest tradition.

When Adisur erected a dynasty that governed Bengal, although he resided mostly at Suvarnagram or Sonargang near Dhaka, he had a house in Gaur, then probably near the western boundary of his dominions. The same continued to be the case during the government of his successor, Ballalsen. His son Lakshman, or Lokhymon, extended his dominions far to the north and west, made Gaur the principal seat of his government, and seems to have built the town in Gaur usually called by that name, but still also known very commonly by the name Lakshmanawati, corrupted by the Moslems into Loknowty. His successors, who seem to have been feeble princes, retired to Nadiya, from whence they were driven to the old eastern capital of Bengal. The conquering Moslems placed at Gaur the seat of their provincial government. Whether or not the town, in the interim, had gone to entire ruin, cannot now be ascertained; but it probably had, as the entire support of most Indian capitals depends on the court, and on that being removed the people instantly follow.



If the Muhammedan viceroys of Bengal re-established any degree of splendour at Gaur, no traces of it remain; for all the public buildings that can now be traced seem to be the work of much later ages. I say re-established, because in the time of the Hindu government it undoubtedly was a place of very great extent, and contained many large buildings of stone and many great works. The vast number of stones, with carvings evidently Hindu, that are found in the buildings of Peruya, are a proof of the great size of the Hindu buildings, and the numerous tanks, some of enormous size, that are spread through every part of the ruins, and that are evidently of Hindu construction, are clear proofs of the vast extent of their city, and of the pains which they had bestowed. Whether the vast external fortifications, and the roads by which the city and vicinity are intersected, are Hindu or Moslem works I cannot venture to conjecture, having observed nothing about them that could incline me to one opinion more than another.

On the establishment of a Muhammedan kingdom in Bengal, independent of the empire of Delhi, the seat of government was transferred to Peruya beyond the Mahananda, and Gaur seems to have been plundered of every monument of former grandeur that could be removed; as there can be no doubt that the materials of the very extensive buildings reared there have been taken from the Hindu buildings at Gaur. This would probably show that the first viceroys of Gaur were either men of moderation, who did not pull down the works of infidels, or that they did not live in splendour and did not erect great works; for had the works of Hindus been destroyed to enter into buildings dedicated to the Moslem worship, the kings of Peruya would not have presumed to remove the materials. That these princes completely ruined Gaur, or at least totally destroyed the remnants of Hindu splendour, we may infer from this circumstance, that in the buildings now remaining there are very few traces of Hindu sculptures. I examined several of them with great care, nor did I on any one stone discover the smallest circumstance which could induce me to believe that it had belonged to a Hindu building; but I am told that some stones have been



found that contained images, and I saw a few such, that the late Mr. Creighton, a gentleman employed in the manufacture of indigo, had collected. It was said by a native servant that these had been found in Gaur, although this seems to me doubtful, as Mr. Creighton's inquiries had extended also to Peruya, and he had collected stones containing inscriptions from all parts of the neighbourhood, in order to prevent them from falling a prey to those who were in search of materials, and who would have cut an inscription of Adisur's, or even of Yudhishtir's, with as much indifference as a pumpkin. Besides, the servant said that these images had been taken from Ramkeli, a Hindu work erected in the reign of Hoseyn Shah, long after Gaur had been made the residence of the Muhammedan kings of Bengal.

Peruya in its turn was deserted, and the seat of government seems to have been restored to Gaur by Nuzur Khan, who had a long reign of twenty-seven years. Most of the present ruins, however, are attributed to Hoseyn Shah, the most powerful of the kings of Bengal. The present inhabitants indeed imagine that immediately after his death the city was deserted; but this opinion we know is totally unfounded. Muhammed Shah, the third in succession after that prince, was deprived of this kingdom by Sheer Shah, the Muhammedan chief of Behar, and involved in his ruin Hamayun, ancestor of the Mogul emperors.

After the short and turbulent though splendid reign of Sheer Shah, and of his son Sulim, the kingdom of Bengal again recovered its independence, and seems to have been governed by a set of upstart tyrants succeeding each other with amazing rapidity. The four last of these were of a family from Kurman, and Soleyman, who was the most powerful of them, having plundered Gaur, removed the seat of government to Tangra, in the immediate vicinity.

It was probably about the 27th year of the government of Akbur that Bengal was reduced to be a province of the Mogul empire, and the viceroys probably, for some time at least, resided at Gaur. Suja Shah who governed Bengal in the year 1727, although he added some buildings to Gaur, usually



resided at Rajmahal, and Gaur never afterwards was the seat of government, but seems to have gone to instant ruin, not from any great or uncommon calamity but merely from the removal of the government. Immediately on being deserted the proprietors of the land began, naturally enough, to sell the materials, and not only the towns on the Mahananda but even a great part of Murshedabad and of the adjacent places have ever since been supplied with bricks from that source. Had this been merely confined to the dwelling-houses, or even to the palace and city walls, there might have been little room for regret; although the two latter had they been left entire would have been great objects of curiosity, for they are of very astonishing magnitude. Materials, however, having gradually become scarce, an attack has been made even on the places of worship, the endowments of which seem to have been seized by the zemindars. Even the very tombs of the kings have not been permitted to escape. The Moslems remaining about the few places that are endowed, and which are still in tolerable repair, complain most justly of this wanton rapacity, and are naturally alarmed for their own security, as even Europeans have most disgracefully been concerned in the spoil. Although the government was no doubt totally ignorant of these spoliations, committed on places deemed sacred by all civilized nations, yet its character has not failed to suffer in the eyes of the people about the place, most of whom are Fakirs and others, who view the actions of infidels with no favourable eye. It perhaps might be an act of justice, and would tend very much to conciliate their minds, were orders publicly issued to prevent any attack on their existing places of worship, and to compel the zemindars to make a remuneration for their rapacity, by adding some waste lands to the present endowments; for it is impossible to restore the works that have been destroyed.

Mr. Creighton having made drawings of a number of the public buildings of Gaur, sufficient to give an adequate idea of the whole, when they were in a far more perfect state than at present, and engravings having been made from these drawings and published



by Mr. Moffat of Calcutta, I shall not think it necessary in the following account of the present state of Gaur to enter into a description of these. I shall only state that in my opinion these engravings, without being unlike, are calculated to give an idea of more neatness and magnificence than the works actually possessed. Not that this has been the intention of either the draftsman or engraver. It seems to be an unavoidable attendant on all drawings of native buildings, the most exact of which that I have ever seen by no means conveys to my mind an adequate idea of that want of just proportion, which strikes my eye in viewing the object. Of those here, I would in general remark that the masonry is a good deal better than in the buildings at Peruya, probably owing to all the stones having been originally intended for the places which they now occupy. The size of the buildings, however, is less considerable, there being nothing in that point to compare with Adinah, and the designs are still more rude and clumsy. The golden mosque of Hoseyn Shah may indeed be compared to a quarry of stone, into which various narrow galleries have been dug by the workmen, and where masses more considerable than the excavations have been left to support the roof.

Mr. Creighton also bestowed great pains on making a survey of the ground on which Gaur stood, and made copies on a reduced scale, one of which was presented to the Marquess Wellesley, and another is now, I believe, in the possession of Mr. Udney. Having procured the original survey, I have given a copy on a reduced scale, although far inferior to the above-mentioned copies, the ornaments of which contain much curious matter. This however will serve to explain my meaning.

Beginning at Pichhli on the banks of the Kalindi, towards the north end of the division, we find the place where, as is supposed, Adisur Raja dwelt. It is entirely without the works of the city of Lakshmanawati or Loknowti, and very few traces remain. A considerable field is covered with fragments of bricks, and on its surface I found a block of carved granite which seems to have been part of an entablature. The bricks that remained entire have been



entirely removed, and even the foundations have been dug. Two long trenches mark the last attack, and appear to have been recently made. There is no appearance that this place has ever been fortified. The situation is judicious, as being high land of a stiff clay, which is considered by the natives as more healthy than where the soil is loose, and is less liable to be affected by rivers.

From the house of Adisur I proceeded over some fine high land, interspersed with woods and old plantations of mangoes, to the place where Ballalsen, the successor of Adisur, is said to have resided. It consists, like the palace near Dhaka, of a square of about 400 yards surrounded by a ditch. Near it are several tanks of no great size, among which Amar, Vaghvari, and Kajali are the most remarkable. A raised road seems to have led from this palace to the north end of Gaur. Crossing this road is a very extensive line of fortification, which extends in an irregular curve from the old channel of the Bhagirathi at Sonatola, to near the Mahananda towards Bholahat. It is about six miles in length, and is a very considerable mound, perhaps 100 feet wide at the base, and on its north and east faces, towards the Kalindi and Mahananda, has a ditch which Mr. Creighton estimated at 120 feet in width. I saw no bricks, but am informed that a gentleman at English Bazar, near which it passes, made an opening and found that in one place at least even this out-work had consisted of bricks, and had been of great thickness. At the north-east part of the curve of this work is a very considerable projection in form of a quadrant, and divided into two by a rampart and ditch. It contains several tanks and the monument of a Muhammedan saint, and seems to have been the station where the officer who had the charge of the police of the northern end of the city resided. The title of this officer has been communicated to an adjacent market-place and estate, both of which are called Kotwali. Near the north-east corner of this fortress, at the junction of the Kalindi with the Mahananda, was a high tower (Munara) built by a merchant who is said to have lived very long ago. The tower has in a great measure fallen, but its ruins viewed from the river are still a striking object.



This line, evidently intended to secure the northern face of the city, could only have been effectual when the old channel of the Ganges was not fordable. Indeed it is probable that when it was built, the main channel of the river washed the whole western face of the city. The other end terminates near the Mahananda, and close to marshes almost inaccessible to troops, especially to cavalry, in which the forces of the Moslems chiefly consisted. The immense space included between this outwork and the northern city, being nearly the quadrant of a circle of 6000 yards radius, may be called a suburb but I suppose has never been very populous; a great part indeed consists of marshes by far too low to admit of habitation. Near the old Ganges, however, a considerable extent, 4000 yards long by 1600 wide, is enclosed by ramparts, and contains several public works. This space, containing three square miles, seems in general to have been occupied by gardens, and indeed is now mostly covered with mango trees which have, it is true, run quite wild into a forest; but the mud banks by which the gardens have been separated may still be readily traced. Several mounds, apparently roads, lead from this inner suburb towards the out-work, and its northern face has two gates of brick, still pretty considerable buildings.

In this suburb is one of the finest tanks that I have ever seen, its water being almost 1600 yards from north to south, and more than 800 from east to west. The banks are of very great extent, and contain vast quantities of bricks. In all probability this has been one of the most splendid parts of the Hindu city. In Kamalavari, at some distance from its north-west corner, is the principal place of Hindu worship in the division. It is called Dwarvasini, and though there is no temple, 5000 people still meet in Jyaishttha to celebrate the deity of the place and of the city, as this goddess is also usually called Gaureswari, or the Lady of Gaur. The bank at the north-west corner of this immense tank is now occupied by Moslem buildings, which perhaps stand on the former situation of the temple. Among these the most remarkable is the tomb of Mukhdum Shah Jalal, father of Alalhuk, father of Kotub Shah, all persons considered as men



of extraordinary sanctity, and who possessed great power in the reigns of the first Muhammedan kings of Bengal, as I have already mentioned in the account of Dinajpur. The tomb of the saint is tolerably perfect, but the premises are very ruinous, although there is an endowment and although the monument erected to this personage in Peruya has a large income. Near the tomb is a small mosque, which is endowed and is pretty entire. The keeper was a most ignorant fellow, and knew neither when nor by whom it was erected.

On the side of the old Bhagirathi, opposite to this suburb, at a market-place called Sadullahpur, is the chief descent (Ghat) to the holy stream, and to which the dead bodies of Hindus are brought from a great distance to be burned. In the times of intolerance they probably were allowed to burn nowhere else, and the place in their eyes acquired a sanctity which continues in a more happy period to have a powerful influence.

Immediately south from this suburb is the city itself, which within the fortifications has been about seven and a half miles long from north to south, and of various widths from about one to two miles, so that its area will be about twelve or thirteen square miles. Towards each suburb, and towards the Ganges, it has been defended by a strong rampart and ditch; but towards the east the rampart has been double, and in most parts of that face there have been two immense ditches, and in some parts three. These ditches seem to have been a good deal intended for drains, and the ramparts were probably intended as much to secure the city from inundation as from enemies; notwithstanding, part of the eastern side is now very marshy. In the Ayeeen Akbery, translated by Mr. Gladwin, these works are indeed called dams, and notwithstanding their great strength are said sometimes to have broken, and the city was then laid under water. The base of the outer bank was in one place measured by Mr. Creighton, and found to be 150 feet thick. The ramparts indeed, in most places that I saw them, were of prodigious strength. In most places of them I could discover no bricks, but I did not dig.

A considerable part (not quite a third) of the city, towards the north, is separated from the remainder by a rampart and ditch. A part of this northern city is marshy, but the remainder would appear to have been closely occupied, there being everywhere small tanks such as are found in the towns of Bengal, and many foundations of houses and remains of small places of worship are still observable. A considerable space has been cleared round an indigo factory, and the situation is very fine. I neither saw nor heard of any considerable work in this part of the city, but a great elevated road is said to pass through it from north to south. In the southern part of the city there have been very numerous roads raised very high, and so wide that in many parts there would appear to have been small buildings of brick on their sides. These were probably chapels or other places of public resort, and the dwelling-houses were probably huddled together in a very confused manner on the raised sides of the little tanks with which the whole extent abounds. Everywhere bricks are scattered, and there are many ruins of mosques, but great diligence is still used in lessening them, and in a few years one entire brick will become a rarity. There have been many bridges, but all very small and clumsy.

The principal object in this part of the city is the fort, situated towards its south end, on the bank of the old Ganges. It is about a mile in length, and from 600 to 800 yards wide, and seems to have been reserved entirely for the use of the king. The rampart has been very strongly built of brick with many flanking angles, and round bastions at the corners. I have no doubt of its having been a work of the Muhammedans. In its northern part have been several gates on the road leading from the northern entrance. They were probably intended as triumphal arches, as there are no traces of walls with which these gates were connected. The palace was in the south-east corner of the fort, and was surrounded by a wall of brick about forty feet high and eight thick, with an ornamented cornice which, although a vast mass, as being 700 yards long and 200 wide, precludes all idea of elegance in the architecture. The north end still remains pretty entire, but the other sides have suffered



much, and few traces of any of the interior buildings remain. Almost the whole interior is indeed cultivated. The palace has been divided into three courts by walls similar to the outer ones, which crossed from side to side. The northern court has been again divided into two by a wall running north and south. In the eastern of these a building still stands, which, from the massiveness of its walls and want of air and light, was probably a dungeon. Within the palace there are some small tanks, and they seem to be of Hindu construction, as their greatest length is from north to south.

At the north-east corner of the palace are some buildings of brick, where probably the officers and people in waiting were accommodated. A little north from these are the royal tombs, where Hoseyn Shah and other princes were buried. It has been a neat building, and the area within has, it is said, been paved with stone, and the graves were covered with slabs of polished hornblende, usually called black marble. Not one of these remain, and the building has been nearly destroyed. It must be observed that in the whole of Gaur and Peruya I have not seen one piece of marble, either of the calcareous or of the harder kinds. The black hornblende or indurated potstone, that by the Europeans in India is commonly called marble, is too soft and possesses too little lustre to be entitled to that appellation. In native buildings that are kept in good order, it is always oiled to give it a shining appearance, for without that assistance, although polished, it has a dull earthy appearance.

A little north from the tombs has been a mosque of considerable size. The walls and roof have fallen, forming a heap that is cultivated, and the tops of the stone pillars project among the growing mustard. East from the palace, and near a gate said to have been built by Suja Shah, is a small mosque built by Hoseyn Shah in honour of the feet of the prophet (Kudum Rasul). It is in tolerable repair and has an endowment, but is a very sorry specimen of the king's magnificence.

Such are the remains of the fort which the Mogul Hamayun called the terrestrial paradise (Jennutabad, Ayeen Akbery, vol. 2, p. 51); but the Moguls had not

then acquired the magnificent ideas for which they were distinguished after the illustrious son of that prince had obtained the government of India. Dow, according to Major Rennell, attributes the name Jennutabad to Akbur, but Abual-fazel could not well be misinformed, and certainly was unwilling to conceal any of his master's great actions or any portion of his authority.

Immediately without the east side of the fort is a column built of brick which, to compare small things, with great, has some resemblance to the Monument in London, having a winding stair in the centre. This leads to a small chamber in the summit, which has four windows. It is called Pir Asa Munara, and no use is assigned for it by the natives. Pir Asa, they say, was a great saint, and may have been a fanatic like Joannes Stylites, who passed an austere life on the top of a column.

North from the fort about a mile and a half, and adjacent to the Ganges is a considerable space called the flower garden (Phulwari). It is about 600 yards square, and is surrounded by a rampart and ditch; for these kings of Bengal seem to have lived in constant danger from their subjects. South-east from the garden, and not quite a mile north-east from the fort, is Piyasvari, or the abode of thirst, a tank of considerable size, but which contains very bad brackish water. In the time of the kings, there was a large building which was probably the proper Piyasvari. To this criminals were sent, and allowed no drink but the water of the tank, until they perished. In the Ayeen Akbery this great monarch is justly praised for having abolished the custom. No traces of the building are extant. West from this tank are two smaller ones, which were dug by two brothers, Hindus, who were in succession Vazirs to Hoseyn Shah, the most tolerant and powerful of the Bengalese kings. Near them are some petty religious buildings, the only ones that seem to have been permitted in the city. They have an endowment, and have been lately repaired by Atalvihari, one of the chief guides of the Bengalese in spiritual matters.

South from Piyasvari is a tank in which there are tame crocodiles, that are in fact considered to be the



same with a saint whose monument is adjacent. The animals resemble, in their manners, those which I described in the account of Matiyari. Between the flower garden and fort are the remains of a place for landing from the river (Ghat), the only one belonging to the city of which any traces remain, and it is not to be compared in magnificence with many built by the wealthy citizens (Babus) of Calcutta. It is called Kawas Khan, probably from the name of the founder.

About 1200 yards from thence is what is considered as having been the greatest building of the place, and which is called the great golden mosque, there being another of the same name which is called the lesser. It is about 180 feet from north to south, 60 from east to west, and 20 feet high to the top of the cornice. It is a perfect parallelepiped, without projection or recess, except that it was formerly covered with thirty-three domes, the miserable dimensions of which may be readily calculated from what I have now stated.

South-west from the fort is a very fine tank named Sagar, although far inferior to the tank of the suburbs which bears the same name. It is undoubtedly a work of the Hindu kings. Between this and the river are several considerable mosques, among which is one called Tangtipara, probably from having been situated in a quarter occupied by weavers. At the south end of the city is a fine gate called the Kotwali, probably owing to a superintendent of police, with that title, having been placed there, just as another was placed at the northern extremity of the works.

An immense suburb called Firozpur extended south from this gate to Pokhariya, a distance of about seven miles, and its situation contains a vast number of small tanks, bricks, and remains of places of worship, so that it has every appearance of having been thickly inhabited; but it would seem to have been very narrow, and probably resembled the continuation of villages that now extends for about a similar distance along the banks of the Mahananda, from Nimesaray to Bholahat, and which I have supposed may contain 4000 houses. This part of Gaur was, however, without doubt more ornamented with buildings, and east from the line of suburbs were probably

many gardens and country houses belonging to the wealthy inhabitants.

This suburb has had a rampart of earth towards the west and south, more I presume with a view of keeping off floods than as a defence against an enemy. A large mound from the south-east corner of the city runs out in that direction to defend it from the inundation of the marshes behind Bholabat. Towards the east several large pieces of water came close upon the suburb; but these either did not overflow their banks, or no means were taken to prevent the injury that this might occasion. In this suburb was the lesser golden mosque, one of the neatest pieces of architecture in the whole place. It was built by an eunuch in the service of Hoseyn Shah.

Here also resided Nyamutullah Woli, the Pir or spiritual guide of Suja Shah, and he is buried in a small clumsy building, which however is in tolerable repair, his descendants living near in a large brick house, which was granted by the prince together with a considerable endowment in land. A merchant has built near it a small but neat mosque, which is in a much better taste than the larger monuments of royal magnificence. The descendants of the holy man, much to their credit, have here collected a good many inscriptions from different mosques, in order to save them from the fangs of Calcutta undertakers. They do not keep their own premises in a neat condition, and seem to squander a great part of their income in feeding idle vagrants.

This suburb, from its name, was probably first occupied in the time of Firoz Shah. There have been two kings of Bengal of that name, but the latter governed only nine months, whereas the former governed three years, during which he may have established works of some consequence.

There are in Gaur numerous Arabic inscriptions in the Toghra character; but this could not be deciphered by any person whom I could procure, otherwise they might have afforded the means of settling many points in the chronology of the kings of Bengal.

Such are the principal features of the ruins of Gaur, which no doubt has been a great city; but many



of the accounts of its population appear to me grossly exaggerated. Including such parts of the suburbs as appear to have been at all thickly inhabited, the area of the whole cannot, in my opinion, be calculated at more than twenty square miles, and this even appears to me considerably more than the actual extent, although I am willing to admit the utmost size possible, in order to approximate somewhat to the estimate of Major Rennell, who allows an area of thirty square miles; but from his map it appears evident that he has not traced the ruins with the same care as Mr. Creighton, and has taken the width at by far too great an average. Now such a space, inhabited as Indian cities usually are, would not in my opinion contain above six or seven hundred thousand people, that is, about the number of people in London or Paris, cities with which Gaur, except in number of inhabitants, had never any pretensions to vie.

In religion the greater part of the Hindus are under the guidance of the Goswamis of Bengal, especially of Atalvihari; but the great wealth of the Sannyasi merchants brings from the west several Dasnamis, considered as eminent for their piety.

The most common deity of the villages is Kali, but Dwarvasini the tutelar deity of Gaur, also a female, receives a large proportion of adoration.

## 15. THE DIVISION OF SIBGUNJ.

This small jurisdiction is situated on both sides of the great Ganges; and consists, in a great measure, of different fragments, scattered not only through the adjacent division of Bholahat but through the districts of Nator, Murshedabad, and Bhagalpur. Considering this, the situation where the native officers reside is as convenient as any other that could have been chosen.

Among the ruins of Gaur are many woods formed of deserted plantations, in the lower parts are some extensive wastes covered with reeds and tamarisks, and there are several very extensive marshes or swampy lakes, so that on the whole there is a great deal of waste land, and the soil is not near so rich as

in the two divisions by which this is bounded on the north. It is in particular less favourable for the mulberry.

In Gaur the villages are well wooded: near the rivers they are very bare. Twenty-five houses are built of brick, and ten Hindus have brick buildings for their household gods. Sibgunj, where the native officers reside, is a scattered irregular place containing about 300 houses. Mahadipur is a considerable town, as containing about 600 houses. Motaali, a market-place in this division, is connected with it by Nawadah a town of Nator lying between them, and the whole forms a large assemblage of houses, some of which are brick, and the road leading through them is tolerably wide although crooked. This town is chiefly occupied by weavers. Baraghariya, Barabazar or Pokhariya, with the adjacent market-place called Kansatgunj, Chandidaspur, Kalihat or Saiud Kumalpur, and Jotkasi are also towns containing each from 100 to 500 houses. The two last are on the right of the great channel of the Ganges.

The chief public place of worship among the Moslems is the Durgah of Nyamutullah Woli, mentioned in my account of Gaur; for the greater part of the suburb of Firozpur and of the northern division of the city are in this jurisdiction, but in giving an account of the ruins I thought that to follow the divisions of modern police would have rendered my meaning more difficult to be understood. On this head nothing else remains to be mentioned but that at Zahurpur, north two coses from Sibgunj, is a large Pipal tree, under which is supposed to be a residence (Sthan) of the tutelary deity of Gaur named Gaureswari. This is just at the southern extremity of the suburb of Firozpur. Another place near the north end of the city, it must be observed, is dedicated to the same deity.

At Tartipur (Turtypour, Rennell, B. A. No. 15) is a place celebrated for bathing in the Ganges. The place is also called Jahnavi. There are annually five assemblies, at each of which from four to five thousand people attend. It was at this place, according to legend, that Jahnu Muni of Gaur swallowed the river. Bhagirathi, in bringing the sacred stream to Sagar



from Ganggotri, seems here to have had great trouble. No sooner had he recovered the nymph from the thirsty Jahnu Muni than she was stolen by an infidel (Sangkhasur), who led her down the banks of the Padma, and it was with great difficulty that Bhagirathi recalled the goddess to the narrow channel at Songti. These legends I have no doubt owe their origin to changes which have taken place in the course of the river, and which are probably of no very remote antiquity.

At Chandipur or Mahiravan, south-east about two miles from Sibgunj, is held an assembly of from 1000 to 1200 people every Tuesday and Saturday in Vaisakh. There is no image nor temple, but the people meet under a large Pipal tree. This place is supposed to have been consecrated by Mahiravan the son of Ravan, when he carried Ram and Lakshman to the infernal regions, intending to sacrifice them before his deity Chandi.

Kali, Chandi and Gaureswari are the common deities of the villages.

#### 16. THE DIVISION OF KALIYACHAK.

This is a small division and far from being compact. Part of it is beyond the principal channel of the Ganges, and entirely surrounded by the district of Bhagalpur. Part again is mixed in a most strange manner with Bholahat, as I have already mentioned, and part of that jurisdiction is entirely surrounded by this division.

The land is well occupied, and some part is remarkably favourable for indigo and mulberry. There are large plantations of mangoes, but few bamboos, and the villages are not sheltered by trees. Some of them are quite bare, as towards the west; but in general the huts are surrounded by small gardens, in which a few plantains or *ricini* cover their meanness and the great dirtiness of their occupants. There is one small wood in marshy land, composed of Hijal and rose-trees; but it does not contain 200 acres. Some parts of the ruins of Tangra are covered with woods, consisting of old plantations of mango and Jak, among which a variety of trees have spon-

taneously sprung. The whole district is miserably intersected by rivers and old channels, but few of them are marshy.

Thirty-two petty landlords (Muzkuris) reside, but of the twenty-five dwelling-houses of brick that are found in the division, the whole belong either to persons now actually engaged in trade or to such as have acquired their fortune by that means. Three Hindus and one Moslem have private places of worship of brick. There are three market-places, Kaliyachak, Gadai Sulimpur, and Sultangunj, which surround the residence of the native officers and may be considered as one place, although separated by considerable intervals and plantations. The whole does not contain above 100 houses.

Narayanpur or Julalpur, Salpur, Bangsara, Hoseynpur, Sheershahi, Bangsvariya, Trimohani, Payikani, and Tipajani are small towns, each containing from 100 to 200 houses, but part of Payikani is in Gorguribah, and part of Tipajani is in Bholahat.

There is a small mosque to which the Moslems occasionally go to prayer, and where the votary burns a lamp, but it has no regular establishment. The place of public worship most frequented by the people of this religion is the monument (Durgah) of a saint at Salpur.

In a wood about five coses northerly from Kaliyachak is a garden or rather orchard called Janggalitola, in which from 5000 to 10000 people annually assemble to worship. The place belongs to six Vaishnavs, who prepare a bed for the deity, and receive presents. They have built a brick dwelling-house. Both Hindus and Moslems attend. The former consider the place sacred to Vishnu, and that it was consecrated by a disciple of Adwaita's wife; the Moslems say that it is the favourite abode of the saint of the woods (Janggalī Pir). The Hindus have no other remarkable place of public worship. They bathe in all parts of the Ganges, but no part attracts a remarkable crowd. Chandi is the usual deity of the villages.

The only ruin is that of Tangra, a place of no considerable antiquity. When the family of Sheer Shah was deprived of the government of India by the Mogul Hamayun, the kingdom of Bengal again threw



off its subjection to Delhi, and the new dynasty left Gaur and retired across the old Ganges to Tangra. The distance is so small that they could not be said to have changed the seat of government, but only to have built a new palace or country residence; and although Gaur is said to have been plundered by the first of these princes, it was by no means destroyed, nor did the people follow the court to Tangra, which would never appear to have been a large place, nor are there any considerable ruins to denote that these princes lived in splendour or erected great works. Their government was indeed remarkably insecure, but they seem to have been men of vigour, and notwithstanding their want of security, from the intrigues of their officers, resisted the efforts of the great Akbur for half his reign. The contemptuous manner in which the courtly Abul Fazel mentions these princes is a pretty convincing proof of the vexation which they had given to his king. Tangra stood west from Gaur, opposite to the suburb of Firozpur and to the southern part of the city.

#### 17. THE DIVISION OF GORGURIBAH.

Although this jurisdiction is by the native officers reckoned twenty-two coses long and five coses wide, it is not of very great extent, and is far from being populous or well cultivated. Its eastern parts, towards the north and south ends, are inextricably intermixed with the neighbouring jurisdictions, and the native officers are placed just at the western extremity. The extensive islands in the Ganges near Rajmahal belong in general to this division, but some parts of them are annexed to the district of Bhagalpur.

These islands and the lands near the chief branches of the Ganges are very bare. Farther inland, as at Gorguribah, there are numerous plantations of mangoes, with some palms but few bamboos. Towards the north-east the villages are tolerably sheltered by gardens and bamboos. A large space is overgrown with reeds and bushes, and there are many woods of Hijal intermixed with marshes and channels overgrown with reeds and rose trees. In the north-east part of the district at Nurpur is a considerable

elevation said to be about five or six miles long and half-a-mile wide, which runs north and south, and consists of a reddish clay, very favourable for building.

About three coses east from Gorguribah is a kind of lake called Dhanikuji Jhil. It is about two and a half miles from north to south, and two miles from east to west, and always contains much water. Near the edges this is overgrown with reeds and aquatic plants, but the middle is clear. There are many other Jhils which contain water throughout the year, and some of them are large; but they seem to be old channels of rivers, although Bauliya is about two miles long and a mile wide. I saw it from some distance, and its water appeared to be free from reeds.

In this division no less than thirty zemindars reside; of course their estates are small, and they live not only without splendour but without that ease and abundance which usually attends landed property. Only two of them have any bricks in their dwelling-houses, and three merchants are equally well accommodated. The huts are very poor, and are not in general sheltered by trees; but are not so naked as towards the west and north, and round them have usually small gardens shaded by large plants of the *ricinus*. The Hindus have ten Mangcha and ten Mandirs of brick, for their domestic gods.

The native officers reside at a market-place called Gorguribah, which is adjacent to Hayatpur (Hyatpoor, Rennell); but for two miles above and below, the banks of the Kalindi are occupied by what may be considered as one town, although in different places it is called by various names, and besides Gorguribah contain four markets, Kurimgunj, Lahirajan, Balupur, and Khidargunj, within all perhaps 1000 houses, which in general belong to persons who consider themselves as of high rank. They keep their houses tolerably neat, but the buildings are mean; nor can one of them be said to be a fit abode for a gentleman. Putiya, Maniknagar, Kuraliya, Gopalpur, Malatipur, and Merzapur are also market-places, having in their vicinity small towns of from 100 to 500 houses.



The monument of Kyamuddin near Gorguribah is a good deal frequented by the Moslems, but is not remarkable for its size.

The only place of worship among the Hindus is a descent (Ghat) into the Ganges at Kungri, where at the four usual times of bathing, in all, about 20,000 people may assemble on common years. How many came this year at the grand bathing in February, I had no opportunity of hearing.

The common deity of the villages is Bhairav, but there also are many places dedicated to Kali (Kalitala).

This is reckoned to have been a part of Gaur, but the people are uncommonly neglectful of traditions. The only work of a Hindu considered as at all ancient is a large tank at Churail, surrounded by a thicket, and called Rani-Talav. The people have no sort of tradition concerning the lady by whom it was dug.

Shah Suja, when governor of Bengal, had at Hayatpur a flower garden to which he occasionally retired from Rajmahal, where he usually resided. It is said that there are remains of the machinery by which the garden was watered, and of an Idgah where the prince performed his devotions. The stupidity of my guide prevented me from seeing this work, but I am assured that no traces of splendour are now visible.

#### 18. THE DIVISION OF MANIHARI.

This is a jurisdiction of moderate size and contains few inhabitants; but its greater mass extends a long way on the bank of the Ganges, and a portion is detached towards the bank of the Mahananda, and is far separated from the rest. The residence of the native officers cannot under such circumstances be conveniently situated, and perhaps no place would answer better than the present, although it is very near the boundary of Sayefgunj.

A large proportion of the division is overrun by stunted woods of Hijal, intersected by water-courses and marshes filled with reeds. The greater part of the remainder, on the banks of the Ganges, is quite bare, and the houses are close-huddled together on

the highest spots, where they have scarcely a bush to afford shelter. No dwelling of brick belongs to the natives, nor have any of them private chapels of that material.

Manihari, the residence of the native officers, contains 200 houses, and the proprietor of an indigo work which has been established on its tanks has taken considerable pains in making straight and wide roads through it, and in its vicinity. The air is by far more salubrious than in most parts of the district, and the views from the high ground on which the town stands and from a little hill behind it are uncommonly fine; for they command a large extent of the Ganges, with the western parts of the Bhagalpur hills on the south, while the snowy mountains of the north are occasionally visible.

Manihari, before the English government, was the residence of a Fouzdari court, but the Mogul officer had not the rank of Nawab, although quite independent of Puraniya. He was appointed by the Subahdar of Bengal. A few small tombs and the foundations of some brick houses are the only traces which the Moguls have left behind, except some fine plantations of mangoes and bamboos, which in a country so bare have a fine effect.

Besides Manihari; Torushbana, Kangtakos, Bakurgunj, Baluya, Lalgola and Parsurampur united, Basantapur, and Nawabgunj are small towns containing each from 125 to 350 houses. The inhabitants of the last deserve peculiar recommendation for the cleanness and neatness of their huts.

At Manihari is a small mosque of brick, which was built by an ancestor of the proprietor of the town, who gave it an endowment of 400 bigahs. A public crier endeavours at the regular hours of prayer to assemble the faithful, but he has very little success.

On the first introduction of the faith in Muhammed, a holy person named Shah Julul Pahulwan is supposed to have come to this place, and to have obtained permission from Mandhata, then Raja of the country, to take up his residence on the small hill north from Manihari where the Raja dwelt, and where two tanks still retain the names of his two wives, Mana and Sana, by whom they were dug. The



Moslem, according to tradition, contrived to dig a subterraneous passage from his hill to the interior of the palace, which being defiled by the presence of an eater of beef, the Raja immediately retired. A monument was afterwards built on the hill in commemoration of this mining apostle, and it has an endowment of 300 bigahs, and is a good deal frequented. The monument is undoubtedly quite modern, and seems evidently to have been built on the ruins of a temple. There are very considerable foundations still remaining, and a good many stones. One of these on which there is some rude carving, but not in the form of either man or beast, is by the Hindus still worshipped and is called Mandhata Raja. I have not, however, been able to learn anything further concerning the history of this person.

At Jotnarahari, in the south-west corner of this division, where the natives suppose that the Kosi joins the Ganges, is a place celebrated for bathing. In common years there are four assemblies, at each of which from ten to twelve thousand people meet, and remain from two to four days. Many traders and disorderly persons attend. It is at this place that Major Wilford places Palibothra. (*Asiatic Researches*, V. page 269). This year (1810) in February, at the grand assembly which takes place once in about fifty years on certain conjunctions of the stars, no less than 400,000 people were supposed to have come to this place, and every remarkable Ghat from Ganggotri to Sagar was also crowded. It was a most pitiable spectacle to behold so many thousands crowding ding-dong for the performance of a ceremony at best idle and unprofitable, exposing their infants, sick, and aged kindred to hardships from which many of them perished on the spot, while vast numbers of those even who were in health suffered hardships which threw them into fits of sickness, and still many more, by a neglect of their affairs and the expense incurred, have involved themselves in great pecuniary difficulties.

At Medanipur, about a mile east from Manihari, many people bathe in the Kamaleswari river. This they do on any occasion when they are afraid; and both Hindus and Moslems adopt the practice. Each

person brings a goat, and if the votary is a Hindu, his Purohit attends, pronounces prayers over the animal, and turns it loose in the river. Any person except the votary may then take it. This scape-offering is by the Hindus called Utsarga. Any Brahman will make the offering for a Muhammedan. It is supposed that in this part of the Kamaleswari there are seven very deep pools, but this is very problematical.

The village deities are Kali, Bhimsen, Prem Raj and Sahal.

I have already mentioned one antiquity belonging to Mandhata Raja. This country in the time of Yudishthir is said to have belonged to Virat Raja, and to have formed a part of Matsya, although it has Mithila on the north and Gaur on the east. At Futehnagar, north-east about eight miles from Manihari, is said to be a space of about twenty-five bigahs, on which there are heaps. These are supposed to contain bricks, and are called Barahat. There is a tradition that some generations ago a bone seven or eight cubits long was found at that place. Some allege that these heaps are the ruins of a house belonging to Virat Raja, while others contend that they were occupied by his brother-in-law Kichak.

At Nawabgunj, about two miles north from Manihari, the Nawab Soukut Jung of Puraniya was killed in a battle by the troops of his kinsman Seraj Doulah, the Subahdar of Bengal. Positive orders had been given to spare the life of this rebellious kinsman, but by some accident he was killed.



*Extract from Dr. Buchanan's Instructions.*

Your enquiries should be particularly directed to the following subjects, which you are to examine with as much accuracy as local circumstances will admit :—

\* \* \* \* \*

II. The condition of the inhabitants; their number, the state of their food, clothing, and habitations; the peculiar diseases to which they are liable; together with the means that have been taken or may be proposed to remove them; the education of youth; and the provision or resources for the indigent.

Religion; the number, progress, and most remarkable customs of each different sect or tribe of which the population consists; together with the emoluments and power which their priests and chiefs enjoy; and what circumstances exist or may probably arise that might attach them to Government, or render them disaffected.

## PART II.

### THE PEOPLE.

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### POPULATION OF THE DISTRICT—CAUSES WHICH OPERATE ON ITS INCREASE OR DIMINUTION.

✓ SOME years ago a Khanah Shomari, or list of inhabitants, in consequence of orders from government, was prepared by the native officers, and from them it was transmitted to the magistrate. Having procured a copy, I have in the fourth Statistical Table given a short abstract, omitting many particulars not connected with this subject and probably intended to be of use in regulating the police.

I was everywhere assured by the best-informed natives that the returns which had been made to the magistrate were of no authority. The native officers made no attempt to ascertain the matter in the only way in which it is practicable, that is, by sending for the village officers, especially the watchmen and messengers, and by taking down from their verbal report a list of houses and people, and by remitting to the judge for punishment all such as they detected speaking erroneously, whether from intention or carelessness; for there can be no other sources of error, these people being perfectly well-informed on the subject. This process however, being attended with too much trouble, the Darogahs in general merely applied to the different agents of zemindars for a list of the houses and people under their respective management. By this means all the people living on lands not assessed were excluded, and in this division these amount to a very great number. Farther, most



of the rents in this district are farmed to people called Mostajirs, and these are almost the only agents of the zemindars that reside in the country parts, while many of the persons who rent large extents of country, especially those paying low rents in perpetuity (Estemurar), give their rents immediately to the proprietor or to his chief agent (Dewan), and are entirely exempt from the authority of the Mostajirs. Those who paid such large rents immediately to the zemindar, together with all the people living on their extensive farms, seem also to have been omitted. Farther still, all the higher castes, Hindus and Moslems, in this district are exempted from paying rent for the ground occupied by their houses and gardens, and are therefore not entered on the books of estates. These also seem to have been omitted. Finally, many of the slaves, poor labourers, and even cultivators (Adhiyars) rent no land immediately from the landlord; but procure room for their houses from those for whom they work. These also seem to have been omitted.

But even all these would not have made such a reduction as probably has taken place, and the number of people was, I doubt not, intentionally represented as much smaller than those that actually pay rent to the agents who were employed, lest government should come to a more accurate knowledge of their resources. In many of the divisions, indeed, the calculations are quite absurd, unless we admit that by people the compilers only meant male adults; thus in Udhraïl there are stated to be 15,270 houses and only 32,288 people, and in Krishnagunj 20,285 houses and 47,844 people; but that this was not the intention, I know from having seen several of the original reports, in which the men, women and children were distinctly enumerated.

Various degrees of the inclination in the agents of the landlords to conceal, and of the vigilance with which they were inspected by the officers of police, have made this document unworthy of credit even as giving a view of the relative population of the different divisions. Thus Matiyari, a very poor sandy territory, is made to contain very near four times the number of inhabitants that are in Udhraïl, comparatively a rich



country and nearly of the same size; while the population of this is almost equalled by that of Kharwa, a very small district in a bad state of cultivation.

There is even reason to suspect that the returns made by the different police officers of divisions have been altered after they reached Puraniya, for I took a copy of the original Khanah Shomari, which had been preserved at Nehnagar, and which gave 22,872 houses and 104,304 people, while the copy at Puraniya gives only 20,260 houses and 103,691 people. I am therefore persuaded that the mode of ascertaining the population which I have adopted in Ronggopur and Dinajpur will give a nearer approach to the truth than these returns; at the same time, I admit that it is liable to be considerably erroneous, but I have no means of forming a more accurate conjecture.

✓As in many parts of this district six cattle are kept for each plough, and in most parts at least four are allowed, while the cattle are somewhat better, the quantity of land laboured by each ploughman is on an average a great deal more than in Dinajpur and Ronggopur; although where there are only two oxen to each plough, the quantity that these will cultivate is here usually reckoned less than the people of this district allowed; for the people here are a very helpless poor race, evidently less laborious than even those of Ronggopur. Where however six cattle are employed, the man who manages the plough does no other work, and as with four cattle he requires much additional assistance, I scarcely think that the additional stock does much more than counterbalance the difference of inactivity, so that including labourers hired to assist the ploughmen, of whom there are scarcely any in Ronggopur and very few in Dinajpur, nearly the same proportion of agricultural population will be required for the same extent of arable land as in Dinajpur, especially as from the vast number of cattle, and the indulgence which is given to those who tend them, their keepers are exceedingly numerous. Still however, I must allow a little more labour to be performed by the additional stock, and in proportion to the amount of that, and the nature of the soil and cultivation, I shall allow from fifteen to nineteen Calcutta bigahs of cultivated land for every family of five



cultivators, young and old, men and women. Then rejecting small fractions, I shall take the remaining classes of society at the proportion estimated by the best-informed men. x

The following is an example of my manner of proceeding:—In the division of Sibgunj it was estimated by well-informed persons that there were 12,500 families employed in agriculture; and I have calculated the extent of occupied land at 118 square miles, or 226,560 bigahs, the measures there being the same as at Calcutta. Now deducting the proportion seven-eighths of one anna of the whole division, which was stated as that occupied by houses, gardens, and plantations, there will remain 210,040 bigahs, which will give about 16 $\frac{3}{4}$  bigahs for every family. Now this I think is a probable proportion; for two-thirds of the ploughs have four oxen, and the remainder have two; while a great deal of the land is sown, after one or two ploughings, as the inundation retires: but then a great deal of mulberry is raised, and this is a cultivation which is attended with much trouble. These calculations coincide so well with my ideas that I think there can be no very gross error in the results. The agricultural population being here reckoned only one-half of the whole, would be 62,500, in place of 19,469 according to the returns made by the native officers. The reason of such an amazing difference seems to be that few of the other classes paying rent, the greater part of them was entirely omitted in the returns. The agents of the zemindars whom I consulted only admitted 6,000 ploughs cultivating 124,000 bigahs, which may very probably be all that is entered on their books, there being much free land and probably enormous frauds. The result of similar calculations made respecting each division, will be found in the first Statistical Table.

In the fifth Statistical Table will be found a calculation of the extent of many of the causes which affect the population. I have already mentioned the great listlessness and want of energy among the people, scarcely any of whom enter into the regular army, although many are of the

CAUSES OF INCREASE  
OR DIMINUTION OF  
THE POPULA-  
TION.



same tribes which farther towards the west have strong military habits. They have, however, entered into the provincial corps, where they have chiefly distinguished themselves by a want of that correct and honourable behaviour which the natives of the west of India serving in the Bengal army have in general manifested. Most also of the armed men employed by the police, and by the landlords as guards (Burukandaj), are natives of the district, and a good many go for this kind of service towards the east. Further, the greater part of the officers employed to manage the rent are natives, and perhaps those who go from this district to others for that kind of employment are as numerous as the strangers that are in service in Puraniya.

There is therefore from this district some more emigration than from the two that are situated towards the east; but this emigration is so small as to produce little or no alleviation from the immense population by which the country is overwhelmed, and is more than counterbalanced by a much greater strictness in the manners of the women. The husbands are exceedingly jealous and careful, and the number of prostitutes is very trifling. Even the few that are, make but a very poor subsistence, a smaller proportion of the men who have considerable incomes being strangers than in Dinajpur and Ronggopur. Among the lower ranks scarcely any girl remains unmarried at six or seven years of age; but as the Hindu law is here very rigorously observed, many of the higher castes, whose ancestors have come from the west of India or who have not the sums necessary to be squandered on the eternal ceremonies that are required in marriage, find a great difficulty in procuring proper matches for their daughters, and often altogether fail, so that the young women do not get husbands until they have been defiled by the operations of nature. When a misfortune so grievous has arrived, both parents and girls are disgraced.

In some parts of the district, where the Hindu customs are carried to the most enormous rigour, such people become outcastes, and adopt the faith of Muhammed; but in others an uncommon indulgence in this point is shown, and they are only lowered to



an inferior degree, whose marriages are not attended with so much extravagance and nicety, so that by the age of twenty, except miserable deformed creatures and the few prostitutes, no women continue single. In some of the divisions, indeed, except such unfortunate creatures there are none single at fifteen, as will be seen from the fifth Statistical Table. Where the number is greater, it chiefly arises, as I have said, among the high ranks, from a difficulty in procuring a proper match or means to defray the expense, which in almost every case is highly inconvenient and often proves ruinous.\*

The Hindu law respecting concubines is here not so strict as in most places, and almost all the pure Sudras and even some of the high castes are permitted to keep widows as Samodhs. As however, the high castes are here exceedingly numerous, the number of widows is somewhat greater than in Dinajpur and Ronggopur, and is some sort of check to population.

Notwithstanding both these circumstances, the number of women in a condition to breed is far beyond the proportion in Europe, and still farther beyond what prudence requires, yet the population seems in some places to be diminishing; for the extreme timidity and listlessness of the people has, in some parts, prevented them from being able to repel the encroachments of wild beasts, as will afterwards be stated. This, however, is only a local and recent evil, and within the last forty years the population has, I am credibly informed, at least doubled. There is indeed reason to think that at no very remote period the whole country was nearly a desert; for setting aside the Moslems, who form about 43 per cent. of the whole population, more than a half of the Hindus consider themselves still as belonging to foreign nations, either from the west of India or Bengal, although many of them have no tradition concerning the time of their emigration, and many have no knowledge of the particular part of these countries from whence they came. Although all the lower classes marry while infants, young women, it must be observed, seldom have their first child until their sixteenth or seventeenth year. More have their first child even at a later than at an earlier

age. Instances have occurred of girls having a child in their thirteenth year, but such are very rare.

✓Many more people live here as servants or hired labourers than even in Dinajpur; yet the difficulty which a stranger finds in procuring porters is still greater than in that district; and this, however extraordinary such an assertion may seem, must be attributed to the extreme poverty of that class of people, although one would naturally expect that this should render them anxious for service; but the fact is that in order to defray the expense of marriage, funerals, and other ceremonies, most of them are deeply involved in debt, and their services are bound for many months in anticipation, so that they are no longer at liberty to engage themselves to a stranger. x

The checks on population are nearly of the same nature here as in Dinajpur and Ronggopur :—

Although the distinction of families which adopt and reject inoculation for the small-pox has become perfectly hereditary and fixed, yet the practice is more universal than in the districts lately mentioned, and is equally successful; while the diseases peculiar to India, especially those chiefly affecting population, are less prevalent as will appear from the Statistical Table No. 5. Fever, however, makes greater ravages, and fluxes are more common than towards the east.

Dysenteries without bloody discharges (Am) are here very common, especially after the equinoctial periods; but they are less fatal than in Europe. Formerly, I am told, this was the disease to which the Europeans at Puraniya were chiefly subject; but of late, without any evident cause that I have learned, this severe disorder has become less usual, and fevers much more common. It must be observed that in the south-east part of the district it was stated that fluxes were most prevalent and dangerous after the vernal equinox, while in the other parts of the country the worst season for this disease was stated to be after the autumnal equinox.

Choleras (Daksal) are not uncommon in the hotter parts of the year. Of those seized perhaps one-tenth die; but in some places this disease was alleged to be more fatal.



Both species of leprosy are considered as inflicted by the deity as a punishment for their sin, and unless a Hindu of rank has means to perform the ceremony of purification (*Prayaschitya*), he becomes so far an outcast that he must live separate from his family, and when he dies, no one will bury him. Many of those who are affected after marriage, even when purified by the ceremony, abstain from cohabitation with their wives. No one affected before marriage can on any account enter into that state, but the period when the malady appears is usually anticipated by the ceremony.

The leprosy which in Bengal is called *Mahavyadhi* is here more usually called *Kur Kuri* or *Kushtha*, the latter a Sanskrita word. In the eastern parts of the district it is much more prevalent than towards the west. The leprosy in which the skin becomes white is here most commonly called *Pakhra*, or *Sweta*, or *Charka Kuri*, and is pretty common; but is in general confined to a few parts of the body, and very seldom indeed becomes general.

The chronic swelling in the leg is very rare, while that of the throat is very frequent. The former is here called *Filpa* or elephant-leg, as by European nosologists it has been called elephantiasis. The swelling of the throat is here called *Gheg*. Except just in the corner projecting towards the lower part of Bengal, chronic swelling of the testicles is comparatively rare, and in most other places this disease is in a great measure confined to the natives of that country who have settled in *Puraniya*.

The rarity of the chronic swelling in the leg and testicle, while that in the throat is so common, would seem to point out some difference in the nature and origin of those diseases; although there are so many circumstances common to all that in the account of *Dinajpur* I was led to consider them as the same malady occupying different parts of the body. In some parts the swelling of the throat was considered as peculiarly incident to certain castes, especially to that called *Kairi*, which would tend to show that hereditary influence has some share in its production.

The *Sannipatik*, or fever accompanied by a swelling in the external fauces, in this district is

a very uncommon disease, although in the adjacent district of Dinajpur it is exceedingly common. It happens at all seasons; and in discourse must be carefully distinguished from the disease called Sannipat, which is the very worst stage of a pure fever, where the powers of life give way and the patient becomes cold.

The sporadic fever which the natives consider as arising from a diseased state of the inner membrane of the nose, and which is here called Nakra, is very common.

Although coughs are not nearly so frequent as in cold climates, most catarrhs being confined to a slight fever accompanied by a discharge from the nose, yet many old people are harassed by the complaint which nosologists call *catarrhus senilis*. Many are affected with a kind of chronic rheumatism (Girha) which produces a considerable swelling and great stiffness or even contraction of the limbs, although neither accompanied nor preceded by fever. This disease would appear to be more common in the rainy season than during winter.



## CHAPTER II.

CONDITION AND MANNER OF LIVING OF THE PEOPLE—  
EXPENSES OF LIVING—HOUSING—DRESS OF THE MUHAM-  
MEDANS—DRESS OF THE HINDUS—DIET—LUXURIES—  
FUEL AND LIGHT—MEANS OF CONVEYANCE—FREE  
DOMESTIC SERVANTS—SLAVES—BEGGARS AND CHARITY—  
PROSTITUTES.

Before entering on this subject I must premise that most of the remarks which I shall make will refer chiefly to the part of the district on the right bank of the Mahananda, where the Hindi language and manners of Mithila prevail. On the left of that river the language of Bengal prevails, and the manners and condition of the people so nearly resemble those of the adjacent parts of Dinajpur and Ronggopur that it will not be necessary to enter into a detail concerning them.

Having in Dinajpur and Ronggopur given a particular estimate of the expenses of the different classes of people, Muhammedan and Hindu, in the vicinity of the respective capitals of these districts, I think that in treating of this it would be unnecessary to enter into a detail so minute. I shall therefore confine myself to some general observations on the different heads of expense.

A native assistant, well acquainted with country affairs, was at considerable pains in each division to procure an estimate of the monthly expense of living among different classes and ranks of people, and of the proportion of those who lived in each style; and the result will be found in the Table No. 6. His estimate, except in the higher classes, was calculated in sixteenth parts of the whole population; for the

sake of uniformity, rejecting small fractions, I have calculated how many families belong to each class, and have reduced the Table to that form. The people from whom he took his information were no doubt abundantly able to give a very accurate estimate of the usual rate of living, and might have made a near approximation to the proportion of each class; but the results appear to me liable to many objections.

There is also another objection to the construction of this Table. In place of having desired the assistant to begin with making in each division an estimate of the expense of a family of three persons, and then to proceed gradually increasing the number of people, I directed him to form the various expenses of the people in each division into six classes, in conformity with the estimates which I had made in Ronggopur and Dinajpur. This has occasioned a considerable want of uniformity which might have been avoided by the former plan; and it must be observed that the principal object of all natives' expense being to maintain as many dependents as possible, the relative expenses of different families bear a much closer proportion to the respective number of persons each contains, than one accustomed to the manners of Europe alone would readily believe possible. Farther, it must not be imagined that in any division there are no families which contain only three or four persons, although none such are mentioned in the Table; for the whole having been divided into six classes according to their rate of expenditure, the most usual numbers of persons corresponding to such rates of expense have been selected, and the others omitted.

Even making an allowance for this, the expense of the lowest class seems to me almost everywhere to be exaggerated. The people who gave these statements, men usually of the higher ranks, alleged that the lower classes were not so poor as they pretended, yet on requesting them to calculate how a poor family could raise such a sum as that stated as the lowest, they never could succeed.

With regard again to the higher classes, the same people seemed to me to underrate the number of these principal families and the amount of their expense,



while they exaggerated the number of persons maintained in their families by including among their domestics many of the persons employed in managing their estates, all of whom have separate families. Such sums as they have stated may indeed be the regular monthly expense of families of this kind; but the building of new houses, marriages, funerals, pilgrimages, purifications, and other ceremonies are contingencies some one of which occurs almost annually; and some of them are attended with an enormous expense.

As in this district such contingencies fall by far heaviest on the Hindus, especially those of high rank, the people of that sect in their usual and regular disbursements have very uniformly acquired habits of the utmost parsimony. The Moslems of rank, on the contrary, are a showy expensive people, and as they still lead the fashions of the capital where, within the memory of many, a Nawab held his court (Durobar), the Hindus of rank maintain a showy equipage, at least when they appear in public; but they live as retiredly as possible, and in private are uncommonly slovenly. It is generally supposed that almost every one among them who is not engaged in commerce endeavours to hide money in the earth, to which he may have recourse on any of those distressing contingencies which I have lately mentioned; and much is supposed to be lost from the owners having become stupid, through age or disease, before they disclosed the secret to their family, and being thus unable to point out the place of concealment.

In the topographical account of the divisions I have already mentioned the number of houses and other edifices of brick, as affect-

#### HOUSING.

ing the appearance of the country. Perhaps I ought to have added the indigo factories, as several of them, although devoid of every sort of pretension to architectural merit, are by far the most splendid buildings that the district possesses. In the third Statistical Table will be found an estimate of the manner in which the people are lodged. From this it will appear that the brick houses are chiefly confined to the vicinity of

Gaur, where the ruins afford materials very cheap. The natives of the place consider that indispensable, and as the only reason why they indulge in such a luxury; but I am inclined to believe that a good deal arises from long-established habit. The natives of most parts of the district, it is true, would consider the proposal of any person under the degree of a Raja to build a house of brick as little short of insanity; yet the exertions of Mr. Smith, by encouraging the people both by advice and pecuniary aid, have induced a good many traders in Nathpur to build houses of brick made for the purpose. Workmen have been induced to come from Nepal, where the people are more skilled, as living almost entirely in brick houses; and the style of building introduced by Mr. Smith is very convenient, being a sort of mixture between that of Europe, Bengal, and Nepal. The roofs are pent, and covered with tiles, which in the manner of Nepal are excellent. The apartments are rather high; but in imitation of Bengal, both they and the stairs are very small; they have, however, tolerable doors and windows, somewhat like the houses of Europe. It is owing to the laudable exertions of the same gentleman that a great part of the brick houses in the town of Puraniya have been erected; but except at Nathpur, and in the houses of Europeans, the very worst style of Bengalese architecture prevails. The houses, however, are not so wretched as in Maldeh, and many of those in Bholahat and its vicinity, considering the style, are very good buildings. A great many have two stories, and almost all have wooden doors and shutters.

Houses consisting of a wooden and bamboo frame, and covered with tiles, are confined to the capital, and are as numerous as they merit, especially when covered with the common tiles of the country, which are little fitted to resist wind and rain; and such houses are scarcely less liable to fire than those covered with thatch, while they are infinitely colder in winter and hotter in summer.

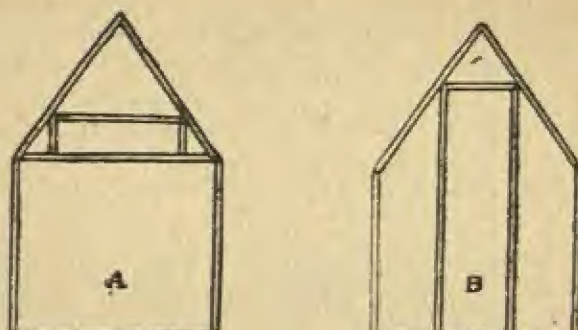
In most parts of the district, clay fit for erecting mud walls may be readily procured, although in general it is not of a quality so good for the purpose as that found in the southern parts of Dinajpur. As



will appear from the Table, it is very much neglected, although no material seems better adapted for the state of the country. Walls of mud covered with tiles made after the manner of Nepal, would make a comfortable cottage, which would require little timber and few bamboos, and which would be very secure from fire, all considerations of the utmost necessity in this district, where these materials are scarce; and where, the huts of each village being usually huddled together without any intervening gardens, fires are uncommonly frequent and destructive. Many of the houses now built of mud are tolerably comfortable, although all are thatched. Some have two stories, more have a terrace of clay under the pent roof in order to lessen the danger from fire; and a large proportion have wooden beams, doors, and window-shutters; but the roofs of many are entirely supported by bamboo, and no wood enters into any part of their structure. People who have houses of this kind usually surround their premises with a wall of mud thatched; as those who have any buildings of brick usually employ a wall of that kind. Some even do this who have nothing within except huts constructed of reeds and bamboos; for the men of high rank here are very shy, and jealous concerning their women.

The scarcity of bamboos renders it necessary for the inhabitants to have much recourse to timber for supporting the roofs of their houses, either in whole or in part, as may be seen by the Statistical Table; but this has not rendered their houses more comfortable than the huts towards the east. Quite the contrary has happened. For the frames of their houses, they do not afford to purchase beams and posts of a reasonable size, but content themselves with miserable sticks. The best are the tops or branches of the Sal tree brought from Morang; next to these, poor cuttings of the same kind of timber from Bhagalpur, or from the stunted forests of this district; but many content themselves with the small miserable tree called Hijal (Trees, No. 36), which grows in the marshes of the south, or with some few wild trees of no value that are found in small woods in different parts of the district. The frame of the best houses here nearly resembles that used in Bengal, but is not quite so

strong, as may be seen from the sketches A and B. Such roofs are here called Chauka; but by far the



greater part of such as have wooden posts, especially in the western parts of this district, have no beams to connect the frames of the walls, and consist of posts alone, such roofs are here called Arhaiya. These posts straiten exceedingly the miserable dimensions that are usually allotted for even the houses that have wooden frames. These usually extend from ten to fifteen cubits in length by from six to eight cubits (eighteen inches) in width. The thatch of such houses consists entirely of the leaves of different kinds of grass, in general, however, inferior to the Ulu of Bengal; and under the thatch they very rarely indeed have mats, which are a great means of keeping the apartment clean, both from dust and vermin. Their walls are composed of very different materials, which give various degrees of comfort. The neatest, cleanest, and by far the most comfortable walls in the thatched cottages of Bengal are those made of bamboos opened into a kind of planks, which are interwoven to form mats. In this district, however, such are very rare and seem to be almost entirely confined to Krishnagunj, where it is said, about fifty families have accommodations of this kind. In the division of Dangrkhora they have some tolerable houses with wooden frames, the walls of which consist of straw placed between two rows of reeds, and plastered on both sides with clay and cow-dung. These have wooden doors, and are the only houses of the class



which are secured in that manner. Windows are seldom required, as being too favourable for wanton curiosity.

In other parts the houses which are supported by wooden posts have only hurdles (Jhangp) for doors; but their walls are of the same nature as those in Dangrkhora, only they are not always plastered on both sides. Walls of this kind exclude the extremes of heat and cold; but they harbour all manner of vermin, especially rats and snakes. In order to lessen the danger from fire, the outside of the roof is often plastered in the same manner. This operation is performed annually, when the rainy season has passed. The plaster is washed off by the ensuing rains, but then the danger from fire has greatly diminished.

The huts which have frames composed entirely of bamboos are usually from seven to ten cubits long, by from four to six cubits wide, and their frames are partly built after the Chauka and partly after the Arhaiya fashion, terms which I have lately explained. The principal difference among the huts of this kind arises from the nature of the thatch, that composed of straw, or rather stubble, being reckoned vastly inferior to that composed of grass leaves. Wherever rice is plenty, however, all the poorer natives have recourse to the stubble, which is much nearer at hand and costs nothing; but in many parts the demand for straw, on account of the numerous herds, is so urgent that no such thatch is used, and perhaps its use should be prohibited; as the want of forage is in every part a most pressing necessity. The huts with bamboo frames differ also considerably with respect to their walls. The best are composed of reeds confined by split bamboos, or often by bamboo branches; but even this, in some parts of the district, is considered as too expensive, and the reeds, in place of being confined by bamboos, are fastened by means of the stems of tamarisk, or of the pulse called Arahar (*Cytisus Cajan*), or even by other reeds, all of which, especially the last, form fences through which a dog or jackal can thrust itself. In general these walls are plastered on one side with cow-dung and clay, which in winter serves to exclude much cold; but many cannot afford,



or rather will not exert themselves to procure even this comfort; and their abodes are exceedingly wretched, and may be said neither to exclude the burning evening sun nor the chilling blasts of winter, and if rain is accompanied by much wind, they exclude little of the wet.

In the western divisions of the district there is, however, a still farther step in the descent of misery. A kind of circular wall about four feet high, and from five to seven cubits diameter, is made of reeds placed on end, mixed with a few sticks of tamarisk and branches of bamboo, and confined by a few circles of split bamboo or of reeds twisted together. This wall is sometimes plastered, sometimes not; and supports a conical roof, consisting of a few small bamboos or sticks covered with reeds, and the cheapest procurable thatch. A bamboo post or stick placed in the centre, often but not always supports the roof of this hovel, which is called Marui, Maruka, Morki, or Khopra.

I might have perhaps descended still farther, and described the accommodations of a good many people who live constantly as vagrants, and whose sufferings in the rainy and cold season must be great, as the tents or temporary sheds, which they erect, afford little or no shelter. The number of such is not however considerable.

Although the floods here are of shorter duration than in Ronggopur, the people have taken more pains to raise the ground on which their houses stand; and it is only in two divisions, Gorguribah and Dangrkhora, that usual floods enter the houses. The people of these divisions have no rational excuse for this indolence, as there are other divisions naturally as low, where the people have entirely secured themselves.

The natives of this country are in many respects lodged in a manner similar to what prevails in Bengal. Except in the larger houses built of brick, each apartment is a separate house, and the wealth of the possessor is more known by the number of huts than by any of them being of extraordinary magnitude or neatness; not to mention elegance, which is totally out of the question. The collection of huts, which in Bengal is called Vari, is here called Haveli; and the



space by which it is surrounded, and which, when it can possibly be afforded, is always enclosed so as to conceal everything within, is called Anggan. From such a style the palace of Gaur must have appeared like a prison, more dismal than Newgate, being a mere dead wall of brick forty feet high.

The great have fences of brick, or of mud thatched, which looks very ill. Except these favoured few, the fences of the other inhabitants are exceedingly mean, being usually reeds very clumsily tied together, and the space within is very seldom neat, or ornamented with flowers. The roofs are covered with cucurbitaceous plants, and in the Anggan are sometimes a few plantain or *ricinus* trees, or a bower covered with some twining pulse (*Dolichos lignosus*); but in many places it is quite bare, and there is no space between the fences, except holes into which all filthiness and even dead carcasses are thrown. So negligent in this point are the natives that, while writing this, I am assured by a gentleman that he this day saw the dead body of a woman rotting in one of these holes. The poor creature had probably been a stranger, and having died where no person of her caste resided, the people in whose house she was had privately thrown out the body, and alleged that she had died on the spot; for the maxims of Hindu purity would have prevented anyone from touching the body, and had it remained, the people must have deserted their house.

Most of the huts here, except the wretched hovels called Marki, are built in the Banggala fashion with arched ridges, but they are much lower and flatter than in Dinajpur. The number of those built with roofs consisting of four sloping sides is very inconsiderable. Such are here called Chautarka. More are built with two sloping sides, and a straight ridge, and this is here called the Tirahuti fashion, as having been introduced from that country.

The furniture is greatly inferior to that of Dinajpur or Ronggopur, and very few [have] acquired a taste for that of Europeans. In other points, most of what I have said concerning the furniture of those districts is applicable to this; but bamboo mats are in less use for bedding, and their place is supplied by



an inferior mat made of reeds of several kinds, or of a grass called Kus (*Poa cynosuroides*), or of straw; more people however have blankets. These indeed are more necessary, the climate being more severe. Many of those who have no bedsteads, in the rainy season sleep on stages; but many of the huts are too small to admit of this salutary practice. The only furniture of any considerable value consists of brass, copper and bell-metal vessels, of which the people here use more than in the two above-mentioned districts. and they seem to have been chiefly induced to adopt this practice from its being a kind of hoarding, which may be concealed in the earth, and which is safe from fire.

In the seventh Statistical Table will be seen an estimate of the manner in which the people are covered by night and by day. I shall here annex a description of the dress of the natives, of which I gave little account in describing the two districts that have been already surveyed.

✓A man of high rank in hot weather when in full dress, uses a turban (Dustar) of fine muslin; a Nimah or long vest with sleeves, descending below the calf of the leg, tied across the breast, and made of muslin; a Jamah or outer coat of the same fashion

MUHAMMEDAN  
MALE DRESS AT  
PURANIYA.

and material, but descending to the feet, a Kumurbund, or sash, or girdle of the same material; long loose drawers or trousers (Izar) of calico, tied round the middle by a silk string, and descending to the ankles. These constitute the proper Muhammedan dress, and collectively are called a Jora or suit. He also uses long pointed slippers embroidered with gold and silver thread and spangles. It was formerly the custom to throw these off whenever one entered a room where was a carpet, and this is still done in any place where the natives are afraid; but in imitation of the English, the people of rank keep on their shoes, especially in visiting Europeans. Formerly all men of rank wore a dagger stuck in the girdle, and a sword; but now, in imitation of the English, side-arms are not used except among the military. In place of the Nimah and Jamah some persons wear



a vest called Angga, which descends only to the haunches, and a coat, Kaba, which reaches to the knees, and has very wide sleeves. The skirts cross before, and are open at the sides up to the haunches, as in the Nimah and Jamah.

In cold weather the Muhammedans of rank, when on ceremony, often use the same dress as in hot weather, but wrap two long shawls round their shoulders, and young coxcombs frequently wrap a shawl handkerchief round their heads. This however is an innovation in which old men do not indulge, as at the levee (Durobar) of a Nawab it would have been considered as a liberty which might have cost the perpetrator his ears. Many people, however, wear warmer articles of dress, such as a Kaba or coat made of flowered shawl or silk (Kinkhap); drawers of silk; a Sambur-topi or cap made of fur, usually of otters' skin and often embroidered, in place of a turban; mittens (Dustanah) of knitted cotton or shawl; and foot-socks (Paytabah) of knitted cotton or shawl.

The ordinary dress of a Muhammedan man of rank in hot weather consists of a small conical cap of muslin (Taj), a short vest (Angga) of muslin, and long drawers (Izar), of calico. Instead of these last, many use the Lunggi, a piece of blue cotton cloth, from five to seven cubits long and two wide. It is wrapped simply two or three times round the waist, and hangs down to the knee. He also has a handkerchief and a pair of leather slippers. In cold weather the turban is often worn even in undress. The vest (Angga) is made of silk or calico. They add a short coat with wide sleeves (Kaba) or with narrow sleeves (Chupkun) and a loose great coat (Lubada) of the same materials. They wrap round their shoulders either a shawl or quilt stuffed with a little cotton (Rejayi), and made of silk, or silk and cotton mixed; also foot-socks and mittens.

The full dress of the middle rank is much the same as that of the higher, especially in warm weather; but it is coarser, and their slippers are usually of leather. In cold weather they use only one shawl, with a long vest and coat (Nimah and Jamah) of muslin, and trousers (Izar) of silk or silk and cotton



mixed (Maldehi). They do not use the fur cap, mittens nor foot-socks.

In ordinary dress, the middle rank of Moslems in summer wear a small cap (Taj) of muslin, sometimes trousers (Izar) of calico, but more usually a piece of blue cloth (Lunggi) wrapped round their waist, together with a sheet five cubits by three, consisting of two breadths of cloth sewn together (Dupatta), which they wrap round their shoulders. In place of this they sometimes use a short vest with wide sleeves (Angga) made of muslin. They use wooden sandals. In cold weather they add a short turban (Morassa), a vest (Angga) of silk or chintz, and a quilted mantle (Rejayi) of similar materials, and more commonly use trousers (Izar), although the wrapper (Lunggi) is often employed to cover the waist. Instead of the quilt, many content themselves with a sheet of calico (Dohar) ten cubits long by three wide, which is doubled, and thrown round the shoulders.

The common people among the Muhammedans, in full dress, use bleached calico, a turban, a short vest with wide sleeves (Angga), sometimes trousers, but more usually a wrapper (Lunggi) for their waist. Many, however, have adopted the Hindu dress, and in place of the vest and Lunggi throw round their shoulders a small mantle of calico (Dupatta), which is five cubits long by three wide, and wrap round their middle a piece of calico (Dhoti), which is from five to seven cubits long, and from one and a half to two broad. The end of this, after two turns have been passed round the waist, is passed between the legs and thrust under the folds which cross behind the back. On ceremony they always use slippers. In cold weather, when in full dress, they prefer the vest (Angga) and trousers (Izar) as warmer, and either wrap round their shoulders a quilted mantle (Rejayi), made of old sheets dyed by themselves, or a large sheet (Dohar) worn double.

The ordinary dress of the low Muhammedans, in warm weather, consists entirely of an unbleached Hindu wrapper (Dhoti), or of merely a small piece of calico (Bhagoya or Langgoti), which passes between the legs, and its ends are turned over a string, which is tied round the haunches. In cold weather they add



as a mantle a large doubled sheet (Dohar), or a quilt of old rags stitched together (Kangtha or Gudri).

A lady of rank on grand occasions dresses as follows:—A gown (Peswaj) with sleeves, which reaches to the neck and the heels. It is made of fine muslin bordered with gold or silver lace. A veil of one

MUHAMMEDAN  
FEMALE DRESS.

breadth of cloth six cubits long by three wide (Ekpatta), made of fine Banaras muslin edged with gold or silver lace. An Anggiya or bodice covers the bosom to the waist, and has very short sleeves. It is made of muslin, sometimes dyed, and is worn under the gown. A pair of long drawers (Surwar), which are tied like those of the men, but are exceedingly narrow at the ankle; the women are usual priding themselves much on the neatness of their feet. They are made of satin (Masru), or rich silk flowered with gold and silver (Kinkhap), which are very hot; but even in the warmest weather must be endured on grand occasions. Slippers with long-pointed toes, covered with gold and silver embroidery. Young women often leave out the bodice. In place of the gown (Peswaj) many wear a shift (Korta), which is made much like the shift of European women, but reaches only to the knee. It is made of fine muslin. Some wear another kind of the same material which has longer sleeves, but only descends to the haunches. This is called a Muhurum; and young women usually prefer it to the shift. In cold weather they use a flowered shawl as a mantle; and the bodice and shift are of silk.

In warm weather Muhammedan women of middle rank, in full dress, wear linen only; bodice (Anggiya), a short (Muhurum) or long shift (Korta), and a veil of muslin. The veil is sometimes of one piece of cloth (Eklayi), and at others consists of two breadths sewn together (Dupatta). The natives have no name common to both kinds. They also wear drawers (Surwar) of bleached calico, and leather slippers. In cold weather the bodice or short shift is made of silk or chintz, the long shift of calico usually dyed, and for a mantle either a quilt of silk or chintz (Rejayi), or a doubled sheet (Dohar) of calico is employed.



In ordinary dress the Muhammedan women of middling rank, after the Hindu fashion, use nothing but an unbleached piece of muslin called a Sari or Barahati, which is about ten or twelve cubits long by two broad. One end of this is passed twice round the waist, and descends to the ankles, the other end is raised over the head and shoulders and forms a veil. In cold weather they add as a covering for their shoulders, a mantle of quilted chintz (Rejayi), or a double sheet of calico (Dohar).

The poor Muhammedan women in full dress use a wrapper (Sari) of dyed calico, and throw another piece of the same kind round their shoulders. In cold weather, if they can afford it, they add a doubled mantle of calico (Dohar). In common dress they use a wrapper (Sari) of unbleached calico, and in cold weather they make a kind of patched mantle (Kangtha) from pieces of old clothes quilted together, but without being stuffed with cotton.

The Hindu men of rank, even the Pandits at their marriages and other grand occasions, have entirely adopted the Muhammedan dress, and use the turban, clothes made by a tailor, and shoes or slippers of leather.

HINDU  
MALE DRESS.

They are only to be distinguished by their vests and coats being tied on the right side in place of the left, as the Muhammadans practise. Under the trousers they always wear a small Dhoti, and their turban is also in general smaller; when, however, they perform any religious ceremony or eat, these foreign luxuries must be laid aside; and they only retain the wrapper (Dhoti), and if the weather is cold, wrap another piece of the same kind round their shoulders. On such occasions every Hindu must lay aside whatever part of his dress has been touched by the infidel needle.

In ordinary dress even, they use the turban, but in place of the trousers they always use the wrapper called Dhoti, which I have already described. In addition to this, for covering their shoulders they use a mantle (Dupatta) consisting of two breadths sewn together. Many now use leather slippers but some adhere to their proper custom of wearing sandals,



which have wooden soles, a strap of leather to pass over the instep, and a wooden or horn peg with a button on its top. The foot is passed through the strap, and the peg is placed between two of the toes. In cold weather they add a short calico vest with sleeves, which they call Angrakha; but, except in being tied on the contrary side, it does not differ from the Angga of the Muhammedans. Some also wear a wide greatcoat (Lubada) of chintz or of Maldehi silk, or a quilted mantle (Rejayi) of the same materials, or a mantle made of a sheet of calico doubled (Dohar), or of muslin lined throughout with calico, and also surrounded by a border (Dolayi).

Hindus of middling rank, when fully dressed in warm weather, in addition to their proper clothing consisting of a piece (Dhoti) of bleached calico wrapped round the waist, add a Muhammedan mantle of muslin with a border of calico (Eklayi), or of two breadths sewn together (Dupatta), a short vest of the same (Angrakha), and a turban, and they use leather slippers. In cold weather some wear a shawl in place of a mantle, others a quilt (Rejayi), or one made of muslin lined and bordered with calico (Dolai), or a calico sheet doubled (Dohar). Many Brahmans, however, even of this rank use the full Muhammedan suit (Jora), only using a wrapper (Dhoti) under their trousers.

In warm weather the ordinary dress of the Hindus of middling rank consists of a wrapper (Dhoti) of unbleached calico, with a mantle of the same consisting of two breadths sewn into one sheet (Dupatta), and a pair of wooden sandals. In cold weather they add a turban, a quilt (Rejayi) for the mantle, and a short vest (Angrakha).

The poor Hindu men, in full dress, use an unbleached wrapper (Dhoti) of calico, a bleached turban, a mantle of two breadths sewn together (Dupatta), and leather shoes. In cold weather, in place of the single mantle they use one that is doubled (Dohar), or a quilt (Rejayi), made of old clothes dyed. Their ordinary dress is the same with that of the Muhammedans of their own station.

The Hindu females in this part of the world have in many respects adopted the use of a dress made by the needle. Women of rank,

**HINDU  
FEMALE DRESS.**

in full dress, use a petticoat (Ghagra or Lahangga) of silk, and a veil of silk or muslin.

This veil being of the same dimensions and materials with the wrapper (Sari), which is their proper dress, is called by the same name. The Kshatriya or Rajput women in place of this wear bodice (Angga) and a short jacket (Choli) of the same materials. In cold weather a shawl or quilted mantle of silk (Rejayi) is added to the above.

In warm weather the Hindu women of a middling rank, when fully dressed, wrap a Sari of bleached muslin or silk round their waists and cover their shoulders with one of its ends. In cold weather most of them wrap another Sari round their shoulders, while some use a double mantle of muslin (Dohar). In ordinary during the warm weather, their whole dress consists of one unbleached calico wrapper (Sari) to which in cold weather they add another for the shoulders.

This ordinary dress of the middling rank is the only one of the poor, but theirs is coarser and smaller, and is never washed except on very signal occasions, such as marriages; and then they usually dye their clothes red with safflower.

The Moslems leading the fashion in dress and being very smart, the Hindu men of rank, when they appear in public, keep themselves clean. The women of the Moslems, and of some castes of Hindus that are secreted, are said to be tolerably clean; but all those which are visible are the dirtiest creatures that I have ever beheld. In general their linen, except what is used as a dress of ceremony, is neither bleached nor dyed, nor have they even coloured borders, such operations indeed would be totally superfluous, as no colour could possibly be distinguished through the dirt by which they are encrusted. A woman who appears clean in public on ordinary occasions may pretty confidently be taken for a prostitute; such care of her person would indeed be considered by her husband



as totally incompatible with modesty. Their clothes are often worn to rags without having been once washed. The higher ranks of Hindu women, on solemn occasions such as marriages, have a dress of silk which lasts a life-time. In common many such do not even use bleached linen. I am assured by the Pandit of the survey that, having been introduced to the family of a Pandit of Dhamdaha who now resides in Calcutta, where he is highly celebrated for his learning, and who is a very wealthy man, he found the females dressed in linen, which did not appear to have been washed for a month, if in fact it had ever undergone that operation.

✓ Silk is a good deal used, but Erandi and Mekhli are less in use than towards the east. The Brahmans wear a good deal of a reddish cotton cloth somewhat resembling Nankeen, and called Kukti. In the northern parts of the district many of the women dress after the old fashion of Kamrup; but in other parts they are more fully covered. Both men and women are more fully clothed in winter than in Dinajpur and Ronggopur; and a greater sharpness in the air renders this necessary, and would even require a much greater addition than is allowed. I do not indeed know whether the people here do not on the whole suffer more from cold than in those districts, there being a very essential difference in the temperature. Yet of even the lower classes most are provided with a wrapper of cotton cloth quilted, or with a blanket or piece of sackcloth, and of the higher all use quilts of silk or chintz either as a coat or wrapper. In summer the lower classes of men go nearly naked.

The women here are much less indulged in gold and silver ornaments than in Dinajpur. Even in the south-east corner, where the people are most luxurious, it is supposed that their husbands allow them one-quarter part less of this extravagance than on the opposite side of the Mahananda; and in the western parts they do not allow one-half. In the south-east corner, and beyond the Mahananda, the Hindu women use ornaments of shell: but in Mithila they use ornaments of lac; and all in a great measure supply the place of the precious metals with brass and bell-metal, pewter, or tin.



Although no country can well abound more with oil, the custom of anointing themselves in several parts of this district is confined to a very few families of strangers. In others again, and these far from being so productive as most others, a very large proportion daily anoint themselves. The universality of the practice to such an extent seems chiefly confined to Gaur and the old province so called, which abounds much more with oil than sugar, from whence it is said to derive its name. In most parts, everyone anoints himself on high occasions.

The women here, although in other respects slovenly, are more careful of their hair than in Kamrup; and few allow it to hang about like a mop, but tie their hair with some degree of care. The young women and children usually have their eye-lids stained with lamp-black. The practice in a man would be considered effeminate. The women of this district, both Moslems and Hindus, are usually more or less marked by an operation called Godna, which may be translated tattoo, that Otaheitian word having now in some measure become English. The belles of the South Sea have however carried this ornament to a much greater extent than those of India, who generally content themselves with a few flourishes on their arms, shoulders and breast. No pure Hindu will drink water out of a girl's hand until she is thus adorned. The operation is performed between the age of ten and twelve years.

In the eighth Statistical Table will be found the result of very patient inquiries concerning the diet

#### DIET.

of the people of this district, which, although made by intelligent natives, questioning others perfectly well informed, are far from being satisfactory. They were, as usual, taken in fractions of annas and pice of the whole families of each division, and from thence the numbers put down have been calculated so as to procure a general average, on which of course more reliance may be placed than on the particulars, the errors in one division being probably corrected by those of another.

Grain is of course the grand staple of subsistence, and the people agreed better concerning the allowance



of that than of any other thing, although they were not so uniform in their statements as in Dinajpur and Ronggopur. The average consumption of rice, for a family eating no other grain except for seasoning, was in different divisions stated at from 48 to 64 s. w. a day for each person, young and old. The former is the rate almost universally given in Dinajpur, and the latter exceeds a little even that given in Ronggopur; but these are the extremes, and in most of the divisions the estimate was nearly 54 s. w. (1386 lb. avoirdupois). It must however be observed that the quantity of pulse used here as a seasoning is much greater than in Ronggopur, and probably this makes the quantity of food nearly equal in the two districts. Rice, however, is not so universally the grand constituent part of the food as in Dinajpur, nor even as in Ronggopur. Every rich person indeed uses it at least once a day; but many prefer wheaten flour for a portion of their food, and near the Ganges many cannot afford the daily use of rice, but live much on cakes made of maize, or of other coarse grains, and still more on those made of pulse.

The food in this district is, notwithstanding, more stimulating and savoury than that of the people to the east. In the first place many more persons daily eat butchers meat or poultry, and in many places, notwithstanding a greater proportion of Hindus, the Moslems openly procure beef and buffalo, and there are professional butchers who regularly sell beef, goats' flesh, or mutton. This indulgence seems to have been secured partly by there having been several considerable Moslem proprietors, partly by there having been three European stations, but chiefly from the residence of a Nawab having been fixed immediately over the chief Hindu zemindar, so that the selling [of] meat had become a regular custom. At Krishnagunj good beef may occasionally be procured from the butcher during the whole cold season. A paper is sent round, mentioning the number of pieces into which the beast is to be cut, with the price of each annexed; and when the subscription for a considerable proportion has been filled, the beast is killed. In every other part, even in the capital, the meat that can be procured is so wretchedly lean as to be totally

unfit for English cookery. It may indeed be made into soup, which may be eaten by any one who has not seen the meat before it was dressed. Sacrifices and offerings are also more common than towards the east; but it is not always the votary that benefits in his diet. Many Brahmans and other persons who affect uncommon sanctity give the flesh to the lower castes; still however the meat is not lost, and contributes fully as much to the benefit of society as if these good men had indulged their appetites. The lower dregs of Hindu impurity are also much benefited by the swine which they keep, although not so much as in Ronggopur. Towards the boundary of Dinajpur there are a few, but the breed increases gradually towards the west, and beyond the Kosi is very abundant. Game is not so plenty as in Dinajpur, but more so in the western parts of Ronggopur, and many of the lower castes procure abundance of ducks and teal, which towards the east are totally neglected.

Fish also is exceedingly abundant, so that in some parts almost every person has daily more or less at his table, partly purchased and partly caught by himself. This aliment is however more plenty in the dry season, and is generally of a very bad quality and often half putrid. Little is preserved dry, and the people are unacquainted with preserving it beaten up into balls with vegetables (Sidal).

Milk and its preparations are in general vastly more plenty than towards the east, especially near the Ganges and Kosi, and there are very few so poor but that they can procure it on holy days. The consumption of sugar is very trifling and in many parts is considered as an indulgence only procureable a Raja. Sugar is chiefly consumed in a drink called Sherbet, which in this country consists usually of sugar and water alone. The consumption of the coarse extract of sugar-cane, or of molasses and treacle, is very great. There is scarcely any one who has them not on great occasions, and many use them daily.

The greatest deficiency in the diet of the natives of this district is the small proportion of oil; although no country can well be more productive of this substance. Very various degrees of economy in its use seem to have taken place in different parts of



the district, and in general it is most scantily used where the greatest quantities are produced. The reason of this seems to be that there, a vast proportion of the rent being paid from its sale, and the payment of rent being always the most urgent demand, a great economy has taken place. In the parts, again, where silk is the production that pays most of the rent, the quantity of oil that is used is surprising. On this account, I am afraid the proportions given in the Table will be of little use, for what was called abundance in one place was in others considered as a very scanty allowance. In some places, indeed, the greater part of the natives seemed to have no desire to eat oil, and the difference of the allowance perhaps is not always so great in reality as in appearance; for in several of the divisions, where the quantity stated was small, the kind in common use for the lamp is either the castor or linseed oil; but where a family burns rape-seed oil, no separate account is kept of that used for the table and that used for light. The estimates of the quantity daily used by each person, old and young, when there was no necessity for economical restraint, varied in different divisions from 5 s. w. to 1 s. w. or from 15 drams to 3 drams apothecaries weight. The former was in the capital, where many families transact a great deal of business and enjoy themselves by the light of the lamp; the latter was in Nehnagar, where the people seem to dislike oil as an aliment; but a large proportion anoint themselves, and the estimate which the people gave was probably underrated. The average rate is about 2.8 s. w. a day for each person; and where people use the oil daily, but scantily, and merely as an aliment, one-quarter of that quantity may be about the usual proportion, although in some places a much smaller quantity suffices. In some parts a good many cannot every day afford even the smallest portion.

In a few divisions towards Dinajpur the poorest people eat little or no salt, and supply its place by ashes; and in a few others towards the north-east the lowest class add some ashes to compensate the scantiness of the supply; but in by far the greater part of this district every family uses daily more or less, and from the quantity stated to be imported the con-



sumption must be very great, although a considerable portion is re-exported to the dominions of Gorkha, and some is given to cattle. Still however the people are very badly supplied; so that the poor who use it daily are not supposed to be able to procure more than one-fourth of the proportion that those in a comfortable situation consume; and even those who are in tolerably easy circumstances require to be extremely frugal in the use of this commodity. The result of my inquiries on this head differed more widely than I expected, some stating 75 s.w. and others only 27 s.w. as a comfortable monthly allowance for each person of a family, young and old included. It must however be observed where very low estimates of the usual consumption of the easiest rank were given, as at Manihari and Gorguribah, that the total consumption is very great, because every one is stated to receive a considerable share and none are very scantily supplied. The average of all the estimates which I procured was at the rate of 55 s. w. a month for each person, young and old, who is living without restraint, and the proportion given in different places would make the actual consumption fall somewhat short of half of that quantity. The whole, as imported here, is exceedingly adulterated. A large proportion is of the kind imported by sea, which in some parts of Bengal scarcely any one will eat.

It is evident from the above that in order to enable the poor to purchase a quantity of salt sufficient for their desires, the price would require to be reduced to one-fourth of the present rate, and even the middling rank would require a reduction of one-half, which is very little more than what the salt would cost were there no monopoly. But if that were abolished, it by no means follows that the salt would be afforded to the people at the rate which it now costs the Company, because the demand increasing, the manufacturer would increase his price. Farther it is not clear that, were the price reduced, the poor would consume more; they would perhaps work less, or spend their means on tobacco.

The people here use about the same proportion of vegetables of an insipid nature as in Dinajpur, and many people make a profession of gardening, for there



are fewer extensive fields employed in this kind of culture. They have a great abundance of capsicum, turmeric and ginger, and in most parts onions and garlic are within the reach of every person, and are used by many of the Hindus, although they are rejected by every person who pretends to pure birth. Foreign spices, black pepper, and the carminative seeds are also much more common than towards the east, and the pepper especially is eaten by almost every one when he uses meat, except the low caste multitude who eat pork.

In Table No. 9 will be seen an estimate of the extent to which the use of various stimulating or narcotic substances is carried.

#### LUXURIES.

This deserves particular attention, as affording the most ready means by which the people may be taxed without materially injuring the poor. I have already fully expressed my opinion that the moderate use of any of these substances is far from being prejudicial, and I find it the universal belief among the natives, founded I am persuaded upon accurate observation, that except the betel, which is perfectly innocent, all the others used in moderation are highly advantageous to health and strength, and that even a good deal of excess is not attended with those bad consequences to the body which many people imagine. In a moral point of view, however, an excess in the use of several of them is highly pernicious; but in checking this evil the statesman should carefully avoid doing perhaps more injury to society by checking their moderate enjoyment, than any advantage that will ensue to the public from the strictness that he can establish.

I am led in particular to make this observation from what has taken place respecting the palm wine. The quantity that has ever been raised in this district has been so small that, in a view of raising from this source a revenue that could be in the smallest degree advantageous, any interference of government would be quite ridiculous; but some reports of excess, perhaps not committed even within the district, have probably led to a tax so inconsistent with the present extent of cultivation that it operates as a complete bar to any more palm trees being planted, farther than as an

ornament. Now this appears to me very much to be regretted, as both the Khajur and Tal palms are very valuable articles of cultivation, both affording not only palm wine but a saccharine matter of great utility, and the stem of the Tal may also be applied to various useful purposes. The palm wine I have already mentioned as a wholesome spirituous fermented liquor, which with proper pains might supply many of the natives, even of the labouring class, with a common beverage to serve as beer does in England; and its quality might be much improved from what it is at present, by the addition of some bitter herbs, as according to Rumphius, is practised in the eastern islands. These supply the place of hops, moderate the fermentation so as to prevent the liquor from becoming soon sour, and invigorate the stomach. Until however the use of this liquor becomes infinitely more common than it is at present, all taxes should be avoided, as being vexatious to the people without benefit to the treasury. On the contrary, the cultivation should rather meet with every encouragement. At Puraniya and south from it along the banks of the Ganges a good deal is now used in some parts; but the mode of collecting the tax, by granting exclusive licences to a few people to sell, has put a stop to the cultivation, and every man extracts the juice of his own trees without selling.

The practice of drinking distilled spirituous liquors has already gained such a footing that it has become a very fit object for taxation, and I am persuaded is more prevalent than is stated in the Table: for in order to avoid offence and to procure a more accurate statement, I confined my inquiries to the proportion of men alone who drink these liquors: but I was credibly informed that a considerable proportion of those who drink in private, and those form a large share of the whole, drink in company with their women. It was in general stated that the proportion of those who drink daily does not amount to more than perhaps one-eighth of the whole; in some places, however, many more, in others many less were stated, and this may be perhaps correct: but I suspect a fallacy in its being in general alleged that very few ever drink to excess. It is indeed highly probable, as is alleged,



that in the whole district there are not above 1000 open abandoned drunkards who appear publicly in that state; but as a very large share drink in private, without any witness whatever unless it be a female bottle companion, it would be difficult to say how many actually carry their indulgence to an excessive degree.

I was assured by one Darogah, but he was a stern old Moslem, that every one who took liquor in his jurisdiction set no other bounds to the quantity than his faculty of swallowing. A good deal of allowance must, however, be made for my informant's character; at any rate the excess of these people produces no public outrage, nor did I ever hear that even the most abandoned drunkards among the natives become outrageous, so as to disturb the peace.

The tax on this luxury is highly proper, and is far from checking its moderate use; on the contrary it perhaps has tended to that increase of the consumption which has no doubt taken place since it was imposed. The tax is also levied in a very easy manner, without any just cause of vexation to any one person and at a very moderate expense to government; yet it is liable to one very considerable objection.

Each distiller having an exclusive privilege of vending for a certain extent of market, in proportion to which he daily pays a certain sum, there is no competition, and his principal object is to make his liquor as cheap as possible, with very little regard to its quality; for it is notorious that there is no distilled liquor so execrable for which people who can obtain no better will not acquire a taste, and the strength of the habit, and especially the degree of excess, is very often increased in proportion to the badness of the drink. The liquor that is distilled here may in fact be considered as in the very ultimate degree of badness.

The mode of raising a tax on liquor, that formerly at least was adopted in Russia, seems preferable. Government there monopolized the manufactory; made, or purchased from abroad, all kinds of distilled liquors of various degrees and qualities, and delivered them to whoever desired at a price which secured the revenue that was required. Where practicable, without invading an immense property that individuals have laid out on buildings, this seems to be by far the



best means of taxing distilled liquors, as avoiding all the vexations of an excise, as giving room for a variety of liquors, and as securing the quality of each.

This nearly is the plan that the Government of Bengal has followed with opium, which is the most reputable intoxicating substance used by the natives; yet this mode of taxation is less fitted for opium than for distilled liquor, and the revenue that it raises is very trifling. This, however, is probably, in a great measure, owing to the scanty number of shops licensed to sell. If one were established in every considerable bazar, with an exclusive privilege over a certain number of market-places, and a power of informing against those who illicitly reared the poppy, the revenue would probably be considerably increased. The number of consumers of opium stated in the Table is probably a good deal underrated; as for reasons similar to those which guided my inquiries concerning the dram-drinkers, I avoided inquiring concerning the women who use opium, and I believe there are many. In the opinion of the natives this is by far the most creditable manner of intoxication; but it is here also allowed that unless accompanied by a nourishing diet, especially by the use of much milk, that it does not invigorate. In this district little or no use is made of capsules of the poppy in either of the manners that are employed in Rongpopur.

The use of hemp for intoxication, in the form called Gangja, is considered by the natives as more conducive to health and strength than any other, and in this district is carried to a very considerable extent, as will appear from the Table, which is probably as much underrated as the opium and distilled liquors, and many women also probably use it. All those who use this and opium take them regularly every day; the tax is levied in a manner similar to that by which the duty on spirituous liquors is raised, and is not liable to the objection of lowering the quality of the drug; but as this may be easily smuggled, while a still cannot be concealed from the smell of the passenger, so in the sale of Gangja there is a great opening for contraband. On this account it would be perhaps more advantageous to prohibit the cultivation altogether, except on account of the Company.



The sale of hemp prepared according to the manner called Siddhi is, I believe, altogether prohibited, nor do I know on what grounds; the plant in its wild state being fitted for making this preparation, a few people, chiefly men from the west of India dedicated to a religious life, prepare some for their own use, but the demand is so trifling that it might be safely overlooked.

The use of the substance called Charas, which is extracted from the hemp in Bhotan or Thibet, is prohibited, and the ease with which it can be smuggled certainly renders it desirable that it should be altogether excluded; but as this circumstance renders the exclusion impracticable, I can see no reason why government should not avail itself of raising a revenue by its means. Perhaps the easiest way would be to enter into a contract with the governments of Nepal and Bhotan for an annual adequate supply, and leave it to the care of the princes of these countries to prevent the transit of more than the annual demand required.

So far as I can learn, there is no essential difference in the effects which these various preparations of hemp produce on the human body, supposing the dose to be equally regulated.

The use of tobacco is almost universal among the men of this district, and extends to a much larger proportion of the women; for here a great many of the females smoke, and a great many chew. By far the greater part of the men who do not smoke are the higher castes of the Mithila Hindus, who reject the custom from a religious principle; but all these snuff, and the greater part also chew. The desires of the people for this stinking weed are not only more universal here than in Ronggopur, but they are said to consume more, the usual daily rate of smoking being stated at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  s. w. of the dried leaves, which by the addition of treacle or other sweet substances becomes 5 s. w. of prepared tobacco; and it is probable, including what is used in chewing and snuffing, that little short of this enormous quantity ( $23\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. a year) may be on an average consumed by fifteen-sixteenths of the adult males of this district. The quantity consumed by the women is comparatively a trifle.

This custom now so universally diffused and carried to such an extent, while it is less if at all invigorating, although no doubt less dangerous than distilled liquors, would seem to be a fit subject for taxation, although I must confess that the means of levying a tax without great vexation seem to be difficult. Perhaps the least objectionable and at the same time adequate means would be to stop all cultivation, except on the account of government; but as things stand at present, this would undoubtedly be an odious regulation, for in some places the cultivation is very general, and pays a great portion of the rent. It must however be observed that any tax on the sale would instantly render the cultivation almost universal; every man would raise in his garden what would suffice for his wants. A considerable sum, however, might be raised in the course of time by requiring those who prepare tobacco for sale to take out licences. The profession is low, and no person of rank will prepare his own, so that the tax would fall chiefly on the rich; low people would either prepare their own tobacco or use it without preparation. The tax should of course be at first very moderate, and very gradually raised.

A luxury still more useless than tobacco is the chewing of betel, which is carried to a very great length, both men and women using it nearly in equal proportions. In this district, however, it is not in general devoured with that incessant voracity with which it is used in the eastern parts of India, and there are not perhaps above 1500 people who sleeping and awake have their mouths crammed; nor is it considered by the people here as fashionable to be unable to articulate their words. Those in this district who are considered as abundantly supplied, use it daily from one to six times, and perhaps four times a day may be the most usual quantity. This requires ten leaves and two nuts, which on an average will cost from sixteen to twenty cowries, so that a person chewing will cost nearly one rupee seven annas a year.

Those who in this district are stinted in their allowance of betel, use it only from three to fifteen times a month. The others seldom use it except at



make a show on public occasions, while the manner of living in private is mean and penurious. In the eleventh Table will be seen an estimate of the various kinds of expenditure under this head. I shall now proceed to offer some general remarks.

The natives retain a great part of the fondness for the elephant which they are said to have possessed in the time of Pliny. This animal is considered as the most noble conveyance either for the images of God or for man, and a good many are kept. Few, however, keep separate cattle for the former purpose; but employ those on which they ride or hunt, to carry the images on days of procession. Most of the elephants are of the bad breed procured in Morang and cost from 500 to 1000 rs. Those who make the first purchase very seldom part with them.

The people here have somewhat more turn for horsemanship than towards the east, and a few horses are kept for riding. They are of two breeds, Tazi and Saresa, both very bad, but the produce of the vicinity. A much greater number of ponies are kept for riding than towards the east, and are of three kinds. The best are the Tanggans brought from the hills of Bhotan, and worth here from 50 rs. to 80 rs. The next are a breed mixed from these with native mares. These are called Doasla Tanggans, and are worth from 25 rs. to 40 rs. The poorest ponies are called Tatus or Janggalis, from their usually being allowed to roam loose for pasture when not required for use. They are infinitely worse than the Tatus of Dinajpur, because a great many of them are employed to carry loads, and are wrought too early, by which they in general become distorted and knock-kneed, and are the most wretched creatures that I have ever seen. The best are reserved for riding, and are worth from 5 rs. to 15 rs. It is these alone that are included in the twelfth Table.

One native keeps a coach made after the European fashion, and five keep buggies, while eight keep carriages of the country fashion drawn by horses. In the twelfth Table will be seen the number of natives who keep carriages drawn by oxen. Some of these have four wheels and are called Rath; but the

use of springs, an improvement now common at Calcutta, has not yet found its way among the natives of this district, although several Europeans have such carriages drawn by oxen, which are exceedingly cheap and convenient, and the cattle when decently fed travel at a very respectable rate.

The carriages upon two wheels, after the native construction, go very fast, but would be of little use to an European, as the space for sitting is so small as not to admit of a chair or stool, so that the passenger must sit on his heels, which few Europeans can do. They have no springs; but the passengers sit on a netting of ropes, which in some measure diminishes the effects of jolting. They are covered with a roof of cloth supported by a frame of wood, bamboos, and rope, which keeps off some of the sun but does not turn a heavy shower. The carriage is like that of the common country cart, indeed many use the same carriage indifferently for transporting goods and for travelling, and on the latter occasion put on the seat and covering; but many others have a proper carriage for travelling, made neater and lighter than that used by carriers. There are two kinds, *Majholi* and *Raharu*, which differ chiefly in the manner by which the traveller mounts. It is remarkable that even Hindus of some degree of rank have here sense enough to travel in such carriages, which in every other part that I have been would have been considered as an intolerable abomination. A pair of oxen can take these carriages twenty miles a day, and they go at a round trot.

The number of palanquins is nearly the same with that used in Ronggopur. In general they are very wretched unseemly conveyances. By the natives they are considered as of four kinds. The most fashionable is by them called *Kharkhariya*, and at Calcutta is the kind now in most general use. It is an oblong couch covered above by a low roof, and its sides shut by Venetian blinds, from the noise of which in travelling the name is said to be derived; but in this district the sides are often open or merely covered by a curtain. In the latter case the proper name at Calcutta was *Meyana*, but there this kind has now



almost entirely gone into disuse, and the name by Europeans has in general been transferred to the Kharkhariya. The poles by which this palanquin is carried are fastened to the two ends.

The second kind of palanquin is that from which this name is derived, and is called Palki. It is a couch suspended under a long bamboo, by the extremities of which it is carried. The bamboo forms an arch over the couch, and upon this arch is suspended a tilt made of cloth, which serves to screen the passenger from the sun and rain. This is a more showy but less convenient equipage than the former, and is now very rarely seen in Calcutta, but here some people still retain it.

The third kind is called Chaupala, that is, four square, and is a kind of square box open at the sides. A bamboo by which it is carried passes through it, near its roof, and the passenger sits on his heels, leaning his head sometimes against one side of the bamboo and sometimes against the other. This is a very miserable conveyance, used by the middling rank of native men; but has been improved by Europeans into the Doli for conveying the sick, by lengthening it so as to admit the passenger to lie at length.

The fourth kind is the Mahapa, used for carrying women. It is of the same shape with the Chaupala, but the bamboo by which it is carried passes over the top, so that in dirty roads the poor creature within is miserably draggled, and she is completely screened from view by curtains, which surround her conveyance.

It is only a few zemindars that keep regular sets of bearers, to whom they give lands as a reward for their services. Bearers, however, are pretty numerous in almost every part and may readily be procured by those who intend going only a short way, such as at marriages or other ceremonies, or in visits in the same vicinity; but few can be tempted by mere wages to undertake a journey of twelve or fourteen miles. When such are wanted they must be highly paid, and even then will not go without an order from their landlord, or from the magistrate, which is a kind of compulsion.

✓ In the number of male free domestic servants I have only included those called Bhandaris, Tahaliyas, or Khedmutgars, the nature of whose services are the same with what I have mentioned in Dinajpur. They are in general

FREE  
DOMESTIC SERVANTS.

ragged dirty fellows, and the crowd in whose multitude the native gentlemen take so much pride is composed in general of servants who are considered as belonging to the establishment by which they manage their revenues, or by which their carriages and cattle are conducted. A man may have twenty grooms, and not one of them appears on the account of his establishment. Each is considered merely as an appendage to the horse of which he has the management. In the town of Puraniya these domestic servants usually receive from two to three rupees a month, and find themselves in food, clothing, and lodging; but if they have no family on the spot they are always allowed to sleep in some hut, which, however, costs their master nothing, as he furnishes no bedding. They of course lie on the ground. In other places the master gives the servant food, but no clothing, and the wages vary from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  r. a month. In others the master finds both food and clothing, and allows monthly wages of from 4 annas to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  r. In general, however, the wages that are given to a good servant are 1 r. a month, with food and clothing.

In many parts no free women servants are on any account procurable. In some they can be had for nearly the same wages that are given to men; and are called Chakrani and Dasi. Most of them are elderly women that have lost their connections; but some are young, and are probably concubines veiled under a decent name. In the eastern parts of the district, again, many poor creatures give up their services for merely food and raiment, as is usually the case with the women servants in Dinajpur. These are sometimes called Bhatuyanis, but they are also called Gulmi or Laundi, that is, slaves, although it is admitted that they have not been purchased, cannot be sold, and that they may change their master whenever they find one that will treat them better. There are some such persons employed not only as domestics



but in agriculture, and some of them are males; but I have not been able to separate these classes. The whole are comprehended in the eleventh head of the eleventh Table.

It must however be observed that the same terms Golam and Gulmi, or Launda, Laundi are given to male and female domestics who are actually slaves, have been purchased, and are sometimes sold. Under the term Laundi, however, are often comprehended persons of a very different description; and had a Moslem chief the means of procuring a Circassian beauty, she would come under this denomination. As it is, the high Moslems sometimes purchase a pretty child, with whom necessity induces her parents to part. She is carefully shut up with his wife on whom she attends; but as she grows up she often attracts the regards of her master, becomes a mother, and although she never acquires the rank nor dignity of a spouse, she often receives more of the chief's attention than falls to the lot of her mistress, and obtains a separate establishment. Everything concerning the women of such persons being veiled in the most profound mystery, no estimate could be procured of their number; but this is a luxury in which almost every Muhammedan of fortune is supposed to indulge as far as he can afford.

Common domestic slaves are not only called Golam and Launda, but in some parts they are called Nufur, while in others this term and

#### SLAVES.

Dhinggar are exclusively given to slaves employed in agriculture, in contradistinction to Khawas or Bahaiya, the name given to domestic male slaves, or Sudin the name given to females. In other places again, Khawas is given indifferently to slaves employed in agriculture or as domestics, and another distinction of more importance arises. Those who belong to zemindars and receive lands for a subsistence are called Khawas, while those who belong to inferior persons, and are allowed a house, food and raiment, are called Sehana; but none of these terms are applied in different parts with any uniformity; the words are taken in one sense in one pergunah, and in a contrary or at least different sense in the next.



This indeed is a circumstance that deserves the most serious and careful consideration from every person who manages the affairs of India, especially from those who form the laws by which it is to be governed. We almost everywhere find the same terms employed in the customs, finance and government of the people; and superficial observers have done infinite harm by representing the people as everywhere guided by the same laws and customs. Now I will confidently assert that many of the terms expressive of points of the most essential consequence in the customs, finance, and government of the people are taken in meanings essentially different, not only in different remote provinces but even in neighbouring districts, divisions and estates. The use therefore of any such terms in a general legislative view, without a most accurate definition of the sense in which it is to be taken, may prove in some cases highly prejudicial, while with a proper definition the regulation might have proved universally beneficial. This indeed cannot be too often inculcated, especially on the people in Europe, who have often been misled by specious writers, generally extremely shallow. The manners indeed of the different nations and people in India differ as widely as those of Europe, even including from Lapland to Paris.

Farther, as India has almost constantly been undergoing a rapid succession of dynasties governing very different portions of country, and as the princes of these have been little guided by any other maxim except their temporary convenience, and have very generally entrusted even the legislative power to very inferior officers, each acting on discordant principles, so an astonishing and most perplexing variety of local regulations and interpretations of the same phrases has arisen.

Although I have long been convinced of the circumstance, and endeavour constantly to guard against it, yet I confess that I often fail, and that I have not succeeded in distinguishing these classes of slaves with proper accuracy, so that the statements of the proportion of each class in several of the divisions are taken merely from my own conjecture, having been completely deceived by the use of the same



words in opposite, or at least very different meanings. The heads Nos. 12, 13 and 14 in the eleventh Table contain all the male adult slaves reported to belong to the district, and these may be nearly a fourth of the whole persons, young and old, in that condition; but as I am very uncertain what proportion is really employed in agriculture and what as domestics, I shall under this head give an account of the whole.

Those of one class (see Table 12, head 12) are chiefly domestics, although they are sometimes employed to tend cattle, to dig, to build houses, or in such kinds of labour. These live entirely in their masters' houses, but are always allowed to marry. Their children are slaves, and their women act as domestic servants. So far as I can learn, they are in general tolerably well treated, and fare as well as the ordinary class of servants, whose state however in this country is not very enviable, and has no sort of resemblance to the pampered condition of a European servant in India, and still infinitely less to that of the luxurious domestics of England. They have, however, wherewithal to stay the cravings of appetite for food, and the comfort of marriage, without the care of providing for a family. These are not numerous, and chiefly belong to Muhammedans. A grown man costs about from 15 rs. to 20 rs.

The next class (see Table 11, head 14) belongs chiefly to Hindus of rank, who either have small free estates or rent lands, and in the cultivation of these such slaves are chiefly employed, although some are also employed as domestics. The whole that I would consider as belonging to this class are such as are allowed a separate hut and small garden for themselves and families, where they receive an allowance of grain and coarse cloth for a subsistence. The men work constantly for their master, and the women whenever their children do not require their attention are either permitted to work on their own account, or if required to work for their master, they and the children are fed and clothed entirely at his expense. The children, so soon as they are able to tend cattle, are taken to their master's house, where they are fed and clothed until married. The allowance usually given annually to a slave is a piece of coarse cloth,



and about 985 lbs. (15 *mans*, 64 s. w. a ser) of grain. His wife's labour and his garden must furnish every other article of expense. A lad at sixteen years of age sells for from 12 to 20 rs. A girl at eight or ten years, when she is usually married, sells from 5 to 15 rs. In most parts man and wife, provided they belong to the same master, are not usually sold separate, nor is it the custom to separate children from their parents until they are marriageable. But in others they are sold in whatever manner the master pleases, and there the price rises considerably higher.

Very various customs prevail respecting their marriages. If a master has no slave girl of an age proper to give in marriage to one of his own boys that has arrived at the age of puberty, he endeavours to purchase one; but in many cases no master is willing to sell. The two masters sometimes agree, and having allowed the parties to marry, the master of the boy is entitled to one-half of the male children, and the master of the girl to the other half, with all the females. In other cases the master of the girl, at the marriage, takes 2 rs. from the master of the boy. The male children are as before divided equally; but the master of the boy gets 2 rs. for every female child when she becomes marriageable. In both cases the female slave continues to live with her master, who if he requires her work, feeds and clothes her and the children until they are marriageable, and at any rate gives them a hut; but in general the male slave passes the night with his wife, gives her part of the allowance which he receives from his master, and she works for whatever else she may require. These contracts can therefore only be entered into between neighbours.

In some places it is not usual for free persons to marry with slaves; but in other places it is not uncommon. When a free man marries a slave girl, he is called Chutiya Golam (*cunno servus*), and works for her master on the same terms as a slave, but he cannot be sold. His male children are in some places free; but are called Garhas, and are looked upon as of lower birth than persons of the same caste, both of whose parents were free. In other places the male children are slaves, and the female children in all cases are reduced to that state. A man sometimes



gives his slave in marriage to a free girl, paying her father 2 rs. In this case all the male children are slaves; but the females are free, only when each of them is married either her relations or bridegroom must pay 2 rs. to the father's master. The woman lives with her kindred and works on their account, receiving the husband's allowance from his master.

In some places it was said by the masters that the slaves did more work than hired servants, and were better fed; but near Dimiya, where they are by far most numerous, it is alleged that they will do no labour without the constant fear of the rod, which appears to me the most credible account. They frequently run away, and going to a little distance, hire themselves out as servants, which shows that their former state was not enviable. Servants being exceedingly scarce, few masters are supposed to be honest enough to refuse hiring a runaway slave; indeed many will deny that there is any moral turpitude in protecting a fellow creature who has escaped from that state of degradation.

There are, however, in this district many slaves (see Table 11, head 13), whose condition is very different. These belong mostly to the great landlords, and each family receives a farm free of rent and sufficiently large for its comfortable subsistence. This the family cultivates with its own hands, or by means of those who take a share; and when required, the men attend their lords, sometimes on grand occasions to swell out his numerous train, but usually either as domestics, or as confidential persons to whom he can safely entrust the superintendence of his affairs. Their families live on their farms, only perhaps one woman or two in a hundred may be required to be in attendance on her lady. Such persons are in fact by far the easiest class of labouring people in the district, and of course never attempt to run away, and are in general very faithful to their masters, who, although at a vast expense of land in maintaining them, very seldom sell them; but they possess the power, which operates strongly in rendering these slaves careful in the performance of their master's commands, and regardless of its nature. Their marriages are liable to the same varieties with those of other slaves.



The number of common beggars that were estimated to be in the whole district amounts to 7140,

BEGGARS  
AND CHARITY. of which by far the greater part are real objects of charity,

although in some parts it was alleged that there were among them many lazy fellows who were able enough to work. So long as they are able to go about, they are in general supplied with a sufficient quantity of food, and are commonly allowed to sleep in some out-house, provided they have no hut of their own. Many of them, however, are provided with this accommodation, for some charitable people prefer assisting them to build a hut rather than run the risk of their dying within their premises, which in most parts of this district would be attended with great inconvenience.

Besides there are many lame, blind, or other infirm persons belonging to poor families, that cannot give them food but who give them accommodation and such assistance as is within their power, especially in sickness. In a few places it was stated that the people were in general very kind to them, and allowed none to perish from absolute want of care, nor in their last moments to want the common attentions of humanity; but in most parts of the district the notions of caste produce a great hardness of heart, and it was stated that whenever a beggar was unable to move from his hut, he was totally neglected by his neighbours, or that whenever a wretch fell down no longer able to travel, there he lay until he perished. Nor are people there willing to admit any one that is very infirm within their walls, lest he should die, in which case they could not remove the body without a loss of caste. The Darogah, or superintendent of police, is indeed considered bound to remove dead bodies; but in many places there are no persons of a caste that can perform the office, and many parts are too far removed from the officer of police. When a wretch therefore is about to expire, he is usually carried out to the road and allowed to die; or if he is suddenly carried off, his death is carefully concealed until night, when the corpse is privately thrown out to the dogs. It seems to be this difficulty of managing the dead, more



than a want of charity, that imposes a vast deal of distress on the necessitous poor of this district.

It is probably owing to this that the charity of the Muhammedans, although too often diverted by their Fakirs, seems in general to be more fully directed towards relieving the distress of the necessitous than that of the Hindus. As an honourable instance of merit in this way I cannot avoid mentioning Jolfokar Ali, a merchant of Kaligunj in the division of Udhrail, who daily gives food to between twenty and twenty-five necessitous persons. Beggars are by far most numerous in the south-east corner of the district, where vast sums have long annually been advanced for silk and cloth, and where the generality of the inhabitants live by far the most luxuriously. From the vast number of distressed creatures which I saw in that quarter, I should judge the numbers stated in the reports (Table 6) to be considerably underrated.

Among the beggars may be enumerated ten wretches called Hyras, who live at the capital in one society; I have nothing to add to what I have before said concerning this class of people.

I have already stated that, when compared with Ronggopur, the number of prostitutes is exceedingly small and their gains much less. They do not form a kind of corporation as in that district, but almost all of them openly profess themselves to be entirely of the Muhammedan religion. The doctrine of caste is so strictly observed that any Hindu of rank who had a connection with a common woman would be in great danger. It is therefore chiefly the Moslems by whom such creatures are encouraged. Of course there are a good many widows, or women whose husbands are absent on service, that carry on intrigues, in which they observe some secrecy but yet are pretty generally known. These are however extremely careful to confine their intrigues within the bounds of caste. Such ladies are called Ghuskis. In the whole district I heard of only two houses of the Hindu tribe called Ramjani, the women of which are professed strumpets. Most of the prostitutes are said to be purchased while infants, from the northern parts of Dinajpur and Ronggopur, and they are joined by very few widows and still fewer maids of this district; for among the



lower ranks premature marriage is almost universal, and among the higher ranks the women are watched with the utmost care. On the whole it was stated (Table 5) that in this district there are only 470 houses of bad fame, and on an average there are not in each house two women of an age fit for their profession.

The people here seem to be less charitable and much more addicted to intoxication than those of Dinajpur. Towards the west there are many pilferers, but they are not nearly so much addicted as the people of that district to audacious robbery and murder, although the latter crime is far from being uncommon. In other respects their dispositions are much the same, only, if possible, the people here are greater proficient in chicane and are of a more querulous disposition.

In my journey I everywhere found them ready to supply the wants of my people, and at no place experienced those difficulties which sometimes occurred in travelling through Dinajpur and Ronggopur; but I am assured by all the European gentlemen that I have talked with on the subject, that in this I was fortunate to a most extraordinary degree; for that even they, who have been long settled in the country, find often a great difficulty in procuring anything whatever to purchase. This has often arisen to such a height, even in the town of Puraniya, that the magistrates have been under the necessity of fixing a price upon several common articles, such as kids, fowls, and ducks, and to permit these to be taken by force if the regulated price has been proffered and refused; the price was very high, as it certainly ought. This difficulty has even been, it is said, carried to a most extreme degree, and the native troops at Krishnagunj have been often unable to purchase rice, although vast quantities are exported from the immediate vicinity. Extreme causes often produce similar effects, and the miserable oppression to which the people of this country under their native rulers had been from time immemorial subjected, has produced an unaccommodating spirit almost as bad as that which has followed the licentious freedom of America.



My good fortune in passing without trouble through a people of this kind I must attribute, in a great measure, to the exertions of the native officers of police and law, who were uncommonly attentive. My people also, from longer habits of travelling, are no doubt more alert at obviating difficulties than when I visited Dinajpur.

## CHAPTER III.

### EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE.

LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS—PANDITS AND SCHOLARS—  
GRAMMAR, LITERATURE, LAW AND METAPHYSICS—THEO-  
LOGY, WORSHIP, ASTROLOGY, AND MAGIC—MEDICINE AND  
SURGERY.

This important branch of economy is conducted exactly on the same very imperfect plan that is employed in Dinajpur, but the people are not so illiterate. In the first Statistical Table will be seen the number of those who

#### EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE.

teach the vulgar languages (Gurus), but these are very inadequate to the demand, and a large proportion of the boys are taught to read and write by their parents. The rewards given to the Gurus are nearly of the same amount with those given in Dinajpur. A few Gurus in principal towns keep public schools, attended by from fifteen to twenty boys, but in general the teacher is hired by some wealthy man who gives him wages and food, and commonly allows him to teach a few children belonging to his neighbours, but some refuse this accommodation. Other employers again will not undertake to feed the teacher daily; he goes in turns to the houses of the parents of all the children whom he instructs. No one teaches to read any of the Hindu characters used in this district without at the same time teaching his scholars to write. The Bengalese commence on the sand with a white crayon (Khari-mati). They then write on palmira leaves with ink made of charcoal, which rubs out; then they write with ink made of lamp-black on plantain leaves, and conclude with the same ink on paper. The use of the style for writing on palmira leaves is not known. The Nagari used in all the dialects of the Hindi language, and in that of Mithila, is often taught in the same



manner; but the scholars more usually begin upon a black board with white ink made of Kharimati; then they write on a copper plate with the same ink, and finally on paper with ink made of lamp-black. The Bengalese character is very little used in this district; and except among the traders of Bengal settled in almost every part, is chiefly confined to its eastern side, and even there the accounts of the zemindars are kept both in Nagari and in Bengalese.

In the divisions of Sibgunj, Bholahat, Kaliyachak, Kharwa, Nehnagar, Dulalgunj and Udhraih, the Bengalese language is by far the most prevalent. In Gorguribah and Krishnagunj both dialects and characters are

very much intermixed, and it would be difficult to say which is most prevalent; but the Bengalese is perhaps a little more prevalent in the first, and the Hindi in the latter. In Bahadurgunj and Matiyari, on the frontier of Morang, many of the tribes from the east speak Bengalese, but the Hindi and Maithila are by far the most prevalent, and in all the remainder little or nothing else is spoke in common conversation; but the knowledge of the oral use of Hindustani is very universal, at least with all men above the most gross of the vulgar.

The men of science among the Hindus of Mithila use, in writing their books, the character called Tirahuti, just as the Bengalese use their own character, for the Dev Nagari is very rarely employed in this district, and the Sangskrita language cannot be properly expressed with the common Nagari character. The Tirahuti and Bengalese character differ very little, but there is a vast difference in the pronunciation. The Brahmans of Mithila pronounce their words nearly in the same manner with those of the south of India, only here the people suppress the short vowel that in the south is added to the end of many words: for instance, the Mithilas pronounce Ram and Sib in place of Rama and Siba. As the Hindi character is by far the most prevalent in this district, I have endeavoured to adopt its pronunciation, although I must confess that when treating of



Bengal and of this country, it is awkward to write the same name in two different manners.

Persons are usually taught to read the Persian or Arabic characters, as is practised in Europe, without being taught to write them, which is made a separate study. By far the greater part of the people who in this district acquire the mystery of reading this character proceed no farther; nor do they attempt to understand a word of what is before them. Many, however, pass a good deal of time in the pious exercise of reading the Koran, and imagine themselves to be edified by the sound. This character is very little used for writing Hindustani. In this district indeed, that is chiefly a colloquial language and is seldom written, even in the transaction of business.

The dialects of the Bengalese usually spoken here, in the parts where the cultivators talk that language, are exceedingly impure and vary at very short distances. The same is reckoned the case with the Hindi language, which is in still a greater state of confusion; for there is not only a difference in almost every petty canton, but even in the same village several dialects (Mithila, Magadh, Sambhal, &c.) are often in common use, each caste retaining the peculiar accents, words and acceptations of the country from whence it originally came. The emigrations have been so recent that the people have not yet moulded their discourse into one common dialect. Among the Bengalese all these dialects of the Hindi are called Khottha Khottha or the harsh language, and in the Bengalese part of the district all the tribes from the west are usually called Khottha (Barbarophonos).

The dialects of the Hindi language, besides national or provincial differences, which often vary so much that the one is not understood by the other, may be divided into two degrees of improvement. First, that spoken by the lower castes, secondly, that spoken by men of rank and used in their poetical compositions, the only ones, except accounts and letters on business, that this district has produced. Setting aside provincial distinctions, these are in fact the only divisions of importance, but each is called by various names even by different persons in the same place.



The first may be called the language of the vulgar (Apabhasha); but a large proportion of the Brahmans and almost the whole of their women speak no other dialect. In the vocabulary will be found a specimen of this dialect as spoken by the Maithila castes at Dimiya. In this dialect are many songs and several hymns in praise of the village deities, especially Bhimsen, Karnadev and Sahal or Sales, but I cannot find that these have ever been committed to writing.

The second dialect is spoken by a considerable portion of the Brahman men, and those of the higher ranks, and also by a very small proportion of the women; but even these use the first dialect when they speak to their servants. This dialect is called Des Bhasha, or the language of the country, and is also used in correspondence by persons of rank and education, but a good many who can speak it or understand it when spoken, especially among the Brahmans, cannot write at all, and several among the men of business have acquired the art of writing and carry on correspondence, whose lowness of rank has prevented them from acquiring a pure style. Not above 3000 men in the whole district understand this language so as to speak it with propriety, nor can half that number write it. Perhaps 300 women understand it when spoken, but in the whole of my inquiries I heard only of 20 women who were able to correspond in this dialect or indeed in any other, and all these lived to the west of the Kosi. To the east of that river none have alarmed their husbands by a too eager search after the forbidden fruit of knowledge. In the annexed vocabulary will be found an example of this dialect as spoken by the Mithila Pandits on the west side of the Kosi, where alone there is any considerable degree of education among the people of this district who speak the Hindi language. \*

This Des Bhasha of the Mithilas is not so different from the Apabhasha as the Prakrita of Bengal, and is often used in their poetical compositions with very little more intermixture of Sangskrita than has been completely incorporated with the dialect. But other Hindi poems are not so plain, and to many who read the Des Bhasha fluently are almost totally



unintelligible. A great many, however, read these poems diligently without attempting to discover their meaning; and some who cannot read, and still less understand, endeavour to benefit by committing large portions to memory: for these productions are in general looked upon as translations from works of divine authority, the repetition of which in the original would be highly meritorious, were it legally permitted to profane lips: but that not being the case, many are contented with pronouncing the translation. In most parts of the district, illiterate men and some women have learned persons to read the Purans and explain their meaning in the polite dialect, and they often hear read the works of Kalidas, Manabodh, and other poets who have composed in the polite dialect. These persons, although they cannot read themselves, understand both the explanation of the sacred books and the meaning of the profane authors.

The work in the poetical Hindi language that is by far in greatest repute here is the Ramayan of Tulasidas, who is said to have been a Saraswat Brahman of Kasi. This work is unintelligible to by far the greater part of those who read it. Even Pandits, who have not made it a peculiar study, cannot comprehend its meaning. This is said to be owing to the author's besides Sangskrit having introduced words from most of the more remarkable dialects spoken in India; just as if a man were to compose a poem in a mixture of Greek, French, English and German, which would be nearly unintelligible to many well educated persons of each nation. Whether any other poets have taken a similar liberty I cannot say; but those who study the derivations of the Indian dialects would require to be aware of the circumstance.

Many other poets are read, or repeated by rote, especially the following:—Rasvihar, composed by Bhriguram Misra of Mungger, whose descendants live at Puranigunj near that place, but he is supposed to have lived 500 years ago. It gives an account of the amours of Krishna, but is not in the Mithila dialect. The same person left an account of Sudama, the pupil of Krishna. This is called Sudama Charitra. He also composed a work called Dan Lila, which is said



to be of an amatory nature. Another work of the same name was composed by a Maithila Brahman named Manabodh. This person has also left a poem called Haribangsa, which is said to detail the genealogy of Krishna. This author has used in his works the higher dialect of Mithila with little or no admixture, so that he is understood by all of decent rank or education. Jaydev Misra, also a Maithila Brahman, composed many poems called Git Govinda, but they are nearly all Sangskrita, and are not wholly intelligible to Pandits who have not studied them with considerable care. Many people have portions by rote and sing them to music. A work much used is the Bhasha Bhagwat, a translation of the Sri Bhagwat of Vyas, 45 books (Adhyay) were translated by Lalach, a confectioner (Halwai) of Kasi, 16 books were afterwards translated by Asananda, a scribe of Mathura, who resided in the same city. The dialect is that of Kasi, which is not understood by the Mithilas, but is in use among many Hindus from the west who have settled here. Many of the Mithilas, however, diligently read this work, and some of them understand it.

Among the Mithilas the language called Prakrita is said to be the dialect that was used by Ravan, king of Langka, and seems to be a dialect of Sangskrita; some of the Pandits are said to study this, having a grammar called Prakrita Manorama and a vocabulary called Prakrita Langkeswar. It is said that there are several works which were composed by Ravan and are studied by the Pandits, especially of Tirahut. This dialect is totally different from the Prakrita of Bengal, which is analogous to the Des Grantha or Bhasha of Mithila. A few study this language of Ravan and the books written in it, but I do not hear that any one follows the doctrines of Ravan, which have not been in fashion since the time of Salivahan.

In this district a great many study the Persian language, and it is supposed that there are in it about 1000 men capable of conducting business, more or less perfectly, in that language; but in general they have confined their studies merely to the forms of correspondence, and law proceedings, and few indeed are



supposed to be elegant scholars, and none profess to teach the higher parts of Persian literature, as is done by the Moulavis of Ronggopur.

On the whole it must be observed that the people of this district have rendered themselves much fitter for transacting business than those of the two districts towards the east; and the native officers who superintend the police, and decide petty suits, are in general men preferable to those who have there been procured. In particular, there being fewer foreigners among them, they are in general better informed concerning the state of the country. Among the persons, also, employed in the higher departments of collecting the rents there is a much smaller proportion of strangers, and many natives of this district have found employment in distant quarters. This pre-eminence, however, is chiefly remarkable among the higher ranks. There are here many more men qualified to hold the higher offices; but not more, who can read and write. It is chiefly in the south-east corner of the district that a large proportion of the men is educated for business, which seems to be owing to the residence of the Register (Kanungoe) for ten-sixteenths of Bengal having been in that quarter, and to his having there possessed large estates. The education of the zemindars and other proprietors of land has here been more neglected than even towards the east. I have already noticed that this kind of education, unaccompanied by literature or science, is very apt to narrow the mind, and I think that the truth of this observation is confirmed by a view of the people here, who are uncommonly addicted to chicane and great proficient in its mysteries.

The science of the Arabs has been exceedingly neglected, and very few, even of the Kazis, are supposed to understand the Koran or any Arabic work on their law, metaphysics or grammar; nor did I hear of one man that attempted to teach such abstracted and dry matter. Indeed, the little attention that is paid to the education of the natives who are to administer the Muhammedan law, which in criminal causes is that adopted by the Company's government, is in this district truly deplorable, and I doubt much if one such man born here is tolerably well versed in



the subject, nor so well informed nor liberally educated as the common attorneys in a country town in England.

To judge from the number of Brahmans who profess to teach their sciences, learning in this district

PANDITS  
AND SCHOLARS.

ought to be considered as much more flourishing than either in Dinajpur or Ronggopur; for in the course of my inquiries I heard of no less than 79 Pandits who obtain the title of Adhyapak. Several doubts, however, may be entertained concerning the extent to which these persons diffuse knowledge. In the first place, in this district the term Adhyapak is not confined entirely to those who teach the three nobler sciences of metaphysics, law, and grammar; but is also given to those who diffuse a knowledge of astrology (Jyotish) and magic (Agam), although those who teach these delusions alone are far from being placed on a level with the teachers who are more strictly philosophical. In the next place, some of the professors, at least twelve of them in Dimiya and fourteen in Dhamdaha, are said to be but very shallow. The others, however, I am informed by the Pandit of the mission, are men of good education in their respective lines. The students, moreover, are accused of inattention, and take long vacations.

About as many students go to other quarters from hence as come here from other districts, nor has any one man a very high reputation. None of whom I heard kept above eight scholars. I learned that 63 of Adhyapaks this year had 101 scholars, and if the whole 79 have at the same rate, which is highly probable, the total number of scholars will be about 177, so that probably about ten or twelve men annually finish their education so as to be qualified to assume the title of Pandit. This is conferred without any diploma, but in an assembly of from five to ten Pandits, who bestow a name on the new doctor. The Darbhanga Raja, being himself a Brahman of very high birth, pays some attention to the education of the Pandits on his estates. When any man, therefore, has finished his education and wishes to assume the title of Pandit, the assembly is held before the Raja who, when the new name is conferred, gives a dress



and places a mark on the forehead of the candidate. In other places no such ceremonies are observed.

The number of people who are considered as proper Pandits in this district, including the Adhyapaks, was stated to be 247. Besides about 67 of the Adhyapaks, not above 20 or 30 men who reside in the district are considered by the Pandit of the mission as men of learning. The others have chiefly a little knowledge of the Sangskrita language and grammar, of the law, of astrology, and of a monstrous legend called the Sri Bhagwat.

A great many other persons, however, assume the title of Pandits but are distinguished from the former by the name of Dasakarmas; of these there may be between 1800 and 1900. They serve as the officiating priests (Purohits) for the Sudras. Towards the west, where they are by far most numerous, they act as Purohits for very low castes; but in these parts by far the greater part of these Dasakarman Pandits cannot read nor write any language, but they understand the poetical legends when read, have acquired some knowledge of the marvels which these contain, a knowledge how to perform the usual ceremonies, and have committed to memory the necessary forms of prayer. In the eastern parts, where the manners of Bengal prevail, there are Adhikari Brahmans for the lower castes of Sudras, and their knowledge is nearly on a footing with that of the lower Dasakarmas. In every part, the Dasakarmas who act as priests for the higher orders of Sudras can read and are able to pray from the book, which is considered as of much consequence. A good many of them have studied a year or two under an Adhyapak, and have some slight knowledge of grammar and of law, and some of them understand a part of the ceremonies which they read. Some also can note nativities. The Pandit says that he has seen no Sudras nor pretended Kshatriyas that have studied the sacred tongue, except a very few of the medical tribe in the south-eastern corner of the district.

In this district it is remarkable that science is almost entirely confined to two of its corners, the old territory called Gaur, and the small portion situated to



the west of the Kosi. The former seems to have been owing to the care of the Register (Kanungoe) for the ten-sixteenths of Bengal, who had many estates in that vicinity, and still retains a part. He still appoints six Pandits to teach, and gives them an allowance besides the lands which they possess, and these are reckoned higher in rank than the other professors of the vicinity, and are called Raj Pandits. The 31 Pandits in that quarter addict themselves chiefly to the study of law and grammar. They have too much, perhaps, neglected metaphysics; but they have kept themselves totally uncontaminated by the delusions of astrology, although they are a good deal addicted to the study of idle legends (Puran) and even of magic (Agam).

In the western side of the district there are no less than 33 teachers within a small space, and there, although metaphysics are fashionable, the delusions of astrology are in high request; but magic is not known, nor are the legends of the Purans in great favour. The number of teachers is owing to the patronage of the Rajas of Darbhanga, to whom the greater part of the lands belong; but these zemindars seem to have been actuated chiefly by vanity, and notwithstanding the parade in conferring the title of Pandit which I have lately mentioned, the teachers on his estates are considered as very shallow, and out of the thirty-three in the whole territory west from the Kosi, only eight are considered as men well versed in the sciences which they teach; one in metaphysics, three in grammar, and four in astrology. In his estates in Tirahut, however, it is said that there are many teachers of very high celebrity. All these Pandits are of the Mithila nation.

The Bengalese Pandits of this district study the grammars called Saraswat Kalap and Ratnamala.

#### LITERATURE AND GRAMMAR.

The first is the most usual, and in my account of Dinajpur I have given some notices concerning it and the second. The Ratnamala is said to have been composed by Purushottam, a Baidik Brahman of Vihar in Kamrup, who flourished in the time of Malla Narayan, a very modern chief. On this



work there are two commentaries (Tika); one by Jiveswar, and the other by Jaykrishna, two Brahmans of Kamrup. This grammar is considered easy, and may be studied in four or five years.

The Mithila Brahmans study only one grammar, the Siddhanta Kaumudi, extracted or altered from the works of Panini by Bhattoji Dikshita, a Brahman of the south, who lived about 200 years ago. This work has been only introduced here about thirty or forty years, and was then substituted for the entire works of Panini, which are said to be grievously prolix and obscure. On this work of Bhattoji there are four commentaries, and notwithstanding, it is still abundantly troublesome, as its proper study with the full explanation contained in the commentaries requires at least twenty years, and those who only read it for twelve years are supposed to have but a superficial knowledge.

The Abidhan or vocabulary in universal use with both the Bengalese and Mithilas of this district is the Amarkosh. After twenty years' study of this abstruse grammar, a man can understand a good deal of the Sangskrita poetry, but the works on law, the Beds, those on metaphysics, astronomy, and magic, and the Bhagwat remain as separate studies; and many before they commence these read some easier poetry (called Kabya), such as Magh, Naishadh, Raghu, Kumar, and Meghdut. The Magh is said to be an extract from the Sri Bhagwat and Mahabharat, by a certain rich man named Magh, some say a merchant, others a prince. The Naishadh consists of extracts from the Mahabharat, giving an account of Nala Raja and Damayanti his wife, who lived in Naishadh in the west of India. These extracts were made by Sri Harshan, a Brahman of this country, who lived about 300 years ago. The Raghu is an extract from the Ramayan of Balmik, made by Kalidas with many additions of his own. The Kumar was extracted by the same poet from the Kali Puran, which is one of the works called Upapuran, and is supposed to have been composed by Vyas. The Meghdut is also a composition of Kalidas.



The Bengalese, who study the easier grammars and the poem called Bhatti, are at least as well fitted to commence the study of the sciences as those who have laboured through the improved works of Panini, and afterwards chiefly study the works of Raghunandan on law. The Brahmans of Mithila, in law, follow chiefly the following books:—(1) Prayaschitta Bibek, by Sulpani, a Brahman of Yasar (Jessore, Rennell) in Bengal. It seems to be a work on the punishments due for criminal actions. (2) Prayaschitta Kadamba, by Gopal Bhatta, concerning whom my informants know nothing. This treatise is on the same subject with the former. (3) Bibad Chintamani, by Bachaspati Misra, a celebrated Pandit of Mithila, and in this country his works are considered as having the same authority which those of Raghunandan enjoy in Bengal. He is supposed to have been contemporary with Sulpani of Bengal, and that both flourished about 400 years ago; but there has been since another person of the same name although of very inferior authority. As the doctrines of Bachaspati and of Raghunandan differ in some points relative to succession, some confusion in the administration of justice has occasionally arisen, as part of the district follows one law and part the other, while the Pandits of the courts have seldom been conversant in both doctrines. (4) Bibad Chandrachur is another treatise by the same author. (5) Suddhi Nirnay is still another. (6) Suddhi Bibek is a work of Rudrajha, a Mithila Brahman, of whose history I can learn nothing. The study of these works properly requires four years, after twenty years' labour on the improved grammar of Panini.

The Nyaya Sastra, or metaphysics, are in great request in Mithila, and here also are supposed to have been first disclosed by Gautam, who resided most usually at Chitraban on the bank of the Ganges, somewhere about Vaksar (Buxar, Rennell). He lived a short time before Rama. It is said that some of his works on this subject still remain, but are almost unintelligible. The book Chintamani was written by



Gangges Upadhyaya of Mithila, who is supposed to have flourished during the government of some of the ancestors of Harasingha, who introduced the present customs of Tirahut. Nearly the same course of reading is pursued here in the study of metaphysics as in Dinajpur.

No person here teaches the Bedanta or disputations concerning the meaning of the Beds; but one

Pandit from Kasi, who has  
THEOLOGY. travelled into the south, has

returned an adept, and has been converted to the doctrines of Ramanuj. He is the most acute man that I have found in this district, and says that he is the only person versant in the science between Murshedabad and Kasi. He has assisted the Pandit of the mission in giving me the accounts from which I have extracted what I have said concerning the science and Hindu customs of this district.

Many Pandits here explain the Sri Bhagwat to their pupils; for this work is said to be infinitely more difficult to comprehend than the other works of Vyas. No Pandit here will, however, acknowledge any other author for this work. They indeed allow that Vopadev did compose a petty Bhagwat, but that it is totally different from the work of Vyas. However that may be, the book attributed to this author is very much studied by all those of the sect of Vishnu, and the follower of Ramanuj looks upon it as the highest authority, and says that in the books attributed to his master there are many quotations from the Sri Bhagwat, and that Ramanuj lived long before Vopadev.

The Agam or doctrine of the Tantras is taught by several Pandits in the north and east of the

district. The works chiefly  
WORSHIP. read are (1), those of

Krishnananda, mentioned in my accounts of Dinajpur and Ronggopur; (2), Syamarahasya, by Purnanandagiri, a Sannyasi of Kathiyal in Maymansing; (3), Tararahasya, composed by a Brahmananda Giri. All these teach the Tantras, supposed to have been delivered by Sib; but the sect of Vishnu has other Tantras, part of which they suppose to have been



revealed by Narad, part by Gautam, and part by other personages equally remarkable. These have been explained by a certain Gopal Batta, a Brahman of Brindaban, in the same manner as the Tantras of Sib have been treated by Krishnananda; but no Pandit of this district teaches this doctrine, which seems to be much freer from indecency than the other, nor does it appear to be intended to accomplish any illegal practices. I heard of no pretenders to any very extraordinary powers.

In the western parts the Brahmans have preserved to themselves the whole profits of astrology, and of the

ASTROLOGY AND  
MAGIC.

other branches of the science called Jyotish, and several teach it. Four or five of them are said to be men of science, that is, understand their books thoroughly, having a knowledge of the Sangskrita language sufficient for that purpose; but several who teach and many more who practise are not adepts. They have been taught to read the formulas and have had their meaning explained, so as to perform the operations; but having never received a grammatical education, the meaning of the greater part of the book is totally unknown. Many again, who have received a good grammatical education, find that the practice of astrology is necessary for their support; but have not given themselves the trouble of proceeding farther than just to be able to calculate nativities, and some only so far as to be able to note them (Janmapatri). Nay, some are said to call themselves Jyotish who cannot even read, but they buy an almanac over which they mutter, and thus procure money from the ignorant.

In this district a great diversity of eras prevails. In the eastern parts, the astronomers follow the same eras that I have mentioned in Ronggopur; but in Mithila the year is lunar, and commences on the first day after the full moon in Asharh. Here they say that Sak was the same with Salivahan, and this year 1810 is reckoned the 1732nd year of his era. It is also the 1866th year of Sambat, who according to them is the same with Vikram. In these two points they agree with the Brahmans of the south, and differ



totally from those of Bengal. They have still another era called after Lakshman, king of Gaur, and of which this is the 705th year. By the best informed persons it is supposed to commence with his having taken possession of the country, which to the Hindus was probably a joyful event, as previous to his time it seems to have been much overrun by the Kirats and other barbarians of the north, or in possession of the followers of Buddh. In civil affairs the solar year is in use, and the greater part of the revenue is collected by the era of Bengal; but in the parts of the district that formerly belonged to Subah Behar, the instalments of payment are regulated by the Fusli era, instituted for the purpose by the kings of Delhi.

In the eastern parts of the district no Pandit teaches this art, and there the Daivagnas of Bengal, who in this district are commonly called Upadhyayas, practise astrology, in which, however, several of the Brahmans and these even men of learning join; but the science of none of either class proceeds the length of being able to use the common formulas so as to construct an almanac. I do not hear that any Pandit possesses any instrument by which he can take an observation of the heavenly bodies.

On these sciences, it may be curious to remark that having had an opportunity of ascertaining what 65 of the Pandits in this district taught to their pupils, I learned as follows:—

Eleven teach metaphysics; of these six confine themselves entirely to that difficult science, one undertakes to pave the way by also teaching grammar, one adds to his toil the dry study of the law, while two not only did this but relaxed their studies by a perusal of the Bhagwat, and finally one man taught the whole of these sciences. No one philosopher, however, degraded himself by the delusions of magic or of astrology.

There are no less than 31 teachers of the law, of whom one only confines himself entirely to this pursuit. Twenty add one additional science, of whom nineteen teach grammar and one philosophy; eight teach two additional sciences; of whom three teach grammar and explain the Bhagwat, two explain the same



mysteries and engage in metaphysics, two are also grammarians and magicians, and one is not only a grammarian but an astrologer. Two of the lawyers are not afraid to teach, besides, three other branches of learning; one explains grammar, philosophy and the poet Vyas; the other in place of philosophy substitutes magic. It would thus appear that the Indian law is not so well fitted as its philosophy to guard against the deceptions of the delusive arts.

Even literature and grammar have some preventative effect, at least against astrology; for of eleven teachers of the latter, ten profess nothing else, having made no eminent progress in grammar, which were they able, they would not fail to profess as being more honourable than their own art. The effect of literature and grammar in preventing the vain notion of procuring extraordinary favour and power from God by certain forms of worship (Agam), seems to be next to nothing. Of seven persons teaching this kind of mummery, six are proficient in grammar, three add to that a knowledge of the poems of Vyas, and two in vain profess the law. One person only confines himself entirely to his empty ceremonies. Only five Pandits are contented with explaining the obscurities of grammar alone, although in the whole progress of science this, I should imagine, is by far the most irksome task.

Medicine also is in rather a more creditable state than towards the east; and there are three sets of practitioners who have at least the decency of being able to read. I heard of 26 Bengalese practitioners of this kind, the greater part of whom are Brahmans; but there are a few who by birth are physicians. Another sect, said to amount to 37, are all Brahmans, and are called Misra or Sakadwipi. All these reject totally the idle delusions of prayer (Mantra), and give medicine. They all have some written instructions in the sacred dialect; but few of them have any considerable learning or have studied the Sangskrita grammar so as to be able fully to comprehend any other works, except some books on medicine, the meaning of which their master has repeatedly explained in the vulgar



tongue. This indeed, so far as I can learn, is not a very uncommon thing among even Pandits, and a man is considered as possessed of very uncommon endowments if he can comprehend the meaning of every Sangskrita book that is put into his hand.

At Puraniya are five Muhammedan physicians, who seem to be little superior to the Hindus. The doctrines of both are nearly the same, and seem to be founded on the school of Galen. More physicians here practise at large than in the two districts towards the east; still, however, a considerable number are servants, and attend on wealthy families for a monthly pension. Those who practise at large make from ten to twenty rupees a month. They do not keep their recipes or doctrines secret, but seem to practise in a liberal manner. None of them have a high reputation among the natives, nor is any considered as an illustrious teacher. It is not every Brahman that practices medicine who is entitled to a place in this class, for of forty such persons in the division of Kaliyachak, it was stated that only one possessed a book treating on medicine, and that only ten could even read.

There is another set of medical practitioners who reject prayers and exhibit herbs, but who have no books, and indeed the greater part cannot read even the vulgar tongue. They have been orally instructed in the use of certain herbs in certain diseases, and feel the pulse like other doctors. I heard of about 450 of these persons, but they seem to be confined chiefly to two parts of the district, its south-east corner or Gaur, and the portion that belongs to the Raja of Darbhanga, and these are the two portions to which Hindu science is almost exclusively confined. These people are called by various names; Atai Baidyas, or doctors who defraud the ignorant; Dehati Baidyas, or village doctors; Chasa Baidyas, or plough doctors; Haturya Baidyas, or doctors who attend markets.

In the capital and its vicinity, I heard of 62 persons who are called Jurrah, and who may be compared in some measure to surgeons; that is to say, they profess to treat sores and tumours, but they are totally illiterate and destitute of science, nor do they perform any operation. They deal chiefly in oils.



An old woman at Nathpur has acquired considerable reputation by extracting the stone from the bladder, which she does after the manner of the ancients. I have not heard of any practitioners in surgery; but this is much more than is to be found towards the east.

The obstetrical art is in the possession of women of the lowest ranks, who assured me that they never attempted any thing farther than to secure the umbilical cord; and they professed a total ignorance of any means for promoting difficult labours. In all cases of pain in the abdomen, they are employed by the men; and I believe often give considerable relief, by rubbing and squeezing the affected parts. These pains they attribute chiefly to the change of place in what they call the Dhum, that is, the pulsation in the great artery on the loins; but they also imagine that portions of the liver are occasionally detached and roll about, producing gripes, and what nosologists call *borborygmi*. The wise women are here employed to fix these detached portions.

Those of Bengal profess a total ignorance of this art, as I once had occasion to learn. A west-country sepoy, being hypochondriacal, imagined that a portion of his liver was detached; and as I in vain endeavoured to remove his disagreeable sensation, he requested to have the assistance of his midwife. I thought a refusal would be treating the man with harshness, and therefore applied to the sisterhood, who gave themselves great airs and declared that it was impossible to venture among so many young men, so that it was with great difficulty that even the native officer of police could induce a hag to approach. Being somewhat curious to see what kind of an operation was intended, I accompanied her to the sepoys' quarters, where he was stretched out among his companions, while a steady Havildar gravely laid open the nature of the case. On having this, the wise woman replied, 'How should I know anything of this business? I am a mere Banggali!'. The whole party from the Havildar downwards assented by the significant word Haugh to the justice of this remark, and the fellow was left to groan, until a march or two relieved his spirits.



The number of those who deal in spells and incantations is exceedingly great. Those who by such means pretend to cast out devils, and to cure diseases and the bites of serpents, are called Ojha and Guni, and many amount to about 3500. In many parts they are divided into two classes, one of which confines its attempts to the cure of diseases and the casting out devils; for by these wiseacres most of the diseases are attributed to the common enemy of man, who is generally allowed to be a fair and good source of profit. The others confine their labours to curing the bites of serpents, but will not venture to sell the favour of the deity by whom those dreadful reptiles are guided, and therefore have no reward except reputation. In other parts, again, the whole Ojhas undertake both branches of the profession. This delusion, especially concerning devils, is most prevalent towards the frontier of Morang and towards the Nagar, and there about 500 persons gain a trifle by pretending to be able to consecrate ashes and water, although they have not taken the trouble to acquire any forms of prayer. In the Moslem government these Ojhas or Gunis, at least near the capital, are said to have been taxed from one to five rupees each. This tax is said to have been removed by a Mr. Ducarel, for what reason I do not know; but I have known several old settlers who seem to have as little doubt as the natives of the efficacy of these spells, against serpents at least; they were too good Christians, I suppose, to admit the power of idolaters over the devil.

Inoculation for the small-pox is everywhere practised with great success by the persons who have no other remedy but prayer, and who are also employed by those who have the spontaneous disease. No person whose father has rejected the practice of inoculation will now admit of his child's undergoing the operation. The operators are called Tikawaleh, Gotpachcha, Basanta Chikitsak, and Pachaniya, and are of the lowest dregs of the populace, exactly on the same footing as in Dinajpur. In this district there may be between 600 and 700 persons who in this manner gain a part of their living.



## CHAPTER IV.

### RELIGIONS AND SECTS.

THE MUHAMMEDANS—THEIR CUSTOMS AND SECTS—THE HINDUS—BRAHMANS—OTHER HIGH CASTES—SUDRAS—CASTES CONSIDERED LOW AND IMPURE—CASTES CONSIDERED VILE AND ABOMINABLE—CUSTOMS AND SECTS OF MITHILA HINDUS—VARIOUS SMALL SECTS.

Calculating in the same manner as I did in Dinajpur, I estimate the Muhammedan population at 43 per cent. of the whole, or at 1,243,000 persons. The result of the calculations for each division will be seen in the fifth Statistical Table, and in the first will be seen the proportion of Muhammedans to Hindus in each division.

The followers of Muhammed, although by no means so numerous as in Dinajpur, have more influence, a much larger proportion of the land being in their possession, and the manners of the chief town being almost entirely Muhammedan. In general, also, they are somewhat more strict observers of their law, although the difference is not very material. The faith, on the whole, seems to be gradually gaining ground, the strictness with which the doctrine of caste is here observed occasioning many converts, and the passage from one religion to the other according to the existing practice is very trifling, as scarcely any new dogmas or practices are required, a few external ceremonies is all that is necessary, and the convert continues to dread the same imaginary beings and to appease their wrath in the same manner as he did before his conversion. Although the Hindus are not behindhand in paying their respects to the saints of the Moslems,

and especially to the grandsons of the prophet, yet there is a good deal of ill-will between the two sects. The mutual offerings to the objects of each other's worship or respect are here more confined to the ignorant than in Ronggopur, although many examples of this laxity of thinking may be found among even those dedicated to religion; and a good many even of the highest Hindus defray the expense of a pageant in honour of the grandsons of Muhammed, and during the rites performed in honour of their memory entertain all those who apply with sherbet (Shurbut) and parched grain. This custom was probably introduced when the fury of the Moslems in celebrating these rites was without check, and it was probably meant to screen the wealthy Hindu from the dangers of bigotry, inflamed by tumult. The two sects, however, so far agree that although many Moslems kill oxen and eat beef, yet scarcely any of them can be induced to sell a cow or a calf to an European. The murder of these innocents would give too great an offence to their neighbours, and would probably be followed by some kind of retaliation.

In this district also the worship of Satya Narayan among the Hindus, and of Satya Pir among the Moslems, is very prevalent. Although these words imply the true God, the worship weans neither sect from any one of their errors; each continues to follow every species of mummary, and this object of worship is chosen only in cases of little importance, because he is supposed to be very good-natured and to concede trifles with much readiness. The hymns in which he is celebrated by the Hindus are called Pangchali, and are all in the language of Bengal, which is no doubt the original source of this worship. It has however been discovered that these poems were composed in the vulgar language by Sangkar-Acharya, although that person in all probability would not have understood a word of them; nor can I learn that any such poems exist in the Hindi dialect, and much less in that of Karnata, which was the native language of that celebrated teacher. It has also been discovered that these hymns are taken from the Bhavishyat Puran, part of the works of Vyas, but this seems doubtful.



for these works seem to me to be constantly quoted and very seldom consulted; nor do I believe that any Brahman in the three districts which I have examined has ever seen one-tenth part of the works attributed to Vyas, or has read almost any part of them except the Sri Bhagwat and Mahabharat; concerning the others, they appear to me almost always to speak from mere report, for I never could procure any of these works in order to have any quoted passages extracted. Besides the Pangchali, alleged to be composed by Sangkar-Acharya, there are others composed by Rameswar, a Rarhi Brahman who lived in Barddhaman, and by Krithivas, who composed also a poem concerning the actions of Ram.

The appointment of Kazis in this district has been managed with much more regularity than in the two districts towards the east, each division under a Darogah having a Kazi, and the extent of the jurisdictions of the two officers being commensurate. Several of the Kazis, although decent men, have little polish in their manners, and the state of their education is in general as defective as in Ronggopur. This perhaps could not be avoided, as the reward for their services is not of a nature sufficient to defray the expense of a liberal education; and several of them said that they were very indifferent about their offices, having found their flocks very disobedient and unruly. That they are not popular is pretty evident, for they in general complained that the people living on free estates considered themselves as totally exempt from their jurisdiction, and never employed them at any ceremony except when their seal as notaries was required.

In the appointment of deputies, the Kazis of this district have not followed any general plan. In some places they appoint deputies to collect their dues from the Mollas of villages, who are usually chosen by the people, or at least appointed agreeable to what is known to be the general wish. If these deputies are few in number, they are called Nayebs; but if they exceed five or six, they commonly receive no higher title than Molla. In some places these deputies act as Mirmahaluts, that is, persons who like the



Paramaniks of the Hindus in Bengal settle all disputes concerning caste and punish those who transgress its law; in other places again, the Mirmahaluts are distinct from the deputies and subordinate to their authority; finally, in others there are no such persons. In some places the Kazis have appointed no deputies distinct from the Mollas of the villages, but grant letters of confirmation to whatever person they think will be agreeable to the multitude, and these return the dues which the Kazi ought to receive; and this seems to be the most judicious plan, at least for obtaining popularity, for these village Mollas being usually bigots and men of austere manners have considerable influence. The deputy or Molla is seldom allowed more than one anna on the rupee for his trouble of collection. In other places the Kazi gets thirteen annas, the Molla two annas, and the Mirmahalut one anna; the latter has besides many perquisites. The state of education among the deputies and Mollas is much the same as in Ronggopur.

Fakir, in this district, is a term given indiscriminately to all religious mendicants, Moslem and Hindu; but this is as great an impropriety as the term Padre, which all such persons give themselves when they beg from an European. Fakir, in the proper acceptation, should be strictly confined to the Muhammedans. In this district they are much on the same footing as in Ronggopur; they have not so much hypocritical cant, nor are they so much respected as in Dinajpur: some of them even who have considerable endowments are rational men, whose behaviour is totally free from any extravagance. The sects among the Fakirs, of which I heard in this district, are as follows:—

The Benawas ought to abstain totally from marriage, and pass their time in pious exercises and in the practice of charity, for maintaining the expense of which many, if not all of them, have endowments. But of 73 persons of this description of whom I heard, 64 had taken to themselves wives, and had not been deprived of their lands, although they had suffered much in the opinion of the people. Their lands however were not considered as hereditary possessions,



but ought to go to disciples that are brought up according to the rules of the order. In all probability most of the disciples will be their own children, their office will gradually become hereditary, and they will then be considered as belonging to the next class.

The Tukiyahtars here are considered as distinct from the Benawas, and marriage is thought perfectly consistent with their duties. They all have endowments, and a monument dedicated to some religious person, where they burn a lamp and pass their time in the practice of hospitality and religious exercises. I heard of 203 such persons. Many Benawas, however, it must be observed, have Tukiyahtars.

The Julali Fakirs are said to have been instituted by the blessed (Huzrut) Julal of Bukharah. When a person is admitted into this order, his body is burned with a charcoal ball. Of this kind I heard of 222 families, more than one half of which are confined to the division under Thanah Dangrkhora.

The Madari Fakirs are much more numerous, and were stated at above 1600 families. They are said to have been instituted by a certain Shah Budiuddin Madar, who was a Khaki or religious man of Mudinah, that deserted his family and all the pleasures of the flesh. The Fakirs, both Julalis and Madaris, are much on the same footing as in Ronggopur, but more of them have endowments. Both may become Benawas or Tukiyahtars. The order seems to be fast increasing, an extravagance in purchasing the favour of God being one of the principal means which the people take to dispose of the additional resources that a long peace, and a government comparatively excellent, have bestowed. Were the number of Fakirs or other religious mendicants defined, this disposition might enable the professors to live with dignity, and they might prove an ornament to the country by their buildings and learning; but here the multitude alone increases, each is as poor, squalid, and ignorant as his predecessors, and the additional resources that might have been derived from such happy circumstances have been squandered on objects of total inutility.

I did not hear of any Khondkars, who instruct the people in their duty; but there may be a few that



escaped my notice. The Mollas have in most parts the exclusive privilege of receiving well-disposed persons into the order of Murids, on the same footing as in Ronggopur; but in several places a description of men called Pirzodas interfere with this source of emolument. Most of these are vagrants, or at least come here only occasionally, and chiefly from Murshedabad. I heard of three only who resided in this district. The profession of Murid, in some places, is almost universal with every adult Muhammedan, [in] religion of the sect called Sunni, for the Shiyas reject the ceremony. In others again very few make this profession of adherence to their law, which like most other similar professions has in reality very little effect. It costs from four annas to one rupee.

In this district a little more attention is paid to prayer and ablution than in Ronggopur, and I heard of 73 public criers, who with their shrill voice endeavoured to remind the people of the regular times when they should perform these duties. These criers have endowments, which probably induces them to continue their irksome labour; for this is attended with but indifferent success. In the capital indeed 2000 persons are said to attend to the call of 50 criers; but in the country the whole number of such dutiful persons does not, it is said, exceed 500 persons. Compared, however, with Ronggopur this must be allowed to be a great degree of attention.

Pilgrimage, another sacred duty of the Moslems, is here in no great request except among the Fakirs, who naturally wander in the course of their begging, and frequently resort to Peruya. The profane chiefly frequent Nekmurud, where they can both pray and enjoy the pastimes and profits of the fair; four men however have returned from Mukkah, and two from Karbula, and a female of rank has accomplished the meritorious task of visiting both places. Such persons are held in great veneration, and have the title of Hazi. Every one, however, who has gone even to Nekmurud, at least in some places of the district, hoists a flag before his door, and some huts are distinguished by five or six of these badges of honour, which in many places of Bengal no one has



the assurance to raise who has not professed himself to be a man of peculiar holiness.

Much about the same attention is paid here as in Ronggopur to the duty of reading the Koran, a book which probably not five men in the district understand.

The fasts are here not so scrupulously observed as towards the east. In one division it was indeed said that every one fasted, more or less, during the month Rumzan; but in others scarcely any, it was said, gave themselves the trouble except for a few days, and many made no attempt to afflict their stomachs for the honour of God.

The celebration of Mohurrum in commendation of the grandsons of the prophet is the ceremony that is by far most universally and pompously exhibited; and as I have already mentioned, many Hindus of rank imitate the wealthy Moslems in defraying the expense of procession, and in entertaining the populace with sherbet and food. The populace both Hindu and Moslem are quite delighted with the gaudy and noisy processions; and the former, now that they can do it without danger, seem fully as eager for the festival as the latter are. The Moslems, however, on this occasion still retain a good deal of ferocity in their looks; and it is probably the fear of the bayonet alone that retains the scimitar in the scabbard. This ceremony is everywhere celebrated with the same emblems, savouring of idolatry, that I have before had occasion to mention; but in this district I observed no images offered at the monuments of saints.

Notwithstanding the universal eagerness with which the memory of the grandsons of the prophet is celebrated, very few are Shiyas, or belong to the party which adheres to the father of these princes. Probably in the whole district there are not 200 families of this sect; in the course of my inquiries I did not hear of so many. About 100 families are said to reside in the capital, mostly families originally from Persia, and of high birth and decent education. Several of the Kazis, Darogahs, and Munsufs have with great propriety been selected from among these, as in general well qualified to discharge their duties;



but in several divisions there was not a single man of this sect except one or two of these public officers.

Among the Muhammedans, concubines (Nekahs) are always united to their lord by a contract before the Kazi or his deputy, and accompanied by a religious ceremony.

In this district, especially where the proportion of Hindus is greatest, the doctrine of caste has gained a complete practical ascendancy over the Moslems and has occasioned a vast number of subdivisions, the members of which do not intermarry, and often will not eat in company. Men of rank and education laugh at this absurdity; and where the Moslems are most numerous, there are many fewer distinctions, and the number excluded from general communion is small, and is chiefly confined to those of professions that are reckoned low and dishonourable. In some places, for instance, almost every trade forms a separate caste, as among the Hindus, while in others it is only a few low trades that are excluded. In the former places, national distinctions are also a complete bar to intermarriages, but in others little attention is paid to this, and a person's descent in the male line is alone considered of importance. I shall first give an account of these national or family differences, and then notice the distinctions that have arisen from profession.

Persons who claim a descent from the prophet are pretty numerous, and exclusive of the five divisions towards the south-east, it was said might amount to somewhat more than 700 families. What number of pretenders may be in these five divisions I cannot say, as I did not hear of these distinctions until I had passed these parts; but the number must be considerable, probably not less than 100.

The Moguls, lately governors of India, are far from being numerous, and probably do not amount to 200 families. Many subdivisions have taken place among this people. They seem originally to have been divided into four Aolads, descended as supposed from four sons of a certain king; for this manner of accounting for the origin of nations from one common progenitor has passed from the Arabs to all the nations that have adopted their faith. Farther, the



Moguls have divided into four Koums or nations, according to the places where they settled. These Koums are Irani (Persian), Turani (Tartarian), Rasbihani (Russian), and Chakatta, of which I can learn no explanation; perhaps it may signify the Moguls who remained in their original territories. To these some add a fifth Koum, Durrani, although others consider the Durrani as a tribe of Afghans, that is, of the highlanders who inhabited the mountains situated between India and Persia. Moguls of all these subdivisions ought to abstain from intermarriages, as ought also those who differ in religious opinions, and embrace the opposite doctrines of Shiya and Sunni.

The descendants of the Pathans, an Afghan race who governed India before the Moguls, are in this district much more numerous, and may amount to about 2000 families. These three tribes, on account of their illustrious descent and former prowess, are considered as pure or noble, and pay no rent for the ground which their houses and gardens occupy, nor should they undertake to cultivate any lands that pay a rent. But many by dire necessity have been induced to degrade themselves, and have sunk much in the opinion of the people. Service either in the military or civil departments, exclusive of domestic labour, is considered as much more honourable, as is also commerce, neither of these employments requiring manual labour, for which these once haughty conquerors had a decided aversion. They did not honour the plough like the hardy sons of Rome, nor did they despise traffic like the gallant knights of the north. The exemption from house-rent makes them careful in preserving the purity of their descent, although it is alleged that there are many pretenders whose claims at best are very doubtful.

Except artists, all the remaining Muhammedans call themselves Sheykhs, as claiming a descent from the gentry of Arabia, an honour to which, from their personal appearance, a few have some sort of claim; but it is a few alone that can boast of this distinction, and the greater part are not to be distinguished from the Hindu peasantry of the vicinity. These Sheykhs



are in general cultivators, and seem much fonder of the plough than of any other profession. In some parts they have subdivided themselves variously, in others they are all without distinction called Sheykhs. The chief cause of difference seems to have arisen from those who as much as possible imitate the nobler tribes in concealing their women, while others are not at this pains, which to a farmer is always attended with an excessive inconvenience. The former kind in different parts I heard called Darbhanggiya and Bara Sheykhs, the latter were called Chahari and Kulhaiya.

I have before stated that with respect to various artists who have adopted the faith of Muhammed there exists a great variety of practices. In some places any Sheykh may practise an art without separating from his former companions. In others such a practice is not admitted, and in various places there is a great difference in the number of trades that are rejected or admitted as honourable for a Sheykh to follow. Farther, the Fakirs seldom marry except among each other, and that only with those of their own order; and the children of prostitutes are never received into the families of honest women. Besides, many Hindu artificers have been converted, and still retain many of their old practices, and in particular, when they have been of respectability, an abhorrence at eating or intermarrying with strangers. These separate themselves from the Sheykhs. Again, many other artists who among the Hindus were considered as vile and infamous have been converted, but the Sheykhs abstain from their communion, lest they should degrade their faith among the heathen. There are, however, many of these tribes of artists, both of the purer and more vile sorts, who still adhere to their former doctrines.

In the following list, therefore, I merely give a statement of the persons who I was told are excluded from communion. In this, for instance, will not be included all the tailors who are Muhammedans, but only those who are excluded from a full communion by the Sheykhs that live in the vicinity; for the same person will be admitted in one place and rejected in



another. Here also I do not give all the Chamars of the district, the greater part of that low tribe being still Hindus. Neither are all the people mentioned in this list, strictly speaking, artists; many of them have become cultivators, although their extraction being known, no one except the people of the same caste will eat or intermarry with their families.

By far the most numerous class of this kind, and that which most generally keeps itself separate, consists of weavers of the tribe of Jolaha, who in order to distinguish themselves from their pagan brethren call themselves Momin or *believers*. Those who are excluded from marriage by the Sheykhs may amount to 3200 houses, and the families are numerous; several brothers commonly living together, and these keep one or two looms, while the remainder plough.

I heard of five families of tape weavers (Newargar), and eight workers in silk sashes and cords (Palwars), who were excluded from communion.

The Dhunaru or Dhuniyas, who clean cotton wool and render it fit for being spun or sown into quilts, are in this district a numerous class, almost all of whom are Moslems; but in most parts they are excluded from a communion with the faithful, because in general they are not ashamed to drink in public, and indeed it is alleged that the greater part are abandoned to the most beastly intoxication. I heard of about 1250 families which, on this account or other pretexts, were excluded from communion.

Those among the Moslems who prepare and sell milk, and who tend herds of cattle in the same manner as the Goyalas of the Hindus, are in the west of India called Jat. About 400 houses have settled in Matiyari and separate from the other Moslems. A great many of them cultivate the ground. In the south-east corner are about 100 families, who are called Pangchpiriya Goyalas, or the cowherds of the five saints.

Tailors, for what good reason I cannot say, are often excluded from the communion of other men, a prejudice that even extends to England, and it must be confessed that their profession seems suitable for the weaker sex. All tailors are here Moslems, but in



many places they are considered as ordinary men. Those excluded may be about 180 houses.

In this district many washermen have been converted to the faith; but as the profession among the Hindus is very low, the converts have in general been excluded from communion, especially where the Hindus are most numerous. Of such I heard of about 230 houses.

There are in this district many Muhammedan barbers, and of those who are excluded from communion I heard of about 150 families.

I heard of 100 shoemakers of the Moslem faith, who reside in the capital and are much superior workmen to the Hindus. The abomination in which these people are held by the Hindus seems to have excluded them from the communion of the Sheykhs.

The same reason, but still more urgently necessary, has excluded about 20 families of butchers who kill goats and sheep (Kussab), and an equal number of those who murder the sacred beast of the Hindus (Kasuyi).

Those who emasculate the bull, horse, and goat are held in similar contempt. They may amount to 150 families, and are called in different places by different names, nor do I know that the different kinds will intermarry with each other. Abdali is the most common name, and many of the people who collect honey and wax are of this class. Some of the Abdal keep horses, and in some places they fish. This name is chiefly confined to the eastern parts of the district; towards the north the people who practise the same art are called Pophiya, Bam and Lavon. I am not certain, but am inclined to believe, that these are the same with a tribe of vagrants called Sahisiya, who purchase male calves, emasculate and rear them until fit for labour, and then sell them. They also practise their art for hire, and deal in horses. They seem to possess very considerable wealth, as they have a great number of cattle, but are a vagrant horde, frequenting the banks of the Kosi, where they live in wretched temporary sheds and still more miserable tents. They were reckoned to me at 20 families, but their camp did not appear to me to contain less than 150 people.



They live very hardily in point of exposure to the intemperance of the atmosphere, and are very squalid and dirty. They seldom live longer than twenty days in one place. Nearly allied to these are five houses of Nugir or horse-shoers, that are to be found at the capital.

Ten families of cutlers at the capital are excluded from the general communion; as are there also ten families of goldsmiths and forty families of copper-smiths; and in different parts of the district are also excluded ten families of tinmen.

Four families which make bracelets of glass, and 75 which make those of lac, are also degraded.

Only fifteen families of paper-makers, ten families of potters, and fifteen families of those who make tubes for smoking tobacco are excluded from communion, and all these reside at the capital. All the paper-makers in the district are Moslems, but in general they are a respectable kind of people.

Again, in various parts of the district 54 houses of dyers (Rungrez), and three families of those who prepare fireworks (Atushbaz), are excluded from communion.

Twenty-five families of fishermen called Turah, and fifty families who chiefly retail fish, are also excluded, but there are many other persons of the last-mentioned class. This is also the case with those who catch birds, only three families of whom, so far as I heard, are excluded.

Although wholesale merchandise among the Moslems is considered an honourable profession, becoming even a Mogul, many petty dealers are considered as very low. I have already mentioned those who deal in fish. In the capital a hundred families (Mukeri) are excluded because they purchase grain in a rough state, which they beat and retail. The contempt following this profession seems to be borrowed from the Hindus.

Still more generally degraded are those who retail greens and vegetables (Kungjara), of whom nearly 1400 families are said to be excluded, almost entirely in the west and south sides of the district. The Bakars, a kind of Moslems who retail tobacco, are also generally



excluded, and may amount to 230 families. The Bukalis who sell spiceries and hot seasonings are in a similar predicament, and are said to amount to about 680 families. Fifteen others are said to belong to the same tribe, but are called Besalis and sell trinkets.

Ten families of bakers at the capital are excluded from communion, although theirs is an art totally unknown to the Hindus.

The Bhat or bards, although mostly Hindus, and among them esteemed of high rank, are not admitted to an intermarriage with the Sheykhs, and I heard of fifty families that have embraced the faith of Muhammed. Nearly allied to these, as impudent beggars, are about 50 houses of Damphawalehs, who call themselves Fakirs, and go about playing on an instrument called Dampha. The Helas are another class of beggars who play on a kind of fife. I heard only of two houses of them, and of ten families of a kind of drummers called Tasawaleh and Nakarchi, that is to say, families which are excluded from communion.

Other Moslems, who extract money by amusing the people, and who are degraded, are about 50 houses of Bhangr or jugglers, 100 houses of Jet or wrestlers, and 20 houses of Byadh or snake-catchers. To these I might perhaps add 20 families of rogues called Pakhiyas or Chambas, who procure a living by tormenting themselves for the amusement of the populace. In my account of Mysore I have mentioned the manner in which similar fellows proceed to act, more frequently however upon the compassion of the women than upon the malignity of the mob.

I shall finish this list with the Helas or Dhayis, the women of which tribe usually act as midwives, apply leeches, and attempt to cure several diseases by manual operations, of which an account has already been given. I heard of 28 Muhammedan families of this kind, which are excluded from communion. The men of the Helas extract blood by means of a horn used as a cupping-glass. Many of the Dhayis or midwives are the women of Chamars or shoemakers, and of Dom or basket-makers, most of the former of whom, and all the latter, are Hindus.



Respecting the Hindus of this district it is remarkable, as has already been mentioned, that a very

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large proportion is alleged to be of foreign extraction, especially in the part of Mithila that it contains, and in the whole of Gaur. The most intelligent natives that I have consulted can assign no reason for this emigration, nor have they any tradition concerning any dreadful calamity by which the country was depopulated, and which did not affect the neighbouring territories. It is still more remarkable that there is scarcely any great native tribe of those who cultivate the land, and who in India usually constitute three-fourths of the population. These tribes of cultivators, such as the Koch of Kamrup and the different kinds of Wocul of Karnata, may in general be considered as the original inhabitants of the country; but in the two above-mentioned parts of this district the greater part of the cultivators seem to have been extirpated. In many parts of Bengal, indeed, the greater part of the cultivators would seem to have embraced the faith of Muhammed, as has been the case in the parts of Matsya that belong to this district; but in the western parts of this district that has by no means been the case; yet even there a very small proportion of the cultivators consist of any tribe that can be considered as aboriginal. Several such tribes, however, seem to remain, and shall be carefully traced.

To begin with the sacred order, one of its most important divisions is into the ten nations of which it at present consists; and to ascertain when this division

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took place, might help to throw some light on the obscurities of Indian record. By the Pandits it is generally admitted that among the Rishis and Munis of former days, that is, their ancestors or predecessors, there were no such distinctions, and the oldest authorities that those whom I have consulted can quote as mentioning this division are the works attributed to Vyas, and called the Vishnu Puran and Sri Bhagwat. It is therefore not improbable that this distinction was introduced by Vyas, who may be considered as the lawgiver of the present Hindus. Of the seat of these



ten nations, one named Gaur is supposed to be entirely, and one named Mithila is supposed to be partly, contained in this district.

With respect however to the nation of Gaur, there is some difficulty. The district called Gaur, although it contained the former capital of Bengal, is so trifling that when I treated of Dinajpur it appeared to me unlikely to have communicated its name to a nation of Brāhmans, especially as the prince who first rendered the place a seat of government seems to have been under the necessity of introducing a colony of Brahmans to supply his dominions with instructors; and as Gaur seems of the five northern nations of Brahmans to have been the most important, as it communicates its name to all the others. Farther, the few Brahmans of the Gaur nation that are now in Bengal have avowedly come very recently from the west of India, and the same is the case with almost all the tribes of Sudras who claim to be of the Gaur nation: none of whom, the Vaishnavs excepted, are now to be found in Gaur. I therefore concluded that some place called Gaur in the vicinity of Agra or Delhi was the original country of this nation. I have, however, since met with some well-informed Brahmans of this nation who allege that the Gaur of Bengal is their original place of settlement, but that the whole of them were removed from thence by Janmejey, and placed near Hastinapur, where he gave them lands, and where their descendants now live. This prince was a great grandson of Arjun, the brother of Yudhisthir, in whose time Vyas flourished. The tradition is that when this colony was removed, it consisted of 1300 families. We may perhaps, however, therefore be allowed to suppose that Vyas, by the authority and assistance of Yudhisthir, placed a colony of the sacred order on the borders of Bengal, but that it met with little success; and that in the time of Janmejey, the third king of the family of Pandu, it became necessary to secure the colony from the barbarians by removing it near the seat of government. Bengal and Gaur in all probability remained without instructors of this kind until the time of Adisur. The Sudras, however, of Gaur having as well as the Brahmans come



from the west of India, renders this emigration in the time of Janmejaya rather doubtful. In the whole district there are said to be about 50 families of this nation of Brahmans, of whom about 20 are settled in Gaur. The whole are men of business, and are little tenacious of their customs, so that, to the astonishment of my Bengalese, they did not even scruple to ride in a carriage drawn by oxen. They are in great difficulty for women, and must often either want marriage, or undertake a long journey to the west.

The other nation of the Brahmans, originally belonging to this district, is called Maithil, seems never to have been expelled, and is very flourishing. In the whole there is said to be between eleven and twelve thousand families, of whom between nine and ten thousand are settled in the parts of Maithil that are contained in this district, and about two thousand have invaded their eastern neighbours of Gaur and Matsya.

The customs by which this nation are at present ruled are said to have been established by a certain Hari Singha, a Rajput, who was king of Maithila, or Tirahut or Tirabhukti, as it is called in the Sangskrita language. The Brahmans by this prince were divided into four ranks. The highest are called Suti; the second, Majroti, the third, Yogya; and the fourth, Grihasthas. These distinctions are founded on the various degrees of supposed purity and learning which in the time of Hari Singha individuals possessed; but the distinctions have now become totally hereditary. At the time of Hari Singha only thirteen men were considered as entitled to the dignity of Suti. These distinctions do not absolutely prevent intermarriages; but if a man of high rank marries a low girl he sinks to her rank, only he is reckoned as its head. If a low man can afford the enormous expense of marrying a woman of high birth, he is considered as elevated to the head of his own tribe, but cannot ascend to a perfect level with those of the tribe above him. In this district the two higher classes are very few in number, and there seems to be little loss, as scarcely any of the Sutis and very few of the Majrotis give themselves any sort of trouble; but live entirely by the



rents of their lands or the profit of their rent; and if by accident they become poor, they can always obtain a maintenance by marrying the daughter of some low but wealthy man, who will cheerfully and thankfully support them and their children, owing to the lustre that will be added to his family. In such cases, however, they themselves are reduced to the level of their father-in-law; and their children, if they wish to gain distinction, will be under the necessity of undergoing the fatigues of study.

Among the Maithilas no distinction of caste arises from a difference of sect, because almost the whole follow the doctrine of the Tantras. The Pandits among them are Gurus and Purohits for the remainder. Some of the Pandits assured me that almost every one followed the worship of the Bam Acharya, at least so far as to get drunk in their private devotions. Others denied this, and it is not civil to ask a man whether he is of this or of the Pasu Bhav. Just contrary to the custom of Bengal, the Maithilas of the Sakti sect openly acknowledge their belief, while all those of other sects carefully conceal their departure from the common doctrine of their brethren.

Professions give rise to considerable difference among the Brahmans of Mithila. Those who study more or less, and reject service, are the highest, and may amount to ten per cent. of the whole. Next to such diligent persons are those who occupy lands, either free or assessed, and attend chiefly to their cultivation. These may amount to about sixty-eight per cent. of the whole. Next to these are those who take service from the government or zemindars, to carry on business, and such may amount to ten per cent. of the whole. These divisions produce no absolute difference of caste. A Pandit, without any disgrace, may marry the daughter of an officer of revenue, if his birth be equal.

Next to those are the Brahmans who copy books for sale (Masijivi), those who are owners of temples (Dewal or Tapas), who carry arms (Asijivi), and who serve in temples (Pujaris). These rank in the order above-mentioned, and the rank of the priests officiating in temples, both as proprietors and servants, depends



entirely on the rank of the person by whom the temple was built. Those who serve in the temples of the village gods, and are called Yajak, are very low; but still lower than them are the Dhavak, who are running footmen or messengers, and the Pachak, who act as cooks for Sudras of a pure caste. A Pandit will not reject the water of any of these persons; but he would not marry into their families. The number of the whole is very trifling, perhaps two or three per cent., and they may all intermarry.

Below these are the Gurus and Purohits of the impure tribes, and they are usually called by the name of the tribe for which they perform ceremonies. The Bengalese term Varna, which is applied to such persons, is here also known; but those who act for the four castes called Sungri, Dhoba, Teli, and Dorasiya are considered as rather higher, and are called Chausakhis. The Varnas may amount to eight or nine per cent.

Among the Maithilas there are no Maruiparas, but there are some persons analogous to the Agradanis of Bengal. These are called Mahapatras and, if possible, are lower than Varnas; but still they have divided into sects of various degrees of impurity. Some perform their office only for Brahmans, and are reckoned better than Varnas, but those who officiate for Sudras are very bad. Their number is small, not above one in two or three hundred.

Of the Kanyakubja nation there are many in this district. In the first place, of the colony introduced by Adisur, and called the five tribes (Pangchagotra) there are, including Varnas, about 1300 families of the Rarhiya division and 300 of the Barandras. Very few of these have encroached on the Mithilas, and they chiefly occupy Gaur and the part of Matsya that is included in this district; but the Rarhiyas have encroached much on the Barandras, as the whole is in the land of Barandar. This invasion is said to have been owing to the attack which, before the establishment of the British government, was made by the Mahrattas on the western districts of Bengal, which constitute what is called Rarhiya. I have nothing to add to what I have already stated concerning these



Brahmans. The same is the case respecting the Baidiks, another colony from Kanyakubja, who are entirely confined to the south-east parts of the district. About 25 families of Bengal and 40 of Kamrup have settled in these parts.

A more recent colony have come from Kanyakubja, and its members still preserve the name of their country. These Brahmans are spread almost equally through the whole district. Few or none are men of any learning; but some of them act as Gurus and Purohits for the Rajputs, and other tribes from their original country, although some of these have adopted the Mithila Brahmans for guides. One man, however, who has travelled much in the south of India, and who now assists me, is by far the most intelligent man that I have met in the district, and is I believe the most learned. A few are officers in the service of zemindars or government, but the greater part have taken to the profession of arms, and are employed as guards (Burukandaj). It is said that there are about 1100 families. Several divisions exist among them, which seem originally to have been local distinctions, such as Antarbediya, Saryurya and Sonoriya; but the first are reckoned the highest in rank and the latter the lowest. At this distance, however, these distinctions are not well understood. I shall therefore decline saying anything farther concerning them. The ignorant of them go sometimes in carriages drawn by oxen; but it is totally contrary to their law. Most of them are of the sect of Saiva, as taught by Sangkaracharya.

A very few Saraswat Brahmans, the most western nation of the northern division of the sacred order, have settled in this district, where they officiate as Purohits for those who pretend to be of the royal or military caste (Kshatriyas). Some have lands, but none are in service, although a few of them trade as wholesale merchants. Some, I am told, have become followers of Nanak.

Five or six families of the Utkal nation have settled in the south-east corner of the district, and act as Purohits for some artificers of that country.



Only one family of the Pangcha Drabir division has settled in this district. He is a Gujjarat Brahman, who resides in the north-west quarter as a merchant.

These are all the Brahmans that belong to the ten nations into which the sacred tribe is usually divided; but a large proportion of the Brahmans of this district still remains to be mentioned.

There are said to be about 8000 families, mostly settled on the estate of the Darbhanga Raja, who are most usually called Bhungiya or Zemindar Brahmans. Both words imply their being employed in the management of land, the former in the Hindi, the latter in the Persian language. A vast number of other denominations are given to them, such as Paschima from their having come from the west, and Magadh from their having come from the vicinity of Patna. They are, besides, divided into a great number of tribes that I have not yet been able to trace in any degree, so as even to satisfy myself. Their manners, everywhere, are however nearly the same. They are fond of being called Raja and Zemindar, and rent land without any scruple. They indeed chiefly subsist by farming, although they will not hold the plough with their own hands. They also willingly enter into military service, or engage as messengers. Few have an education sufficient to qualify them for any higher civil employment. They are said to form a large proportion of the farmers, everywhere between Benares and the Kosi, especially on the south side of the Ganges. In fact their manners are very similar to those of the Rajputs. They eat meat without its being offered in sacrifice; do not accept of charity (Dan), and are fond of a military life. They seem to me to be the remains of the Brachmani of Pliny, whom he represents as a people and not as a priesthood. They do not acknowledge national divisions, but like other Brahmans are divided into Beds and Gotras. As I expect next year to visit a district where they are much more numerous, I shall defer saying anything more concerning them until I have had a better opportunity of tracing their history.



Akin to the Bhungiyas, as being entirely secularised, are the Lavanas, who are also said to have come from the west of India, and live entirely by commerce, trading in grain, and more especially in cattle. Twenty families are said to have settled in Krishnagunj.

All these Brahmans are supposed to be descended from the original inhabitants of this earth (Jambudwip), which is surrounded by a salt sea; but there are other Brahmans who are supposed to have come from a world called Sakadwip, which is surrounded by a sea of milk, and in which our petty navigators of Europe have made no discoveries; but an account of these outlandish places may, it is said, be found in the Brihannaradiya, one of the 18 Purans composed by Vyas. The manner in which these Brahmans came to this earth is said to be related in the Samba Puran, a portion of the Upa Puran, which also Vyas is said to have written. Samba, the son of Krishna, having offended his father by an intrigue with one of the 1600 wives of that god, was smitten with a distemper. A Muni or Brahman of the old school, who was named Narad, advised Samba to send Garur, the bird on which his father rode, to Sakadwip for a physician. The bird accordingly seized three Brahmans with their wives, and brought them to this earth, where all their descendants continue to practise medicine. The descendants of the three Brahmans form three different families, Balaniya, Pithiya and Chonchiya, from their ancestors having been carried on the head, on the back, and in the bill of the bird. The first are the highest, but they all intermarry, nor are the descendants of the same parent stock prevented from intermarriages. They have Gurus and Purohits of their own caste. They speak the Hindi language, and some of them have a knowledge of Sangskrita. Bhagalpur seems to be the chief place of their residence; but between 30 and 40 families have settled in this country. The whole assume the title of Misra, that is, persons who have acquired a mixture of all kinds of learning; but in this district no one is considered as a man of great science. They are Purohits for many of the Khatris, Rajputs, and



Bhungiya Brahmans; but others of these castes content themselves with the ordinary Brahmans of this miserable world. The Sakadwipis are chiefly followers of Madhav, and worship Krishna and Radha.

In the eastern part of the district are above 100 families of hereditary astrologers, who are supposed to be descended from a Brah-

OTHER HIGH CASTES. man, with the assistance of a Vaisya woman. As in Bengal, they often are called Daivagnas; but in this district they are more usually called Upadhyayas, and are considered in rank as next to the Brahmans. In the western parts of the district there are no persons of this tribe, and the title which they assume is bestowed on persons really of the sacred order.

Next to the astrologers in rank are the bards, who still adhere to the pagan doctrines, and who in this district are called Brahma Bhat, in order to distinguish them from Moslems of the same profession. The manner in which both practise their art is nearly the same, and has been already described in my account of Ronggo-pur: but in this district they seem to receive more attention, and some of them go about on horses and have several attendants. The Hindu bards are much more numerous than the Moslems, and are said to amount to above 300 families, all of which rent land, and many have endowments.

Next in rank in Maithila, and everywhere to the west, are reckoned the Rajputs: but in Bengal they are placed after the scribes, and are considered as mere Sudras; and the same opinion is entertained by the people of Karnata, who allege that the Rajputs are the pure Sudras of the north-west of India, who confine their labours to the exercise of arms and to the cultivation of the land, but who do not debase themselves by performing manual labour for a master. A Brahman of Kanoj, thoroughly acquainted with their customs in their own country, allows that such is their manner of life: but he says that in the country where their own princes govern, no one pretends to dispute that the Rajputs belong to the second or royal caste of Hindus, nor hesitates to place them above the Vaisyas.



as is also done even here : but then here few of the Rajputs labour with their own hands. Formerly indeed they did not disdain to hold the plough ; but at present not one man in eight will condescend to such drudgery. Most of them rent lands and employ servants to cultivate them. Some are traders, and more carry arms, but chiefly as guards (Burukandaj). Many of these go for service to the eastern divisions, while their families remain on their farms. They have however entirely lost that noble military spirit by which those of the western provinces are distinguished, and their persons also have degenerated into a very puny dimension.

All the Rajputs who do not contaminate themselves by manual labour distinguish themselves from the Sudras by wearing a thread like a scarf ; and all those who have wealth assume the title of Kshatri : and I am assured that in their original country there is no difference of caste between the Kshatris and Rajputs, the greatest chiefs who assume that title often marrying the daughters of poor men, who are merely called Rajputs. In Bengal indeed the castes are considered as different ; but this seems to have arisen partly from the pride of some great zemindars who wished to separate themselves from persons reckoned merely Sudras, an indulgence readily conceded by their dependent Brahmans ; and partly from the Rajputs themselves refusing to acknowledge as brethren another tribe named Khatri, which the Bengalese usually confound with the Kshatris. The claims of the Rajputs to be considered as belonging to the second pure tribe of Hindus are perhaps very little better founded than those of the Rajbangsis, and seem to be admitted or rejected nearly according to the extent of their power. In this district there may have settled about 4000 families of Rajputs, which have divided into many classes, from a difference of occupation, or from the districts from whence they originally came. These classes do not intermarry. The ceremonies of the Rajputs are chiefly performed by Kanojiya Brahmans. One-half of them are guided by the followers of Nanak, one-fourth by the Goswamis of Bengal, and one-fourth by the Sannyasis.



Bhim Sen is a favourite object in all the vows which they make in distress. They do not adhere strictly to the purity of the Hindu law, and many of them do not scruple to ride in a carriage that is drawn by oxen.

In this district are some pretenders to a royal descent, who are called Khatri. In Bengal these are very usually confounded with the tribe called Kshatri, for the difference between Khatri and Khyatri, as the Bengalese pronounce these names, is very small. This tribe has been degraded, especially in the west of India, where their women, probably in consequence of this degradation, have adopted an uncommon levity of manners. As however this tribe, from the similarity of names, may be descended from the Catheri of Diodorus Siculus, their claim to a royal origin is perhaps fully as well founded as that of the Rajputs or Kshatri tribe. All the Khattris allege that they have come from the west. Most of them rent land, a few are in service, and a few are artists and work in the metals. In the south of India I found many artists of this kind, and there, in consequence of their supposed original dignity, they usually assume the title of Kshatrigar or persons entitled to have an umbrella, which among the Hindus is a badge of sovereignty. The proper Purohits of this caste are the Saraswat Brahmans, but when these cannot be procured, those of Kanoj are sufficient. Most of them are followers of Nanak, some adhere to the Dasnami Sannyasis, and a few to ordinary Brahmans.

The Vaisyas, or mercantile tribe of pure Hindus, in this district rank next; and about 250 families have come from the west country, and have settled chiefly on both sides of the upper part of the Kosi. They have adopted the Maithila Pandits as their Gurus and Purohits.

In the whole district there are not a hundred families of the medical tribe of Bengal, who are here allowed to be next in rank.

The Kayasthas form a pretty numerous class in this district, where it is said there are between three and four thousand families. They are unwilling to admit that they are Sudras, and are rejected by the three higher castes. Having a good deal of influence,



they are admitted by the Brahmans to be descended of a Vaisya father and Sudra mother; but if such a connection were now formed, the child would be totally an outcast and called a Krishnapaksha or bastard. The same objection may be made to the pretended extraction of the astrologers and physicians.

Rather more than a third of the Kayasthas are of Bengalese descent, chiefly of the Uttar Rarhiya tribe, and these spread over most parts of the district, so that perhaps a third of them have invaded the portion of Maithila that is in this district. They are mostly of the sect of Vishnu, as taught by the Goswamis of Bengal.

The Mithila Kayasthas are not quite so numerous, and few or none have settled beyond the boundary of their original country. They follow the Maithila Pandits as their guides in religion, and are mostly of the Sakti sect. They still adhere to the proper duties of their caste, being writers and accountants; but many rent land, especially when they cannot procure service, but they never cultivate with their own hands. Their customs were settled by Hari Singha Dev, and there are numerous subdivisions of little or no importance.

About a third of the Kayasthas of this district are said to have come from the west of India, from about Lakhnau, the Dwab, Brindaban, Kasi, &c. They are divided into two classes called Ambashtha and Sri Bastav. The former term means persons who have the rank of their mother; the latter term means the fortunate house: but those who equal their mother are the highest, and will not marry with one of a fortunate family. It is said that the Ambashtha are descended of the Karan Kayasthas, by a low woman, but in the western countries, from whence they originally came, there are very few Karans. These two western colonies have not advanced beyond the boundaries of Mithila. They employ themselves in the same manner as the Maithilas; but some of the Sribastavs are merchants, and some chintz-printers and tailors. Both of them ride occasionally in carriages drawn by oxen; and a few occasionally hold the plough. In their own country their proper Gurus



are the Saryuriya division of the Kanojiya Brahmans, who only instruct the higher orders of the Sudras. In this country the Maithila Brahmans chiefly act as their Purohits, and their Gurus are mostly the followers of Nanak; but a good many follow the Dasnami Sannyasis; only a very few receive instruction from the Brahmans. They drink spirituous liquors without endangering their caste; nor are they afraid of a connection with Moslem women.

A very few of the Karan Kayasthas, who are reckoned of the highest birth, have settled in this country, but they are said to be of Utkal or Oriswa extraction. About an equal number from the same country are called Katkis, and are supposed to be of the same extraction with the southern Rarhis of Bengal; although from having been long fixed at Katak, they have taken a designation from that territory. Both may amount to 40 families, irregularly scattered through the district.

A few families called Etana Kayasthas are said to have come from some small territory of that name, which is situated to the west of Kasi.

In the old territory of Gaur are a few families called Karkari, the lowest of all the Kayasthas. They are petty dealers and rent lands, but do not labour with their own hands. They follow the instructions of the Goswamis of Bengal. In Dangrkhora about forty families, who treat tumours and sores, pretend to be Kayasthas: but no other person allows them that rank, and they are called Kaiyar. It is however universally admitted that they are of pure birth. Those who follow the same profession in the division immediately north, owing probably to disgust at having been rejected by the scribes, have adopted the faith in Muhammed.

All the castes hitherto mentioned reject the rank of Sudras, and being considered pure and noble are placed on the same footing with the Saiuds, Moguls, and Pathans of the Moslems. A few pretenders, which for the sake of connection I have enumerated with the others, are excluded from the valuable privileges which the others enjoy.



I now proceed to mention such castes as are admitted by others and acknowledge themselves to be

SUDRAS. Sudras, and who are allowed to be of pure extraction. Except

in the part of Matsya that is in this district, or among the colonists from Bengal proper, the term Navasakh is unknown; and the same classes of traders and artists that it includes occupy very different stations among the western nations and the Maithilas from what they do among the Bengalese.

The highest among the Sudras, who acknowledge themselves to be such, are generally admitted to be those called Baniya in the vulgar dialect and Banak in the Sangskrita, which words the Bengalese pronounce Beniya and Bonik. Among the Bengalese, however, many persons of this class are reckoned very low; but among the western nations the whole are considered as pure. Farther, among the Bengalese many artificers are included among the Boniks, while among the western nations the term Baniya is exclusively applied to those who are mere traders, or what in England are technically called dealers and chapmans. Why these have been separated from the Vaisyas, whose profession is the same and who are in fact of the rank immediately above the Banik, would be difficult to say. I am apt to suspect that these last are the descendants of the original inhabitants of India, who were merchants when the doctrine of caste was introduced by a foreign colony, and that they received a rank in proportion to that of the Vaisya colonists, just as those who followed arms and agriculture received a rank analogous to that of the royal, noble, or military tribe. And it must be observed that both the original military and mercantile tribes of colonists are either very nearly, if not altogether, extinct, or have been degraded (like the Jain merchants of the south) on account of adherence to old opinions, so that many of the aboriginal tribes of these professions, who have arisen to wealth and power, seem to have been admitted to supply the places of these two high tribes.

In treating of the Baniyas I shall first enumerate those who have not been degraded by becoming artists,



and who in general confine themselves to the operations of commerce, although perhaps one in a hundred may hold the plough, and several rent lands which they cultivate by servants.

Those who properly deal in money, among the Mithilas and western nations, are usually said to have come from Agra, but they have divided into three sorts, Agarwaleh, Agrahari, and Puri Agarwaleh Baniyas. Of the whole there are between 40 and 50 families settled in the capital and divisions towards the west. They are reckoned the highest of the Baniyas, live with great strictness, and both their Gurus and Purohits are Brahmans of Gaur. They are all of the sect of Vishnu. Besides dealing in money they also deal in cloth, metals, and many other articles, and mostly in the wholesale way. These are the people whom Europeans have called Banians.

From the same country, and following the same occupations, are said to have come somewhat more than 900 families called Vaisya Baniyas, that is, traders who observe the customs of the Vaisya, or of the third pure caste of Hindus. Notwithstanding this pretension to imitate their betters, they are not thought so pure as the Agarwalehs, but are still admitted to be a pure tribe. Their Gurus here are either the Dasnami Sannyasis or Nanak; and their Purohits are Maithila Brahmans. They are scattered through every part of the district, except Gaur. The people of the same profession among the Bengalese are called Swarna Banik, but have been degraded to a very low rank, as I have mentioned in my account of Dinajpur. Between 70 and 80 families of them are settled in the eastern parts of the district.

In Bengal a class which deals with herbs, spices, etc., is called Gandhabanik, and it is believed that Ballalsen conferred on its members the high rank which they now enjoy. Of these between 150 and 160 families from Bengal have settled in different parts of the district. The people of Mithila who deal in [the] same articles are called Kath Baniyas, and are considered as a pure caste. About 220 families are said to be settled in the capital, and in the divisions towards the south and west from thence. All their Purohits are Maithila Brahmans; but the greater



part follow the sect of Nanak. Some however are guided by the Dasnami Sannyasis, and a few adhere to the Brahmans.

The Gandhabaniks and Swarnabaniks of Bengal, being both wealthy tribes, have divided into separate provinces, such as Rarh, Barandra, Banggades, and the like. In this district there are many Baniyas who apply to themselves these provincial distinctions alone, without stating whether they belong to the money-dealers or grocers, but as by Ballal Sen the latter have been placed very high and the former very low, it may be naturally inferred that they belong to the Swarnabanik tribe, who on account of their wealth and the rank given here to those of the same profession have escaped from the impurity to which Ballal Sen reduced them. They have not, however, in general procured Brahmans for their Gurus, but follow the instructions of the Vaishnav and Dasnamis, yet they have succeeded in procuring Maithila Brahmans to act as their Purohits. They have, of course, settled mostly in the part of the district that is included in Mithila, but a few seem to have ventured back towards the east. I heard of only three families said to have come from Rarh, but the Barandras amount to above 400 families, and those of Banggades, or the vicinity of Dhaka, amount to almost 600 families. About 40 of these, from a longer residence, have separated from the others and call themselves Desiya Banggadesi Baniya, or merchants of Bengal naturalized in this country.

The proper Baniyas of Mithila are said to be called Barnabar, but at present these are confined entirely to the north-west corner of the district, and are said not to exceed 15 families. They are petty dealers, but are considered pure. Their Guru is Nanak, their Purohits are Maithila Brahmans. Two branches are said to have proceeded from this tribe, the Nuniyas and Kambals, or traders who deal chiefly in salt and blankets. Of the former it is said that there are 26 families, and of the latter only four. They do not intermarry, and in this district are considered as among the lowest of the Baniya tribe: but they have the same Gurus and Purohits with the Barnabar.



Belonging also to Mithila, but of very spurious origin, are the Manikchandriya Baniyas, concerning whom it is said that they are descended from low persons (Modis) who supplied with grain a certain Manikchandra, who a few generations ago was the Zemindar of Bhatiya. This person, being of no very extraordinary rank, had still sufficient influence to raise these people from their impurity, and they are now everywhere received as pure Hindus of the Baniya tribe. About 100 families have settled in the northern parts of this district. They follow the instruction partly of Nanak and partly of the Dasnami Sannyasis. Their Purohits are Maithila Brahmans.

Fifteen families of Baniyas, who call themselves Kanojiyas as having originally come from that country, have settled in Arariya, and are reckoned a pure caste. Their Gurus are the Dasnami Sannyasis, their Purohits Brahmans.

About 120 families of Baniyas have settled in the Mithila part of this district, and are called Kasarani. They are said to have come from a country called Kundil, south-east from Banaras. They are a pure caste. The greater part follow Nanak, but some adhere to the Dasnami Sannyasis. Their Purohits are Mithila Brahmans.

The Rastoki Baniyas are said to be numerous at Banaras, but here there are only two families. They are great merchants, and very pure like those of Agra.

The Baniyas of Ayodhya are called Ayodhyavasi and have similar manners. Ten families have settled in this district.

Among the Maithilas and western nations the artists of this kind are called Kasera and Thathera. By some, all these are said to have come from the west; but some of them allege that they are of Mithila origin. They are now scattered through the whole district, and are said to amount to little less than 400 families. Most of them follow the Dasnami Sannyasis, but some adhere to Nanak. Their Purohits are chiefly Mithila Brahmans. In Gaur and Matsya they are reckoned impure, but in Mithila this is by no means the case, and they stand above the



barbers, who in Bengal give themselves airs of importance. None of the coppersmiths hold the plough.

The Malis of the Hindi dialect, or Malakar of the Bengalese, who make garlands and artificial flowers, by both Bengalese and Mithilas are admitted to be a very pure order of Sudras. The former appellation among the English, in imitation of the Bengalese, is usually given to gardeners; but that is a very low profession. It is said that in the whole district there are between six and seven hundred families. Few or none follow any other profession except that of their caste, although some rent lands. They form five nations, that do not intermarry. Almost 200 families claim a Bengalese origin and follow the customs of Ballal Sen; but they by no means are confined to the territories which are said to have belonged to that prince. The garland-makers of Gaur amount to above 100 families, not one of which resides in Gaur; the whole have settled on the northern boundary. Their Gurus are Vaishnavs, their Purohits Mithila Brahmans, which seems rather extraordinary. The Mithila garland-makers amount to about 130 families, confined almost entirely to their original country. They have the same Purohits, but follow chiefly the instruction of the Dasnami Sannyasis.

About 139 families of garland-makers are said to have come from Magadh, or the country near Patna, and have settled chiefly towards the west. They have the same instructors and priests.

About 20 families from Kanoj have settled in the same vicinity. They have the same Gurus, but when a Kanojiya Brahman can be procured, they never employ any other to perform their ceremonies.

Potmakers, except those who have become Muhammedans, are everywhere in this district reckoned pure. It is said that there are above 2200 families, who generally confine their labours to their profession, but perhaps three in a hundred of the men hold the plough. About 750 families are of the Bengalese tribe of the Navasakh, and about 120 or 130 of these have invaded the possessions of the Mithilas. In the eastern parts of the district about



200 families from the west have settled; and as they speak the harsh dialect of their native countries, the Bengalese call them Khotta Kumar or harsh-tongued potmakers. These follow the Dasnami Sannyasis as their spiritual guides, and have Mithila Brahmans to perform their ceremonies. In the western parts of the district, where the Bengalese manners are less prevalent, the Hindi potmakers are divided into three nations. About 120 families, chiefly on the banks of the Ganges, claim an origin from Kanoj, and follow the same instructors that I have mentioned above, but whenever they can, they employ their own Brahmans to perform their ceremonies. There are about 440 potmakers who claim to be aborigines of Mithila, who follow the same instructors, but always employ their own Brahmans. The potmakers of Magadh amount to about 750 families, all settled in the west of the district, and these have the same priesthood with those of Mithila.

Blacksmiths in Bengal and Mithila are usually called Kamar, but in the western districts of the Hindi they are more commonly known by the name of Lohar. In all these countries they are allowed to be a pure tribe of artificers. In most parts of this district they make the whole implements of agriculture, as well wooden as iron, but they seldom or never employ their hands in agriculture. Just like the potters they are divided into four nations, and where the manners of Bengal prevail, the three western nations are included under the common degrading appellation of Khottha. These may amount to about 230 families. The Bengalese are said to be about 270 families. The blacksmiths of Kanoj, settled chiefly in the north-east parts of the district, amount to about 330 families. The blacksmiths of Mithila amount to about 160 families, and one-half of these have settled beyond the eastern boundary of their country. The blacksmiths from Magadh are said to be above 1100 families, and are confined to the western half of the district. The blacksmiths of these different kinds follow the same instructors and have the same priests with the potmakers of their respective nations.



In Bengal, by some strange caprice, not only the bankers but the goldsmiths were excluded from the pure castes of artificers, while blacksmiths, carpenters, weavers, and barbers obtained the dignity that pure birth confers; but this is by no means the case in Mithila nor in the west, where the Sonar or goldsmith is considered as next in rank to the maker of garlands. Ballal Sen, when he settled the castes of Bengal, had probably been amused by some moralist with the usual declamation against the precious metals, and in this district above 300 families of Swornakars or Sekras have still to lament the imbecility of the prince and the stupidity of his advisers. None of them have settled in the north-east parts of the district, but many towards the centre and west, where they probably hope to escape degradation and to be placed on a level with those who practise the same trade. They follow the customs of Bengal and are allowed only Varna Brahmans. Besides these, goldsmiths from four different nations have settled in this district. Almost all have Dasnami Sannyasis for spiritual guides; a few however follow the sect of Nanak. The Mithila Brahmans are Purohits for all except a few from Ayodh, who in the performance of their ceremonies apply to the Brahmans of Kanoj. These Ayodhyavasi are said to exceed 110 families, and have chiefly settled in the capital and towards its north and west. The goldsmiths of Mithila are said to amount to about 380 houses, and have settled towards the north and east, many of them beyond the original bounds of their country. Their place has been supplied by 100 families from Magadh. Four families have come even from Mathura, and as they are settled at Krishnagunj have probably followed our troops from the west. Some few of the Sonars hold the plough.

In Bengal, carpenters have been treated with as much caprice as the goldsmiths. There they are called Sutar or Sutradhar, and about 185 families in the eastern parts of the district are considered as impure, while 200 families of Barayi or Hindi carpenters are admitted to be pure, and higher than barbers, although not quite so high as goldsmiths. The consequence perhaps has been that they have



encroached much on the Bengalese, and the blacksmiths, who are also pure, and the Moslems have seized on a great part of the business. The Dasnami Sannyasis have the guidance of the Barayis, and the Mithila Brahmans perform their ceremonies. None of these tradesmen plough with their own hands.

In Bengal weavers of one class, called Tantrabay or Tangti, are admitted to be pure Sudras, but even there a very few of the weavers have attained to this rank, and in Mithila all the tribes of weavers are impure and shall be hereafter mentioned along with the analogous impure tribes of Bengalese weavers. About 350 families of pure weavers are said to be settled in this district. Forty of these are said to be of Gaur, but none of them reside within its precincts; for it would seem as if Janmejaya had removed all the Sudras as well as the Brahmans. They are reckoned almost equal to Kayasthas in rank, and have Goswamis of Bengal for instructors, and Mithila Brahmans to perform their ceremonies. About an equal number of pure weavers have come from Kanoj and follow the Ramanandis as instructors, while the Mithila Brahmans perform their ceremonies. The remainder of the Tangtis are all of Bengalese origin, but have divided into three kinds. One, called simply Banggali Tangti, amounts to about 75 houses. Another called Aswiniyas amount to above 100 houses, and have settled in the two opposite corners of the district, towards the south-west and north-east. They derive their name from working in fine thread, but such was only the practice of their ancestors. About 90 families in the south are called Kshir. These divisions do not intermarry, but they have the same guides, the whole following the Goswamis of Bengal, and having Bengalese Brahmans to perform their ceremonies. Most of the Aswiniyas adhere to the loom, but many of the Kshir and Banggalis are brokers, agents, and dealers in cloth, and some of them are very rich.

In most parts of this district few or none are allowed to cultivate the betel leaf except the proper caste, which is pure; for no man of rank would chew what had been raised by impure hands. In Bengal



and Mithila this caste is called Barui and in Sangskrita it is called Barjivi, but in the western provinces it is called Tambuli, a name that in Bengal is given to those who retail betel. In the south and east parts of the district, among the Bengalese, several other castes interfere with this caste, and there scarcely exceed 80 families, who are guided by the Vaishnav Adhikaris under the Goswamis of Bengal, and have Brahmans as Purohits. In the western parts of the district are about 180 families, who have the same guides, and on account of their sect are called Vishnai. These probably are also of Bengalese extraction. In the south-east part of the district 80 families have come from the west, and from their dialect are called Khotta. Those who claim an origin from Mithila are very few in number. I heard of only fourteen families. About 170 families are alleged to have come from Chausar, a district a little beyond Bhojpur, above Patna. These are properly called Chausariya; but in the ordinary dialect the letters are always transposed, and they are called Chaurasiyas. About 320 families have come from Yasoyar, a district in the vicinity of Chausar. A hundred families are said to have come from Ayodhya, which in the vulgar dialect is called Ayodh (Owde, Rennell). For all these Hindi tribes of betel cultivators the Mithila Brahmans perform the ceremonies of religion, and by far the greater part are guided by the Dasnami Sannyasis; but a few have attached themselves to Nanak. In the western parts of the district they are considered as on a footing with the Baniyas. In Bengal they are placed on a level with weavers. None of them hold the plough.

Although the cultivators of betel leaf are in the Hindi language called Tambuli, the Tambuli of Bengal are a totally different caste. Their customs have been already detailed, and between 80 and 90 families have settled in the eastern parts of this district; but none have penetrated towards the west.

Twelve families of Mayras from Bengal are said to have settled in this country, and are admitted to be a pure caste. None of them are found in Mithila or the west. In the Sangskrita they are said to be called Modak.



In the eastern parts of this district are settled between 330 and 340 families who follow the same profession with the Mayras, and are also admitted to be a pure caste. They are called Murari. They say that they have come from Rarh and were originally called Mayra, but on coming here they received this new name. Their Gurus are the Adhikaris under the Goswamis of Bengal, and their Purohits are Bengalese or Mithila Brahmans.

In Mithila and the western provinces, those who prepare sweetmeats are called Halwai, and are admitted to be a pure caste. Of these there are said to be about 1350 families. Being a pure caste, a few of them are hired in wealthy families as domestic servants. Perhaps two or three men in a hundred families may hold the plough. They are divided into four classes, Ganapatiya, Tirahuti, Kanojiya and Magadh. The former are said to be descended from a certain man among them named Ganesa, who was eminently holy and had obtained great power from the Gods. He is supposed to have lived about 100 years ago in Magadhdes; but in Hindu chronology a hundred years are as one day, and one day as a hundred years: for his descendants are now very numerous. At all ceremonies and in all difficulties an offering is made to them under the name of Puja. They accept the daughters of ordinary men in marriage, but never allow their daughters to marry with the vulgar; nor do they condescend to eat in their company. The other divisions are national, and each follows the customs of the pure Sudras from his respective country. In the western parts of the district these distinctions are known to every one; but where the customs of Bengal prevail, the whole are indiscriminately called Halwai, although among themselves they probably observe the differences. The Mithila Brahmans are Purohits for the whole: part follow the Dasnami Sannyasis and part the disciples of Nanak.

The Kandu are a very pure caste who parch grain, serve as domestics, and cultivate the land. One-fourth of them may hold the plough. They are a tribe originally of the country about Patna and Banaras. They are pretty generally diffused, but are most numerous towards the west, and probably amount to



1000 houses. The Mithila Brahmans are their Purohits. The Sannyasis are their Gurus. They amount to between sixteen and seventeen hundred families.

The tribe of Bengal, or rather Matsya, the members of which follow this profession and sell parched grain and coarse sweetmeats, are called Bauri, and are very numerous in Dinajpur, but are there reckoned impure. About 640 families of them have settled in the east and northern parts of the district, where they have procured Mithila Brahmans as Purohits, and follow the Vaishnav as their guides. They have therefore been elevated from the dregs of impurity, although they are far from being elevated to the dignity of the Kandū. They follow only the duties of their profession.

In a few parts are some of the Bengalese pure tribe named Teli, amounting in all to about 130 families. They follow the usual customs of their country, which have formerly been mentioned.

In this district the Goyalas or cowherds form a very numerous class, and the greater part are mere cultivators, and either labour as ploughmen or in the weeding, digging, and other operations of agriculture. A considerable number, however, purchase milk and prepare it in various ways for sale; and about an equal number are employed to tend the herds of cattle that frequent Morang or the wastes of this country. A few are employed as domestic servants. The whole are reckoned pure Sudras. It is supposed that all the Goyalas originally came from Brindaban, and there they were divided into ten tribes called Gop or Ghosh. In their emigrations some of these distinctions have been preserved, but others have been assumed from provincial differences. In this district the most numerous and generally spread tribe of the Goyalas is the Majroti Gop. These also are very numerous in the west, from whence about seven or eight generations ago they are supposed to have come.

The next most numerous tribe is the Krishnat Gop, few of whom have settled in the north-east part of the district, but everywhere else they are numerous. In the west of India they also are very numerous.



This also is the case with the Ghoshin Gop, but these have not penetrated far into this district. In the western part, however, a great many have settled.

The Nanda Gop are another original tribe of Brindaban, but only a very few families have come here.

The Saphasi Gop are pretty numerous in the northern parts of this district; but I am told, are not known in the west of India, nor are they considered as a tribe either of Mithila or of Bengal; and they do not know from what place they came, although they pretend to have come from the west. It is since their arrival that their name has been assumed.

The proper Goyalas of Tirahut have divided into two classes, the Goyariya Gop and Bara Goyalas. Both are local appellations and unknown in the west. The former implies the tribe (Gop) that adheres to the duty of their caste, as in fact they in general do, very few of them having become cultivators. In the western parts of the district they are pretty numerous. Bara, the appellation given to the other division of the Mithila cowherds, signifies great; but in reality they are considered as the lowest of the tribe. The reason alleged for this is that of all the pure Hindus of the district they are the most willing to become domestic servants, and as these are very difficult to procure, the Brahmans by way of encouragement have given them this high title. Their number is small and they are confined to the north-west corner of the district.

A few Goyalas, having formerly settled at Kanoj and then moved here, retain the name of their former colony, and have forgotten the tribe (Gop) from which they are descended.

The Goyalas of Bengal are called Sad Gop or Saphal Gop, terms unknown in the west of India. They are numerous towards the north and east of the district.

Although all the Goyalas claim kindred with the God Krishna, the whole in this district, except the Bengalese whose origin from Brindaban is very doubtful, reject the worship of that deified hero, and have adopted as guides the Dasnami Sannyasis, who teach



them the worship of Sib. They have Mithila Brahmans for guides. The Bengalese Goyalas have Brahmans of Bengal to perform their ceremonies, and follow the Goswamis in the worship of Krishna.

The Kurmi are a caste of pure Hindus from the west of India. Many have come from Bhojpur above Patna, and many from Yasoyar west from Ayodh. These keep up their national distinctions. In different parts of this district about 400 families have settled. They are mostly cultivators, but some are domestic servants, and some are messengers or carry arms. They seem to be the original tribe of military cultivators of the countries from whence they came. The Mithila Brahmans perform their ceremonies. They follow the Dasnami Sannyasis.

✓ In this district there is a very numerous class of cultivators called Kewat and Kaibarta. The people who are best informed in the customs of Mithila say that all these are properly of the same caste, and that according to the proper nomenclature of Mithila no other name but Kewat is known for them, nor is this term ever bestowed on any fisherman. As however the cultivators of the Kaibarta caste in Bengal have acquired a high rank, and as Kewats there have claimed that title, many in this district have in humble imitation done the same; and they have divided into several classes, Semari, Haluya, Khanta, Geruya and Khawas, most of which terms are applied so differently in different places that no sort of dependence can be placed on any general account that could be given. The only distinction of importance is that many of them are slaves (Khawas) and seldom marry with those who are free. For a farther account of the tribes Kaibarta and Kewat I shall now refer to what will be afterwards related concerning the fishermen of this tribe. In Mithila the cultivators, both Kaibartas and Kewats, are considered as pure Hindus. There are no Vyasokta Brahmans, and the Mithila Brahmans perform their ceremonies without disgrace. They follow the instruction of the Dasnami Sannyasis. It is said they are not so numerous as the Goyalas; but as they are one of the principal castes of cultivators I presume that this must be a mistake, although the number of Goyalas is certainly very great.



In the west of the district there are many cultivators of a tribe of pure Hindus, called Amat, who are divided into those who are free (Geruya) and those who are slaves (Khawas). They seem to be an original tribe of Mithila, nor do I hear that they have settled in any other quarter. Their priests and instructors are the same with those of the Kewat.

The same is the case with the tribe of cultivators called Dhanuks, that are by far the most numerous in the western parts of the district, and in most places there exceed even the Moslems of that class. They are a tribe both of Mithila and Magadh, and a considerable portion of those here are called by the name of the latter country. These, and a few called Dojwar, are reckoned the highest. The most numerous by far are those of Mithila, who are called Sryota; and there are many slaves who are called Khawas.

Another tribe of pure cultivators that is pretty numerous in the west of the district is called Kairi. By far the greater part of the Kairi are called Maghaiya, as having come from Magadh, but a few take their distinguishing names from Mithila and Kanoj. They adhere entirely to their occupation, are thought to be very industrious, and are higher than even the Goyalas. They are mostly of the sect of Vishnu, and their Gurus are Brahmans of the Ramayit and Kavirpanthi sects. The Mithila Brahmans perform their ceremonies.

The Khanggar are a pure caste of cultivators, of whom some are settled in the north, west, and south of the district, but they are not very numerous. They are partly under the guidance of the Vairagis and partly of the Dasnami Sannyasis; and Mithila Brahmans perform their ceremonies. The whole are cultivators. They say that they have come from the west of India: but I have not been able to learn any western country where such a people are found.

The Nagar are a pure caste of cultivators, mostly settled in the south-east corner of the district where, Moslems excepted, they are perhaps the most numerous portion of this class of men; but a few have gone to other quarters. They do not remember their ever having emigrated, but as their religious instructors are Dasnami Sannyasis and the Mithila Brahmans



perform their ceremonies, they probably have come from the west.

The Ganggot are a caste of pure cultivators, and as they are chiefly settled on the banks of the Ganges, it is probable that they derive their name from the place of their abode. I have not been able to learn that any of them are to be found either in Bengal proper or in the western provinces. They are therefore in all probability the original cultivators of the southern parts of Mithila, and may be the remnants of the nation called by the ancients Ganggarides. They are still pretty numerous. They follow the Dasnami Sannyasis, and their Purohits are Mithila Brahmans.

The Gongthi seem to be an original tribe of Mithila and perhaps of Magadh. About 3600 families are said to be found in this district, very few of whom have settled beyond the bounds of Mithila. Only about 100 families claim a descent from Magadh. They are divided into two great classes, Banpar and Kurin. The former are chiefly woodcutters and boatmen. The latter originally were all fishermen, which profession some still follow; but some of them are now traders and keep many oxen; very few are cultivators. The Banpar and Kurins do not intermarry, nor eat together. A few have also separated from the others, and are called Chotahas or marksmen. They are boatmen and fishermen. Although Kurin is said to imply impious people that follow no law, neither they nor the other Gongrhi are considered as impure, and they seem to have as great an abundance of faith as their neighbours. Their instructors are the Dasnamis and Sannyasis, and the Mithila Brahmans perform their ceremonies.

In the western parts of the district the barbers are of the lowest tribe that is admitted to be pure; but in the eastern parts they stand very high. Those who retain this dignified station are said to amount to about 300 families, only ten of which have ventured to endanger their dignity by settling towards the west. There are 25 families which are said to be of the Gaur nation; but none of them live in that territory, and they seem to have followed the Brahmans and other



persons of that nation who have come to this district from Agra. A few of the barbers have become totally vile by condescending to shave the vile tribes, and are called Chapoyal and Kural.

In the dialects of the Hindi language the barbers are called Nai or Nauva, and Napit, which is used by the Bengalese of rank, is a Sangskrita word. These western barbers are said to amount to about 2600 families, few or none of whom ever labour in the field. They are divided into four nations, all very numerous, but the two first are somewhat most considerable. These nations are Mithila or Tirahuti, Magadh, Kanoj and Ayodh, and most of these live in the western divisions, but some have gone to the east and have adopted the same spiritual guides and Purohits with those of Bengal, and will probably succeed in raising themselves to a level with these shavers. In the western provinces the barbers adhere to the Dasnami Sannyasis and have Mithila Brahmans to perform their ceremonies.

I now proceed to the tribes which by both Mithilas and Bengalese are admitted to be low and impure, but who are not altogether vile, although the sake of connection will not permit me to adhere strictly to this distinction.

CASTES CONSIDERED  
LOW AND IMPURE.

The Rawani Maharas are of an impure tribe which is said to have come from the west of India, and they are usually employed to carry the palanquin. The Hindi word Mahara used for the people of this profession, with a little alteration (bearer), has become good English, and at Calcutta, even among the natives, is in general use. All the Rawanis cultivate the land when not employed in the proper line of their profession, and are said to amount to between eight and nine hundred families, none of which are settled near the Mahananda; but everywhere else they are pretty generally diffused. The Dasnami Sannyasis act as their Purohits and the Chausaki Brahmans perform their ceremonies.

The Bhar is an impure tribe which once was very numerous at Calcutta, especially where Fort William now stands. They are said from some caprice to have



retired after the attack which Seraj Doula made on Calcutta; but a few still remain near Khidarpur. In this district there are said to be about 150 families, chiefly on the banks of the Mahananda and its branches. Their proper duty is to carry the palanquin, but like the last-mentioned tribe they are all cultivators. They receive instruction chiefly from the Vaishnavs, and have Varna Brahmans of their own to perform their ceremonies.

The Bhawar are a Hindi tribe, originally from the lower hills and adjacent plains of Morang, on the west side of the Kosi, and may be considered as aboriginal. They also are bearers of the palanquin, but all cultivate the land. About 150 families are said to be settled in the north-west corner of this district, but there are many in the adjacent territories of Nepal. Their Purohits in general are Brahmans who have been degraded, and have become peculiar to themselves, and their Gurus are mostly Vaishnavs or some Kanoj Brahmans who have lost caste. As however the chief Zemindar of the vicinity is of this caste, and as he is liberal towards holy men, a stretch of caste has been made towards him and his relations, and the Pandits do not scruple to eat with their Guru and Purohit, nor to admit of the Zemindar's purity.

The Gangreri are a tribe from the vicinity of Mungger, who rear sheep and weave blankets, and who also occasionally cultivate the ground when their flocks do not afford them sufficient occupation. Above 400 families are settled in the western and southern parts of the district. Their Gurus are Dasnami Sannyasis. Their Purohits are Mithila Brahmans, who are degraded and will not be accepted by any other tribe.

The Ganes form a very numerous tribe, confined almost entirely to the parts of the district that are included in Matsya, which confirms the opinion concerning their origin which in my account of Ronggopur has already been mentioned. In that district and in Dinajpur, where they are not so numerous, they are chiefly potmakers, but here they are all by profession weavers, although a large proportion is employed in agriculture, the demand for cloth being insufficient to give the whole employment. They are divided into



three ranks, great, middle and small, which do not intermarry, as they follow greater or less degrees of impurity. A peculiar tribe of Varna Brahmans perform their ceremonies. Those of the higher rank are instructed by Vaishnavs subject to Atal Vihari. The middle kind are instructed by a kind of Vaishnavs, who dance before God with all their might.

The Gangangyi are of a pretty numerous tribe, situated among the upper branches of the Mahananda. They are in all probability an aboriginal tribe of these parts, and are all cultivators, and weavers of sack-cloth. They are divided into eastern and western branches, which do not intermarry, and are considered as nearly of an equal rank with the Ganes. They are pretty numerous. Their Gurus are the Dasnami Sannyasis. Mithila Brahmans, who have become peculiar to themselves and have consequently been degraded, perform their ceremonies.

I heard of eight families of a tribe called Athariya, who dwell in Gondwara, and are cultivators of a similar impure rank. I have not been able to trace this tribe in any other quarter, for they are very different from the Athariya of Majuyar near Kasi.

In the ancient history of Gaur one of the most numerous classes of cultivators is of the impure tribe called Pungra or Pundarik. These people have no tradition concerning the place from whence they came, and speak the Bengalese dialect. I therefore suppose they are an original tribe of Gaur, although there is a country named Pundara and celebrated for a temple of Vishnu, which is adjacent to the Punjab; but the distance is so great that the mere identity of names will scarcely justify us in supposing so painful an emigration. The Vaishnavs belonging to Atal Vihari are their Gurus, and their proper name is probably Pungra, while Pundarik, a name of Vishnu, has been bestowed on them by their Guru, who is of that sect. Their ceremonies are performed by degraded Brahmans belonging to their own caste.

In the same territory, on the banks of the Ganges, a pretty numerous class of cultivators is named Chasat, which implies merely ploughmen, and it may be doubted whether in reality they are originally different



from the Pungra. At any rate they are probably aborigines, and like the common class of ploughmen in the south of Bengal, called Pod, are impure; but degraded Brahmans perform their ceremonies, and they are under the guidance of the Vaishnavs, subject to Atal Vihari.

In this district as well as in Dinajpur, great confusion subsists concerning the tribes called Koch and Palya. In some places the Koch are considered as different from the Palyas, and those who observe some decency are indiscriminately called Koch and Rajbangsi, while those who carry the palanquin are called Koch Mahara. In other places again the Koch and Palya are considered as the same. The whole are reckoned impure, and the neglect to which they have of consequence been here subjected, together with the similarity of their features and manners, have given rise to this confusion. Having now observed that in Kamrup, the original country of the Koch, there are no Palyas, and that in Matsya and the adjacent parts of this district the latter are very numerous and are in general distinguished from the Koch, I conclude that in reality they have different tribes, and that the Palyas are aboriginal cultivators of Matsya. Including both tribes the number is very great, and except the Moslems, in all the parts towards the north and east they are the most numerous class of cultivators. About three-tenths retain the exclusive name of Koch, one-tenth are called indiscriminately Koch and Palya, and six-tenths preserve entirely the latter name.

By far the greater part of the Koch are called indiscriminately Koch and Rajbangsi, use the Bengalese language, and live by cultivating the land and weaving sackcloth or coarse cloth of cotton; but perhaps one family in fifty has been degraded by carrying the palanquin, and about a seventh part, who have settled far west, having adopted the Hindi dialect are called Khottas. These last are farmers and weavers of sackcloth. Their religious guides are the Dasnami Sannyasis, and their ceremonies are performed either by some persons among themselves, or by some Mithila Brahmans, who have been degraded and are now entirely attached to themselves. Those who live in the



eastern parts and use the language of Bengal have the Vaishnavs for Gurus, and their ceremonies are performed by Varna Brahmans, or by some of themselves.

The Palyas seem to have the same name with the Palis of the south of India; yet I can scarcely suppose that they have the same origin, for their name, signifying merely nourishers, is so applicable to all cultivators that it may very naturally have been given to people who had no other kind of connection, except that both were engaged in the most valuable of occupations. Some people, however, have been fond of tracing in the Pali or Palyas of India the shepherds of that name who once governed Egypt, and also the nation who communicated to the people of Ava, Pegu, and Siam the sacred language which they now use. Although I admit of the probability of an Egyptian colony and conquests in India, I do not think that our Palyas can be reasonably traced to that distinguished country. Had they come from thence, I have no doubt that they would have held a different rank. Nor is there any reason to suppose that ever they or the Palis of the south possessed any learning, although a few have acquired some little smattering, so as to be able to keep accounts. All Palyas cultivate the land, and their women weave. Besides those who are confounded with the Koch, the Palyas of this district are divided into two classes. By far the most numerous part (between eight and nine-tenths) are called Sadhu or pure Palyas, although they are held by their neighbours in great contempt, but they observe the Hindu law with tolerable decency. This higher rank is under the guidance of the Vaishnavs, and their ceremonies are performed by degraded Brahmans peculiar to themselves. The remainder, who wallow with abominations of pork, fowls and spirituous liquor, are called Babu, which is a term of respect probably given to them by way of ridicule. For although this title is said to be given in the west to some persons who will receive no religious instruction, these Palyas are said to follow the same guides and to have the same kind of officiating priests with their betters; but the Brahman who officiates for the higher rank will have no connection with the lower.



A small tribe of cultivators called Banat is settled, chiefly towards the Ganges, in the western parts of the district. The Banats were stated at 140 families, but are probably much more numerous, as all statements that I procured of the tribes cultivating the ground seem to have been greatly underrated. They would appear also to be an aboriginal tribe; at least I have not been able to trace them in any other part. Their name implies water-men. The Sannyasis are their spiritual guides, and their ceremonies are performed by Mithila Brahmans that have been degraded.

The Naris, who make ornaments of lac among the Hindus, are a low tribe, and many of them have been converted to the Muhammedan faith. In the west of India they are called Churihar, and in Mithila they are most commonly called Laheri. In the whole district, it is said, there may be about 270 houses of these Hindus. Their guides in religion are the Dasnami Sannyasis, and their ceremonies are performed by degraded Mithila Brahmans. They are chiefly confined to the western and south-eastern parts of the district, and work at their own profession alone.

The Patwars belong to another low tribe, of whom many have been converted by the Moslems. About 60 or 70 families of Hindus of this kind still remain in the captial and in the western divisions, and have similar instructors, and the same Brahmans perform their ceremonies as officiate for the Nori. Their profession is weaving.

Almost the whole of the low tribe called Kungjra or Khattas, whose women sell seasonings and whose men act as gardeners or cultivators, have been converted to the faith in Muhammed: but in Gondwara 80 families are said still to be pagans. The Dasnami Sannyasis are their spiritual guides. Their ceremonies are performed by degraded Mithila Brahmans.

In taking an account of the castes, the Pandit of the Mission has again confounded the Kapalis with the Kawalis, although in Ronggopur we had learned that they are totally different. I am told that the Kawalis are numerous immediately west from Patna,



and like the Sungris are petty dealers in grain and carriers. The Kapalis are a tribe of Bengal, and there being no Kawalis of that country, the Pandit like most other Bengalese usually confounds them together. Some of the Kapali here, I had occasion to know, burn lime and are called Chunaris, but the Pandit gives me an account of a caste called Chunari, which I therefore presume are the same with the Kapali. Including Chunari, Kapali, and Kawali, the whole number in this district is inconsiderable, not exceeding 50 or 60 houses. Degraded Brahmans perform their ceremonies, and the Vaishnavs are their spiritual guides.

Those who express oil are considered as impure. The reason assigned is that in their mill they torment the sacred animal by blinding his eyes. The Brahmans, however, eat without any scruple the oil from their impure hands; but they would sooner perish than drink the water which an oilman had drawn. If a person, in going to court or to transact business of importance, meets an oilman when he first leaves his house, it is a very bad omen, and he will generally return and give up his business. In Bengal the oilmen are called Kalu, and in Hindi they are called Teli. In the whole district there are said to be above 800 families, but many of these are traders, and often assume the title of Baniya in order to conceal the impurity of their origin. A good many are cultivators. Their distinctions are provincial. About a half claim Mithila as their native country, and have chiefly confined themselves within its boundaries. Not above a fortieth part are of Bengalese origin; a twelfth part may have come from Kanoj, and have chiefly settled in Gaur, but some in Matsya. A very few from Jayinpur have settled in the capital and in the north-west corner of the district, where they are mostly merchants. The remainder has come from Magadh, and few of these have ventured into Gaur or Matsya. Their ceremonies are performed by degraded Brahmans, who among the Mithilas are called Chausakhis. The religious guides of many are Vaishnavs subject to Atal Vihari, but by far the greater part follow the Dasnami Sannyasis.



An impure tribe, which however possesses some wealth, in the Sangskrita language is called Saundik. In the lowest dialect of Bengal and in the Hindi language these people are called Sungri; but in Bengal well-educated persons call them Sau. It was stated to the Pandit that, in all, there may be near 7000 families in this district. Their proper profession is to distil spirituous liquors from grain, but this being a very discreditable profession many of them will have no connection with such as distil, and they have divided into a great many classes from the different provinces in which they have settled, and from different trades which they follow. Very few now distil, but all are addicted to trade, and to keep cattle and carriages which they let to hire. The national or provincial distinctions do not apply to the whole. Some few call themselves simply Sungris without any addition: others, perhaps six-tenths, give themselves provincial appellations, and finally others, (almost four-tenths) are known by various names; but none will intermarry except with those who have exactly the same denomination with themselves. Among those who have provincial appellations, by far the greater part are of Magadh, and a very few are from the adjacent territory of Yosowar. Those of Mithila are very few in number, and those of Gaur still fewer, nor is one of them settled within the ancient boundaries of Gaur. Next to the Magadhs the most numerous class is that from the Bengalese province of Barandra, who have entirely abandoned to the Rarhis the profits of distillery. The Rarhis, next to the Barandras, are the most numerous class. Of those who have adopted names from other circumstances, by far the most numerous are called Ariyar or Dhankuttas—the former appellation means pedlars, the latter beaters of rice. These have entirely abandoned the distillery, and chiefly go from market to market buying up rice in the husk, which they afterwards sell, having hired women to beat it clean. The next most numerous class are the Kol Sungris, who are confined chiefly to the western part of the district. Whether or not these have a common origin with Kol fishermen, I cannot say. Next to these are the Pharas Sungri. The Kalwars



are also numerous. The smallest of these divisions is the Chakoyan. Neither the Brahmans of Bengal nor Mithila can give any rational explanation of the meaning of these words as applied to the Sungris. They may perhaps be Moslem terms. If they are not so, they are at any rate totally barbarous. All the Sungris have their ceremonies performed by degraded Brahmans. The greater part are guided by the Dasnami Sannyasis, but a good many adhere to the Vaishnav.

There are a very few traders of a tribe called Dorasiya, who are said to amount to only sixteen houses, settled in the west of the district. They are nearly of the same rank with the Teli and Sungri, and have the same Brahmans.

The Muryari are an impure tribe chiefly living near the Ganges. One-half of them cultivate the land; the remainder fish, and act as boatmen and as caulkers. Their number was only stated at between five and six hundred houses. They are under the guidance of the Dasnami Sannyasis, and have degraded Brahmans of their own who perform their ceremonies. It is probable that they are an aboriginal tribe of the country where they now inhabit, as so far as I have learned they are unknown either to the west or east. They speak the dialect of Mithila.

In my account of the pure tribes I have mentioned the difficulties that attend the terms Kiwat and Kaibarta, as applied to certain cultivators that are admitted to be pure. No less difficulty attends the fishermen of this tribe. After weighing all that I can as yet learn on the subject, I am inclined to think that the following has been the case:—

In the west of India was, and is, a very numerous tribe named Malo, of whom many were fishermen. Parasar, a Muni or Brahman of most distinguished eminence, impregnated a woman of this tribe with Vyas, who may be considered as the founder of the present Hindu religion, although like the other men who have attempted this difficult legislation he has of course borrowed much of the doctrine that in his time was generally received. Vyas, naturally enough, favoured the kinsmen of his mother, and the Malos



who would comply with the rules of purity, which he established or confirmed, assumed the Sangskrita name of Kaibarta, and procured pure Brahmans to be their instructors. These or their descendants have in general deserted their original low profession of fishermen, and have betaken themselves to agriculture. Those again who retain their old profession and have not weaned themselves from their impurities retain the name of Malo. There is reason to think that none, or at least few, of the Kaibartas of the west have penetrated here, or at least they have been confounded with the Kewats of Bengal. Of the Malos, however, many are now settled here, especially on the banks of the Ganges and Mahananda, where there may be about 1600 families. They are guided by the Vaishnavs of Atal Vihari, and have degraded Brahmans for the performance of their ceremonies. They fish and are boatmen; but many of them cultivate the land, although they continue in their impure manner of living.

In Bengal again there seems to have been a very numerous and powerful tribe named Kewat, the members of which, like the Malos, are fishermen and boatmen, but very impure livers. When Ballal Sen settled the ranks of the people in Bengal, he seems to have induced a great part of these people to relinquish their impurities, and elevated them to the rank of pure Sudras, flattering them with the title of Kaibarta that had been bestowed on the Malos of the west, and in fact equally applicable to both, as descriptive of their common profession. His Brahmans, however, in all probability were too proud to give instruction to a scum so recently elevated, or to associate with the persons who condescended to be their spiritual guides. A kind of middle plan may therefore have been adopted, and in place of offending this powerful multitude by calling their instructors Varnas, they are called Vayasoktas, as if descended from Vyas. After this, in every part where the laws of Ballal Sen were observed, the name Kewat, being attached to those who retained their old impurity, came to be a term of reproach and was gradually given up: but in Kamrup and Mithila, beyond the pale of this law, the Kewats often retain



their original name, which is considered perfectly synonymous with Kaibarta. Everywhere, however, the tribe has divided into two classes. One has adopted the manners of the pure Hindus and the profession of agriculture, on which account its members are called Kaluya Kaibartas or Kewats, according as the latter term is considered disgraceful or honourable. These have been already mentioned. The other class, who act chiefly as boatmen and fishermen, but who sometimes also cultivate the land, are often called simply Kewats; but where this term is disgraceful they call themselves Jaluya Kaibartas, or if that is not conceded they call themselves simply Jhalos, or persons who use nets. In some parts of Ronggopur all the Kewats seem to have taken disgust at their degradation, and have adopted the religion of Muhammed, but that is not the case here, where there are between eleven and twelve hundred families, mostly settled on the Mahananda and its branches. From 70 to 80 families, which have retired from Rarh to the south-east part of the district, are known by the name of the country from whence they came. The whole have their ceremonies performed by Varnas, and follow the Vaishnavs subject to Atal Vihari.

The Bindus are of a tribe of fishermen said to have originally come from the dominions of the Nawab Vazir. Above 700 houses are said to have settled in this district, chiefly on the branches of the Kosi and Ganges. Here they are reckoned impure, and the Mithila Brahmans who perform their ceremonies are degraded, and cannot officiate for any other persons, but in their own country the Kanoj Brahmans are not disgraced by attending their ceremonies. Their Gurus are the Dasnami Sannyasis.

The Tiwars are of an impure tribe of fishermen very numerous in Bengal. To the south of Calcutta they are called Rajbangsi Tiwar, but I cannot trace any common descent between them and the Rajbangsi Koch. It is therefore probable that some Raja has started up in the south of Bengal who was of this tribe, whose boatmen from their number must in times of anarchy have had much weight. In this district above 1600 families have settled. A good many



cultivate, but most are boatmen and fishermen, and they are pretty generally diffused. Like the Bindu they are considered here as very low, as they retail fish in markets, which is a much more disgraceful occupation than the mere use of the net, because in the sale the women who chiefly conduct it are exposed to public view. Their ceremonies are performed by degraded Brahmans, partly Mithilas, partly Kanoj. The Dasnami Sannyasis possess the right of giving them instruction. In this district the Tiwar seem to have a deity peculiar to themselves, and for whom they act as priests. This deity is called Prem Raj, and is said to have been a Tiwar who had very great power and success as a robber. He lived at Bahuragar, six coses north-east from Manihari, and at length, having long been favoured by the Gods, he obtained immortality (Aprakat) and he and his boat were suddenly removed from the sight of mankind.

In the south-east corner of the district above thirty families of the Bagdi tribe have settled. They are impure fishermen from the south-west of Bengal. Here they adhere to the profession of fishing, and to the guidance of the Vaishnavs. Their ceremonies are performed by Varna Brahmans.

In my account of Ronggopur I have mentioned the tribe of boatmen called Patanis. About 100 families are said to have settled in this district, of which two-thirds are said to be of Bengal, and one-third of Gaur. Not one of these last reside within the ancient boundaries of that territory. At Calcutta they are often confounded with the Malos, but here they are considered as different. They have the same religious instructors and similar Brahmans with the Bagdis.

I have formerly also mentioned the Gangrar, fishermen originally from the vicinity of Dhaka, of whom about ninety families are said to have settled in the western and northern parts of this district. They are here considered higher than in their own country, and Varna Brahmans condescend to perform their ceremonies, while they are instructed partly by the Vaishnavs and partly by the Dasnami Sannyasis.

The Suraiyas are a tribe of fishermen which seems to be peculiar to this district, and to be settled chiefly



at the capital and on the banks of the Ganges. There are said to be above 400 families. They follow their own profession, and are reckoned impure. Degraded Mithila Brahmans perform their ceremonies, and the Dasnami Sannyasis are their spiritual guides.

In the southern part of the district, near the middle, are settled many people called Kharwar, who occasionally fish and carry the palanquin, but are mostly cultivators. In Chopra they are a very numerous class, and great numbers go from thence for service to Calcutta, Patna and Banaras, and at the former city are called Patna bearers. Here, however, they are chiefly cultivators. I am told that their original country is in the vicinity of an old fortress called Khayra, which is in the territory of Chotoya Nagpur. They are a very impure tribe, although they have relinquished many customs to which they are addicted in their own country. They have obtained some degraded Mithila Brahmans who perform their ceremonies, and are under the guidance of the Dasnami Sannyasis.

About 400 families of a tribe called Markandeya are said to have settled in the western parts of this district. Their chief profession is the catching [of] fish, and they are an impure tribe whose Brahmans are degraded. They are under the guidance of the Dasnami Sannyasis. I can scarcely suppose that they are the same with the tribe of the same name that is found in the south of India, although the name, being that of a Muni, is so singular that this is not altogether impossible, and the resistance of the Brahmans, which those of the south still obstinately maintain, may have led to a total degradation of those of the north, where the victory of the sacred order has been much more complete than in Karnata.

The Torahas are a low tribe who chiefly retail fish, but the greater part have been converted to the Moslem faith. Their chiefs, like those of several other low tribes in this country, are called Metar and in the female sex Metarani, terms that in Calcutta are applied to common sweepers. The Torahas who adhere to the pagan doctrine have degraded Brahmans for performing their ceremonies, and are under the guidance of the Dasnami Sannyasis.



The Kol are a tribe of fishermen who also catch waterfowl in nets, and cultivate the ground. They are said to be very numerous in the hilly countries south from Bhagalpur, which are considered as their original seat. In this district between seven and eight hundred families have settled in various parts, and although very impure livers they have obtained degraded Brahmans to perform their ceremonies, and they receive such sort of instruction as the Dasnami Sannyasis usually bestow.

In the south-east part of the district about sixty families of a tribe called Kandar or Kandal are settled. Their name in the Sangskrita language is said to imply the steersman or conductor of a boat, and they are boatmen and fishers. Many of this tribe are to be found in Patna, from whence they have probably come here. Their ceremonies are performed by Varna Brahmans, and the Vaishnavs of Atal Vihari act as their spiritual guides.

In the east side of the district are said to be about 100 families of a tribe called Kuri, who are by profession fishermen. Their Gurus are the Aghorpanthi, and degraded Brahmans peculiar to themselves perform their ceremonies. The Kuri pray to Aghornath, but do not imitate their Gurus in the impurity of eating attributed to these teachers, and observe the rules common among the lower castes of Hindus. They are divided into two kinds, one of which use the Bengalese and other the Hindi language; but as they are very numerous in the Jaypur district it is probable that the whole have come from the west, and that the oldest settlers have adopted the language of Bengal, as that prevailing in the country where they live.

In the same parts of the district, but more especially towards the south-east, on the banks of the Ganges, the Chaings are a very numerous class of fishermen, of whom there are said to be above 3500 families. I cannot learn that they have emigrated from any other part of the country; but I believe that near the banks of the river they extend a long way west. They catch fish, are boatmen and cultivators, and sell vegetables. Their spiritual guides are the Dasnami Sannyasis, and their Purohīts are degraded Mithila Brahmans peculiar to themselves.



On the banks of the Kosi are about 280 or 290 families of a tribe of fishermen called Chabi, who are said to be more numerous towards the west. They are nearly of the same rank and follow the same professions with the Chaing, and have the same kind of spiritual guides, and officiating priests of a similar rank.

Another class of fishermen called Barhai Kandol is said to contain about 750 families, who have settled in two colonies—one about the middle of the east side, and one about the middle of the southern side of the district. I have not heard of their being found anywhere else. Their spiritual guides are the Dasnami Sannyasis, and their ceremonies are performed by degraded Mithila Brahmans.

About 100 families of another tribe of fishermen have settled in the eastern parts of the district, and are called Rishis. Among the Brahmans this is a high title, being given to the ancient philosophers of India, from whom the Brahmans pretend to be descended. It is probably from this having been the name of a class of fishermen that some persons in the south of India pretend that the Brahmans were originally fishermen, and that the thread which they wear is an emblem of their net. Others however pretend that this report is owing to the birth of Vyas, who must be considered as the founder of the present order of Brahmans. I cannot learn that the Rishi fishermen are found in any other district, but a class of extreme impurity called Musahar, which will be afterwards mentioned, are often called Rishi Balak or the sons of Rishi, and are probably of the same tribe, which seems to be aboriginal of Mithila. The Rishi fishermen on going to Bengal have abandoned some of their degrading practices, have in some measure changed their impure name, and their present appellation is said to signify chaste. They are still however among the lowest dregs of those who are not reckoned altogether abominable (Antyaj), and many of them cannot procure even degraded Brahmans to perform their ceremonies, but content themselves with the common astronomers, whose influence with the Gods is less considerable. They are instructed by the Vaishnavs dependent on Atal Vihari.



The Chandal, a tribe of Bengalese fishermen, have been mentioned in my account of Dinajpur and Ronggopur. In order to complete the list of fishermen, although they are everywhere admitted to be altogether vile, I have placed them before some tribes that are not quite so abominable. The number settled in this district, chiefly in its eastern part, between the Mahananda and Nagar, is said to amount to almost 700 families. They are instructed by the Vaishnavs subject to Atal Vihari, and degraded Brahmans perform their ceremonies.

I have thus given all the impure fishermen in a connected series, although it is generally admitted in this district, at least in the western parts, that the washermen are not absolutely vile, and are rather higher than the two last-mentioned tribes. In Bengal their profession is considered as quite abominable. They are therefore one of the tribes hanging on the boundaries of vileness, but everywhere here they have Brahmans who perform their ceremonies, and in the western parts these Brahmans are not quite so much degraded as many Varnas, but are called Chausakhis as they perform in common for four castes, the Telis, Sungris, Dorasiya, and Dhobis, the three first of which are rich and among the impure tribes are considered as pretty high. The washermen in general are instructed by the Dasnami Sannyasis, but towards the east a few are followers of the Vaishnavs. They have separated into many divisions. In the first place, a good many will have no communion with those who wash, and have betaken themselves to the plough. These are chiefly confined to the south-east corner of the district, and are all followers of the Vaishnavs. Even there, where washermen are considered vile (Aniya), these are allowed to be only low (Nich). Another class has separated itself from those who wash, and these people call themselves Raj Dhobi or Saphkar. They consider themselves higher than the washers and live by making mats and cultivating the ground. It is said that in the whole district there may be 2000 families that adhere almost entirely to their profession, in which, from the appearance of the people, they must have little industry. They have divided according to their respective nations. In the



eastern parts they are divided into those who speak Bengalese and those who speak the Hindi (Khotta) dialect. In the western parts they are divided into those of Mithila, Magadh and Kanoj. The Magadhs are by far the most numerous, and form more than a half of the whole tribe.

The Yogis, from their most ordinary employment, are called Chunaris or preparers of lime; but all persons of this profession are not Yogis, and almost all the Yogis also cultivate the land. There are here no weavers of this tribe. In some places of this district degraded Mithila Brahmans condescend to perform their ceremonies; but in general they have spiritual guides of their own, who call themselves Vaishnavs and do not assume the title of Sannyasis as in Ronggopur. Others again have Vaishnavs dependent on Atal Vihari as religious instructors, but have priests of their own for the performance of their ceremonies, and bury their dead; and finally some retain entirely the same customs that I have mentioned in my account of Ronggopur. Some of course are totally vile; but those for whom even degraded Brahmans will offer prayers are somewhat elevated from this state of degradation. In fact, they seem here to be gradually giving way to the sacred order and will soon probably be entirely reduced to obedience; and should ever a man among them obtain wealth and influence, there can be little doubt that many great discoveries will be made concerning the dignity of this caste, and its purity from time immemorial. Those here know nothing of Havachandra, nor have they any poems concerning their ancient heroes. In the whole district, it was said, there may be 350 families.

In the south-east corner of the district are about forty families of a Bengalese tribe named Bayuti or Bayiti. The Yogis reckon themselves much superior in rank, but they follow nearly the same professions, that is to say, they are musicians, and collect shells from which they prepare lime. They are under the guidance of the Vaishnavs of Bengal, and Varna Brahmans perform their ceremonies.

Nearly of the same rank with the Dhobis, but somewhat more doubtful, are the Beldars, who are pioneers, and those who make salt and nitre. According



to their professions they have divided into two classes. The highest are those who make nitre and salt, and who are called Sambal or Nuniya Beldars. The latter name signifies that they are makers of salt, the former that they have come from Sambal, a place near the Ganges in the upper part of its course, from whence the art of making saltpetre has probably been introduced. These people, when not employed in their art, hire themselves out as day labourers, to dig, weed, or make indigo, but they seldom plough. There are said to be about 750 families in the district. Their spiritual guides are the Dasnami Sannyasis, and they have degraded Brahmans who perform their ceremonies.

The Beldars who are pioneers make roads and dig tanks, on which account they are called Khodayas or diggers; but some of them weave and carry the palanquin. Like the tank-diggers of the south of India they are a very vile tribe. They receive what is called instruction from Dasnami Sannyasis, but they perform all their own ceremonies: and a female spirit named Sasiya is their favourite object of worship. Like those of the south they eat rats, and are strenuous drinkers, very difficult to manage: but their men are not celebrated for fidelity in carrying money. They are however very careful of their women, although they do not proceed to the same extremities in punishing their infidelity as those of the south had adopted. The number is said to be inconsiderable, and does not much exceed 500 families.

The whole of the Jolahas are a vile tribe, some however have Brahmans to perform their ceremonies, and a great proportion have become Moslems. They are all weavers; but on public occasions they are hired to make a noise with various instruments, and many of their boys are taught to dance in honour of the Gods.

In the northern parts of the district, especially towards the east, are said to be about 1200 families called Chapoyal Jolahas. They have degraded Brahmans to perform their ceremonies, and are partly guided by the Vaishnavs, partly by the Dasnami Sannyasis. In the eastern parts they are under the necessity of having barbers of their own, but towards



the west any Hindu shaver will condescend to smooth their chin. About 150 families of Palawar Jolahas are settled in the same vicinity. They have the same priests and guides as the Chapoyal. I have heard no rational explanation of these terms.

Almost 2000 families of Jolahas, who are called Hindus, are said to have come from Kanoj. In some places these receive instruction from the Dasnami Sannyasis, in others they instruct themselves. In some parts, again, degraded Brahmans condescend to officiate as their Purohits, while in others they perform their own ceremonies. The same is said to be the case with more than a hundred families of Jolahas of Mithila extraction.

I am told that in the west of India all the Jolahas are Muhammedans, and that Jolaha is not a Hindi or at least not a Sangskrita word. There is therefore reason to suspect that this tribe were all Moslems, and that since their arrival here they have been partly converted. In the west of India all the Hindu weavers are said to be pure: but they are very few in number, the occupation having fallen almost entirely into the hands of the Muhammedans.

The Tirahuti Dhotis are a tribe similar to the Tirahuti Jolahas, that is to say, they are weavers and musicians. They are instructed by the Dasnami Sannyasis, and have degraded Brahmans who perform their ceremonies; but as they are Hindu musicians they are judiciously considered as vile.

Watchmen in India are reckoned very vile and abominable, and this seems in general to have been attended with much evil in the regulation of the police; for these degraded creatures, not without some reason, think themselves justified in pilfering from their haughty masters; and wherever the custom of keeping such people prevails, no house is safe that does not pay them regular contributions. This even takes place where there is a vigilant police; but where any relaxation in the attention of the magistrate has taken place, the depredations that these people commit become a

CASTES CONSIDERED  
VILE AND ABOMIN-  
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very grievous affliction. In the remote north-west parts of the district this is at present the case, and the depredations are said to be enormous. Well-informed men, whom I have no reason to suppose as inclined to deceive me, allege that the value annually pilfered is not less than 50,000rs., and they think that no remedy would be effectual except granting the watchmen some villages for them to occupy entirely, and to which they should at night be entirely confined by severe punishment, to be inflicted whenever they were found prowling about the villages of their neighbours. These watchmen in general at present hire just as much land as will prevent them from being considered as vagrants, and live in a great measure by pilfering. They dress very meanly, and their huts are wretched; but they eat and drink abundantly, and of a good quality, and on their holidays and solemn occasions spend more than even the Brahmans can afford. I shall now mention the tribes of which they consist:—

→ The Dosads or Hazaras are a caste that seem to be spread all over the west and north of India. The former name, I understand, is pure Hindi, and Hazara is a term common in Mithila. In twelve divisions towards the east they were called indiscriminately Dosads or Chaukidar Dosads, and so far as I learned had formed no subdivisions; but there their number is inconsiderable and does not amount to a thousand families. In the six western districts, where about double that number have settled, about nine-tenths of the whole are called Magadhi Dosads as having come from Magadh, which from that circumstance may perhaps be considered as the original seat of the tribe. In this part of the district three small tribes have separated from the Magadhi, and this is also probably the case in the other divisions, although it escaped my notice. The most numerous are those called Kamar, which signifies biters, but this implies that they eat beef. The next are called Palawar, which implies their eating meat, and in fact these also eat beef, which the Magadhi rejects. The eating [of] beef seems to be the old custom of the caste, as it is admitted by all that the deified hero Sales was of the



Palawar tribe. Many now altogether deny eating beef; but this seems to be from fear. The smallest of these detached tribes is called Kurin.

The Dosads of the northern parts worship a God called Sales, whose Pujaris are always of this caste. He is said to have been the porter of Raja Bhimsen. At a distance from where Bhimsen resided, the Dosads worship a God named Sahal, who was a very distinguished robber of Morang; but having been a holy man, he is said to have disappeared from earth and to have become immortal (Aprakat). His Pujaris are Dosads.

It is not improbable that these two names, Sales and Sahal, belong to the same person, and are different pronunciations of the same word. Such at least is the opinion of my native assistants.

The Dosads have no images, but they have small huts dedicated to Kali and to her brother Goraiya, whom the Brahmans will not acknowledge. In the same huts are also worshipped Bahni, Tripuri Bamati, and Bishahari, all females. Before the last they sacrifice male goats; before all the male gods they offer swine. Rahu, who occasions eclipses, seems to be their chief deity, and they say that they are of his sect (Math). Sales and Sahal can only be considered as local heroes. We may perhaps be allowed to conjecture that the Dosads are the remains of a powerful tribe who long opposed the old Brahmans, worshippers of the planets, and whose God came to be considered as a demon, the enemy of the great celestial luminaries. On the victory of the worshippers of the stars, the Dosads were reduced to a miserable state, and their deity was called an Asur and other bad names; but now when the worship of the heavenly bodies, even among the Brahmans, has become subordinate to that of deified heroes, personifications, and incantations, Rahu is allowed to be a proper object of worship; Vishnu by a mistake having raised him to immortality, and placed him on a level with the planets.

The worship of Rahu, as I saw it performed among the Dosads of Nathpur, is rather curious. The priest is by them called a Bhakat or worshipper. He

is married, and totally illiterate, nor is he by his office able to procure an entire support for his family; but his dignity is hereditary, and he seems to be either a very simple or an artless creature. On the night before the worship is to be performed, a trench about twelve feet long, one wide, and one deep is prepared, and some dry firewood is collected. The trench runs east and west, and at its west end four bamboos are fixed upright, near each other, in the ground. A little before sunrise the Dosads begin to sing hymns in praise of Rahu, and a woman sprinkles some liquid in the trench and on the bamboos. The trench is then filled with firewood, and at sunrise this is kindled, while an earthen pot is filled with water and placed on a fire near the trench. The Bhakat or priest now appears, as if seized by the God—his whole limbs are agitated, he is unable to stand or even sit, his head moves from side to side, he attempts to speak without being able to articulate, and he rolls about his eyes and tongue. As the fire burns, he several times is led round it and seems to struggle to throw himself into the flames. On these occasions, the people who support him permit him to put his feet in the flames for an instant and to move the burning coals with his hands, and then they lay him down again. His appearance at this time induced me to suppose that he was drunk; but when the wood has burned and nothing but live coals remain, he is conducted to the bamboos and helped to ascend to a rope about three feet from the ground which is fastened between them, and there he stands so firmly that he cannot be supposed to be drunk. Here he goes through some mummary, while the people smooth the coals in the trench and break them into small pieces like gravel. The Bhakat then descends, stands on the edges of the pot containing the boiling water, and pours over his head some handfuls of rice, which fall into the pot. He then descends, and putting his hands in the boiling water, takes out some rice and thows it about. He then goes to the trench, supported by two men, for he still pretends to be in violent agitation, but with his naked feet he walks, very deliberately, three times along the burning coals, from one end of the trench to the other. He then mounts to



the top of the bamboos like a monkey, and performs more mummeries that would be tiresome and useless to repeat, but which show that he has abundant power over his limbs, which are undoubtedly exempt from the influence of either Bacchus or Rahu. It was evident, however, that the whole spectators, who were numerous, believed in the influence of this god, and at least all the Dosads and probably most of the others considered the interposition of the deity as what enabled the fellow to resist the effects of the fire. His followers exultingly challenged the Brahmans who were in my company to imitate this priest. The coals, however, were very far from being in a flame, and outwardly were even black, although some boiled butter was poured on them each time before the priest walked, and raised a strong smoke. They were, however, very hot, and the Pandit of the mission, who at the end of the operation took a few in his hand, could not carry them above a few yards. The fellow's soles were no doubt very callous, and probably indurated by much practice.

The Dosads have among them some persons who are their instructors (Gurus), who abstain from all animal food, from spirituous liquors, and from labour. Their office is in general hereditary, and some of them are able to read. Their proper title would appear to be Sadhu, but they are often called Gosaing, Fakir, Vaishnav, or any name that is considered as respectable. They have also an order of priests, who like the Purohits of the Brahmans perform their religious ceremonies. These are called Misra, and their office is absolutely hereditary. Occasionally a new man, who has addicted himself much to religion, may become a Gurn. The Gurus instruct their followers to worship Ram and Krishna with the Gods of that party. The other deities that I have above mentioned are only applied to in danger. Among the Purohits and Gurus are persons of all the four divisions of Dosads. The book that I found in possession of the Gurus was a small treatise called Gyangn Sagar, composed, it is imagined, by the four-armed God (Choturbhuj), that is, Vishnu, before the creation of the world. See No. 3 [which] teaches the immaterial

nature of God (Nirakar), which by many Brahmans is considered as a damnable heresy. On this account the Dosads are not idolaters. The book is composed in the pure dialect of Mithila. The Guru whom I consulted had also a small book of hymns, composed by Kavir in praise of Ram. He also had some parts of the Ramayan of Tulasi Das : but Gyangn Sagar seems to be the proper canon of the sect. The Guru goes about, and explains its contents to such of the people as are willing to attend, which seems to be but a small proportion of the whole. This however seems to be more attention than is bestowed by the Brahmans, or their substitutes the Vaishnav, on those whom they instruct : for the Guru seldom bestows more instruction than some form of prayer. The Dosads celebrate the memory of Sales with songs or hymns, and in the territory of Gorkha, where Bhimsen lived, there is a hut under the tree where the worship of Sales is celebrated. 3

The Musahar have already been mentioned as said to be the sons of Rishis, and probably have a common origin with the Rishi fishermen. It is said that in the Haribangsa, a poem attributed to Vyas, it is mentioned that the Musahar sprung from the armpits of a certain Ben Raja, who was a horrible sinner that lived a long time ago, even before the time of Ram. Ben Raja governed in Ayodh, but the Musahar have been dispersed throughout the north of India. That the Musahar may be a very ancient tribe of India and may have been the subjects of Ben Raja may be true enough; but as all the low tribes, even including the Kirats, a race undoubtedly of Tartar or Chinese origin, are said on the same authority to have sprung from the same person, it is evident that the story deserves very little attention. The Musahar in this district are said to amount to above 600 families, settled in its western parts. They are employed as watchmen, cultivate the land, and sometimes fish. They eat rats, snakes, and lizards, but reject beef. They have priests of their own and worship chiefly Rahu, who occasions eclipses of the moon.



The Banytar are another vile tribe, of whom about 25 families have settled in the north-west parts of the district, and are said to extend from thence along the frontier of Gorkha to the Gandak. Their manners are similar to those of the Musahar, but they eat cows that have died a natural death.

The Kangrihari are a tribe whose original seat seems to be about the banks of the Kosi, where it descends into the plains. They are by profession hunters, and kill tigers, hogs, and deer with bows and poisoned arrows set with a spring. A good many come occasionally from their native country and visit different parts of Bengal, in order especially to procure the reward which government has given for destroying tigers, and about eight families have settled near the capital of this district. Except in a difference of profession, their manners are similar to the three last mentioned tribes.

A few of a similar tribe named Karandiya are found in the south of the district. Instead of hunting they catch birds with a rod and bird-lime. They eat almost anything.

The Badiya or Bayadh, who often pursue the same profession, have been already mentioned in my account of Ronggopur, nor have I anything concerning them to add to what I there stated. It is said that in this district, exclusive of those who pretend to be Moslems, the whole number does not amount to forty houses, mostly confined to the south-east corner of the district.

The same profession and customs are followed by about thirty houses, called Dheyor, that have settled in the east side of the district. There is some reason to suppose that this is merely a different name for the Badiyas.

A class called Dhargar or Dharkar, of whom almost 200 houses are scattered through this district, work in ratans and bamboos, put ropes in the bottom of bedsteads, and rear swine. They have priests of their own, and are altogether vile.

In the south-east corner of the district I heard of a few families called Bethuyas, or workers in ratan, who originally perhaps were not different from the former; but their manners are now very different.

They receive instruction from the Vaishnavs, and degraded Brahmans condescend to perform their ceremonies.

The Dom in this district are all basket-makers, and work in bamboos but not in ratans. In my account of Ronggopur I have mentioned how this name has come to be applied to a class of fishermen. Here they seem to be indiscriminately called Dom, Dom Patani, and Tirahuti Dom. In some places no division has taken place; in others they are divided into two classes, Dhayi and Mordah-Furash. The women of the former are midwives, and where there are any families of that kind, they abstain from removing dead carcasses; but as in several parts the wives of shoemakers are the wise women, so there the whole Dom are sometimes Mordah-Furash, that is, remove dead bodies. There are in this district no other persons who perform this office, of which the want is often severely felt. The whole number in the district is about 450 houses. In Mithila, whenever a gentleman comes to a village, the women of the Dom assemble, having on their heads pots of water in which are put some leaves of the mango, and they welcome him with a song pronounced in a soft voice, much more agreeable than the howl (Hulu or Jokar) of Kumrup and Bengal proper, or than the squalling of the dancing girls.

The tribe of sweepers or scavengers among the Bengalese is called Hari; in the Hindi dialect the same name is also proper, but the Moslem name Hulalkhor, or purifiers, is in more general use.

In Matsya, where the tribe Bhumi-Mali, alleged to be the same with the Haris, is much more numerous than towards the west, they have separated into two classes, the Barabhaga who are gardeners and cultivators, and the Chhotabhaga who are sweepers. The former are mostly confined to the parts of this district that are contained in Matsya. In Gaur they are called Beldar Hari. This class has been reported at about 1650 families, but they probably are more numerous.

All the Haris and Hulalkhor in the western parts are sweepers, and together with the Chhotabhaga of



Bengal were reported at between five and six hundred families, but I believe that this number is underrated, although some have become Moslems, and although many parts of the district are very badly supplied with these useful people.

In the eastern parts of the district, chiefly, are settled about 250 families of a tribe called Kural who work in leather, making bags of that material (Kupa) and therefore they are placed near the Muchi, although they are a good deal higher than many of the last-mentioned castes. Their ceremonies are performed by degraded Brahmans, and they receive instruction of Vaishnavs. I have not heard of this caste anywhere except in Matsya or its vicinity, so that it probably had its origin in that part of the country.

In the north-west of the district are four families of the same profession, but they are called Dabgar, and follow the Dasnami Sannyasis; and the Pandit says that degraded Mithila Brahmans perform their ceremonies. I cannot learn of any other place where Dabgars are found.

The tribe that tans leather and makes shoes is spread all over India. In Bengal they are called Muchi. In the Hindi language their name is Chamar, probably derived from the word Charmakar of the Sangskrita. They are everywhere considered as vile and abominable, and about 1800 families are scattered through the district, without any divisions of which I heard; but these might readily escape the notice of the person employed to obtain information of this kind, their impurity keeping them at a very great distance. Many Chamars, not included in the above, are Moslems, and the women of some of both ranks act as midwives, and are called Dais. In the Hindi language the Dais must be distinguished from the Dhays, who nurse children. In Bengal, again, the midwives are called Dhayi and the nurses Chakrani or Dasi; but such are very seldom indeed employed by the Bengalese, whereas in the west of India the custom is as usual among the rich as in Europe.

Fifteen families of Chamar are said to have come from Kanoj and settled in Dangrkhora, where those of the country are distinguished by the name Desiya.



There seems to be little or no difference in their manners. Neither have any kind of Brahman to perform their ceremonies, nor any instructors except of their own caste. A few families from Joyanpur have settled in Arariya.

At the capital four families of Kangjor have settled. They are the public executioners, and are supposed to have come from the hills. They tattoo the women of this district : but this operation is more usually performed by a low kind of Moslems, already mentioned.

Among the vagrant tribes approaching to gipsies, and somewhat more resembling Hindus than Moslems, though their claim to either title is extremely dubious, are the Khanggars, who wander about begging and making ropes of a tough grass. They also make the brushes used by weavers, which are made of the roots of a sweet-smelling *Andropogon* (Khaskhas). They are entirely vagrants, and in the whole district there may be twenty or thirty families.

In the terrible famine which happened in the year of the Bengal era 1177 (A.D. 1770) many Hindus, unable to resist the cravings of appetite, ate food from impure hands, and lost caste. These and their descendants have now united into one tribe, which is called Saryuriya, because in every revolution of sixty years a famine, or some other great calamity, is supposed to occur on the year called Saryuriya, as happened at the time above mentioned. The Saryuriyas amount to about 130 or 140 families, confined to the western parts of this district. They have instructors and priests of their own. They now follow the Hindu customs so far as to abstain from beef, but eat every thing else; they cultivate the land.

In the late overthrow of the kingdom of the Kirats many of the inhabitants fled here from the cruelty of the Gorkhalese; but many have gradually returned to their native country. Those who remained have settled chiefly near the Kosi, and at present are said to be above five or six hundred houses, Kirats, Magars, Newars, Kamiyas, Gurungs, Damais, Tharus and Pariyals, of which I shall give some account when I describe their native country.



In giving an account of the manners of the Hindus I shall confine myself to the customs of Mithila, as on former occasions I have said enough concerning those of Bengal, and as the Gaur nation has been entirely

removed, and those members of it who are now here are both inconsiderable in number and may be considered as strangers. Besides, although a very great proportion of the people are descended from western tribes and retain more or less of their original customs, they have all in a great measure adopted the manners of Mithila, which everywhere west from the Mahananda are those which take the lead.

The pure Hindus of Mithila are allowed to eat rice that has been cleaned by boiling. They offer in sacrifices male goats, buffaloes and pigeons. The first and last they eat, but they leave the buffaloes for the impure tribes. Male sheep are occasionally sacrificed. Without sacrificing they eat wethered goats, deer, hares, porcupines, partridges, quails, tortoises and fish. The other animals considered as pure are not in use. No Hindu is so abandoned as to eat fowls. Ducks are very scarce, but they and water-fowl are only used by the vilest tribes. Some kinds of wild birds, such as the Karra, are allowed to those who are only impure. The use of buffalo flesh and pork is reserved for the dregs of abomination, and some of this class eat the carrion of cows, and do not abstain from jackals or serpents, nor even, it is said, from the human carcasses that, after being scorched, are thrown into the river. This however appears to me to require confirmation.

The Mithila Brahmans do not smoke tobacco, but they chew and snuff, and all the other pure tribes smoke. Some of the pure Hindus drink spirituous liquors openly and avowedly, nor would any lose caste by being known to have done so; but all those of the sect of Vishnu would incur great censure. These however, probably on this account, are very few in number. Among the sects of Sib and Sakti, drinking is also considered as somewhat reprehensible, even when done in honour of God, and therefore few openly



acknowledged themselves of the Virbhav, although several of the best-informed Brahmans that I asked said that the practice might be considered as universal. No more blame attends the use of Gangja or opium than in Europe follows the use of wine, or rather indeed less; for they are never used without producing a considerable degree of intoxication; but beastly stupidity would be blamed.

The funeral expenses, especially the Sraddha, are not near so expensive as in Bengal. On this occasion, here as in Bengal, bulls are consecrated, but not so commonly, nor is so much attention paid to these fortunate animals. No carved stake is here placed in the ground. Here, as in Bengal, very few celebrate the memory of their parents on the Amavasya; and except some few rich men, whom it is worth the Brahmans' while to remind of this duty, it is only Brahmans and Kayasthas that celebrate the Tithi. Here all the Mithilas who read the ceremonies at burning a dead Sudra are degraded to a certain extent, and are called Agradanis and Mahapatras, and the same persons accept the offerings that are made at the first Sraddha of a Brahman. For the first year after a person's death the Sraddha ought to be repeated by his heir monthly on the Tithi instead of the Amavasya, but very few observe this species of respect.

The Hindus here, as well as in Bengal, seem to labour under a great terror of the dead, and will seldom venture to inhabit a hut or house where a person has died. This seems connected, but whether as a cause or as an effect I shall not venture to say, with the horrid custom of exposing their sick to perish on the banks of rivers, which no doubt often tends to increase the last pangs of nature, and sometimes not only accelerates death, but also exhausts that strength which might have enabled nature to overcome the disease. The practice gives room for much more horrid circumstances; but such, I believe, are exceedingly rare, and the Hindus are, I think, in general very affectionate and kind to their near relations. It has, however, been perhaps owing to the fear of such circumstances that the Hindu legislators have imposed



such hardships on widows, in order to make women watch carefully over the lives of their lords.

In Mithila it would appear that the lower the caste, the girls are in general the more early married, and many Brahmans, without losing caste, do not procure husbands for their daughters until they are upwards of sixteen years of age, and are afterwards able to procure a match; but in such cases they always incur more or less blame. Among the lower castes this more rarely happens, and I heard of a rich Sudra, who had entirely lost caste by permitting his daughter to remain single at eighteen. A man of rank, marrying a low girl, pays very little of the marriage expense, and this is very moderate. I am told that the marriage of a poor Brahman does not cost above 30 rs., and the usual rate is only from 70 to 100. But many rich men of low birth ruin themselves in procuring women of high rank for their children. A man of high rank is often hired, when toothless or even moribund, to marry a low child, who is afterwards left a widow, incapable of marriage, for the sake of raising her father's family and rendering her brothers more easily marriageable. A man of rank, therefore, often gets money for an intermarriage with a low family; but if he has any other children to marry, they will be marriageable with difficulty. This custom often occasions violent family disputes. A high man has given sons and daughters in marriage to persons of his own rank; he afterwards marries a child to a low man, or marries a low girl, and receives a sum of money. His other sons or daughters-in-law are disgraced, and of course enraged, and usually attempt to avoid the shame by shunning all future intercourse.

About the year 1805 the Raja of Darbhanga, who has great influence, prohibited any man on his estates from taking more than five wives; formerly it was usual for men to take a good many. In common practice many Brahmans marry more wives than one. These are chiefly however men of high rank, who are hired to marry low women, of whom their fathers take care. Few men, even Brahmans, pretend to keep two wives in the same house. In Mithila almost all marriages are made in Asharh, while in Bengal



Phalgun is the most usual time for consecrating that ceremony.

Except those of Brahmans, Rajputs, Vaisyas, Bhats, Kayasthas, and some of the Baniyas, all the widows of pure Hindus can live with men as Samodhs. They are not united by any religious ceremony, but cannot be divorced except for adultery. If a man's wife of the high ranks commits adultery with a person of the same rank, he does not absolutely lose caste if he turns her away, but he is very much disgraced: and all the pure castes that admit of concubines (Samodh) may for a moderate fine keep their wife or concubine (Samodh) after she has made a slip with a person of their own caste, or of a higher; but they are entirely disgraced if they keep a woman that has defiled herself with a low man. They are in fact very jealous and careful.

Among all the tribes of Mithila pure and impure, that admit of concubines, when an elder brother dies his younger brother takes the widow as a Samodh. If there is no younger brother she may go to any person that she pleases. An unmarried woman of even the highest caste may have a child by a person of her own caste, and not be excommunicated; but she will not be so marriageable, and her father will be contented to take a low match for her. The accident, however, is concealed as much as possible, as all the family sinks to the level of the husband which can be procured, and her being allowed to live single is considered totally impracticable. Except Samodhs, no other kinds of concubines are legal in Mithila; and children who are born of women kept privately are called Krishna-pakshiya, or children of the wane of the moon, darkness being considered as favourable for intrigue. The same name is given to children born of unmarried women. These have no share in their father's property; and, although they are said to belong to their father's caste, no girl except of similar birth would marry with them. The children of Samodhs, on the contrary, have a legal right to succession; but if there is a child by a virgin spouse, it receives a larger share. The child of a Samodh can marry with the child of a virgin spouse.



The widows of the Hindus of Mithila are admitted to the same privileges, in burning themselves with the bodies of their husbands, as in Bengal; but the custom is very rare. In many parts no one remembered ever having seen such a sacrifice; and perhaps in the whole district such an event does not usually happen more than once in a year. It seems to be most prevalent towards the north-east, where the customs of Mithila are less prevalent; and on the borders of Batrishazari, where the custom is frequent.

Among the Mithila Brahmans almost the only sect that prevails is that called Sakti, which is taught in the Tantras. The

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doctrine chiefly followed is the same that was taught by Krishnananda, mentioned in my account of Ronggopur: but besides his works, the people of this sect study the Tantra Pradip, the author of which I do not know. None openly profess being of the Virbhav; but many read the Syamarahasya composed by Purnananda of Kathiyal, the pupil of Brahmahnanda, who introduced that doctrine: and I have before stated that by far the greater part are suspected of following his precepts. A few of the Mithila Brahmans are of the sect of Sib as taught by Sangkaracharya.

The Kayasthas of Mithila and the west are mostly of the sect of Sakti, except such as have followed Nanak, who has taken away many of the pure Sudras. By far the greater part of the Sudras in Mithila are of the sect of Sib; but in Gaur and Matsya the sect of Vishnu, as taught by Madhav, prevails. In Mithila, next to the Saivas, the followers of Nanak are the most numerous. Among the Rajputs are a few of the Surya sect, who worship the sun; and many for three months in the year do not eat while the sun is above the horizon, which is meant as a compliment to that luminary. During these three months some people, who are desirous of gaining any particular favour, do not sit down all Sunday. The women on such an occasion carry on their head a pot of water, and mango



leaves. At this time I have seen a man employed in the edifying exercise of hopping round on one foot with his joined hands stretched towards the sun, while his face expressed the utmost earnestness of devotion. As this was rather warm work, he had prudently stript, and certainly made altogether a figure at which the infidel might fairly smile. His perseverance was however astonishing, and exceeded my patience as a spectator.

All persons here, I believe, when in distress offer sacrifices to the Saktis; and the only ones who pretend to condemn the practice are the instructors of those who follow Nanak; but they have had little or no success in checking the practice, even among their followers. Notwithstanding this, and the almost universal prevalence of the Sakti sect among the Mithila Brahmans, the number of Kalisthans is not great, and a large proportion of the village deities are of the male sex, who here accept of blood, and have been heroes belonging to the country. The Kalisthans, and some of the places dedicated to Chandi, Bishahari, and Sitala or Mahamaya, have Brahman Pujaris; but the others have either persons of low tribes, to whom the heroes of old perhaps belonged, or more usually altogether want a priest. When a man able to defray the expense wishes to make an offering at these, he is accompanied by his Purohit, who reads or repeats prayers: but many cannot afford this, and endeavour to please the God in the best manner they can. It is not however pretended, among any class, that this is so likely to have success as when the offering is made by a regular priest, especially if he be of the sacred order, and still more especially if he is able to read the prayers. Whether there is a Pujari or not, any man may take with him his own Purohit to perform the ceremony: but wherever there is a Pujari, he takes the offering, and returns to the votary only a small portion, which is called Prasad. Where the priest of the village God is a Brahman, and has an endowment, he daily performs worship (Puja); but such attention would be thought unreasonable when the Goddess has not regularly provided for his wants, and allows him only the casual emoluments arising from those who



dread her power. Under such circumstances he only performs worship when a votary requires.

The most common Gram Devatas have been mentioned in the topographical part of this work. It must be observed that in the greater part of this district the goddess who inflicts the smallpox is usually called Mahamaya, or the great mother, a name that in Bengal is commonly applied to Kali. I am aware that the more enlightened Brahmans allege both goddesses to be the same; but in this district, if you asked for a temple of Kali, no one, not even a Pandit, would conduct you to one dedicated to Mahamaya, and on the contrary no one calls a temple of Mahamaya a Kalisthan: nor if the child of a Pandit is going to be inoculated, would he ever think of an application to Kali for its recovery.

Deha Varuni is a goddess peculiar, so far as I can learn, to this district, nor is her worship here very general. Her name implies that she frees her votaries from transmigration, and carries them direct to a place exempt from the miseries of change. In the account of Ronggopur I have mentioned Masan, and when treating of the Dosads I have given an account of their deified heroes Sales and Sahal, if these be different. In one place I heard of a female deity, Sahala; but her Pujaris were pure Sudras, and she seemed to have no connection with the Dosads.

Bhimsen is a very common object of worship in Mithila, and still more so in Nepal. The Rajputs and higher Sudras seem to have the utmost regard for his memory, and songs concerning him are in everyone's mouth. I have already mentioned the controversies that exist concerning this personage.

Rahu is the deity who occasions eclipses of the moon, and in my account of the Dosads I have mentioned all that I know concerning his worship. Karnadev with his brothers Balladh, Dulladh, and Tribhuvan are much worshipped, especially by the Dhanuks, Kaibartas, and many impure tribes. There are no images, priests, nor temples, but offerings are made at certain places, especially where these persons are supposed to have resided on earth. Some offer sacrifices, but this is not usual. I have already



mentioned all that I could learn concerning the history of these persons. 3

Ben Raja, his brothers Raja Sahasmal, Barijan, and the son of the latter, Kungja-Vihari, are all objects of worship in the northern parts of the district, where they are said formerly to have reigned. Any conjectures which I have been able to make concerning their history have been already mentioned. Prem Raj, the deity of the Tiwar, has been mentioned in my account of that caste.

I have nothing to offer concerning the great number of other male deities that are worshipped in the northern parts of this district. Some of them, according to tradition, have formerly been princes of the country, while others are said to have been holy men. Their names are Ramanath Thakur, Dukha-chariya, Latihar, Yasoya, Yasangchar, Singhanad, Budh Kumar, Banvagh, Kurila Raja, and Golab Ray.

In Mithila the Charakpuja, or the endeavour to please God by being whirled round while suspended by hooks passed through the flesh of the back, has not been introduced. It seems to be confined to Bengal, and is at any rate totally unknown in the west. This is a strong confirmation of Bannagar, near Dinajpur, having been actually the residence of Ban Raja; as he is said to have invented that mode of worship, which is now confined to the country that may be naturally supposed to have been under his dominion. The authorities given by the Pandits for his being the person who instituted this worship are the Sibapuran and Siba Dharmottar Khanda, both attributed to Vyas.

The species of worship that in Mithila seems to be by far the most fashionable is pilgrimage, especially to places where the people assemble to bathe. In the topography I have mentioned the places of this district where these assemblies are held, and the numbers by which they are frequented. Out of the district, the place most frequented by those here is Baidyanath, a temple of Sib in Virbhum, to which about 6000 may annually repair. Perhaps next to this are Varaha-kshetra, a temple in Morang, dedicated to Vishnu in the form of a boar, Janakpur in the same country,



and Singheswar, a temple of Sib in Tirahut. To each of these, being near, perhaps 2000 repair annually. Next to these may be the Brahmaputra and Jagannath, to each of which 1000 people from the district may annually go. Next to these is Kasi, but few go there without visiting Gaya. About 500 persons annually visit these celebrated places. The others are not considerable. The farther west one proceeds in the district, this idle practice becomes more prevalent.

Another kind of worship very prevalent here is hoisting a flag in honour of any deity of whom a favour is asked. This is highly commendable, being attended with no inconvenience and very little expense; for the flag is usually a rag tied to a long bamboo. Hanaman, especially in the north-west parts of the district, is the god to whom most flags are dedicated.

The greatest festival here, as well as in Bengal, is the Durga Puja; but there are comparatively fewer who make images, and there are more who sacrifice goats and buffaloes. Here more people than in Bengal observe on this occasion the kind of fasting called Navaratri; but then they are not so liberal to the sacred order. Next to this is the Holi, in honour of Krishna and Radha. It is celebrated chiefly by rude sports and the most indecent songs; and very few practise those religious ceremonies by which the higher ranks in Bengal accompany this disgusting festival.

Among the Mithilas as well as Bengalese, it is considered as lawful for a Kshatriya or Vaisya to read the books composed by God or the Munis, but the Sudras are excluded from this privilege, nor is it lawful for the two higher castes to give any explanation of these sacred books. This is reserved entirely for the Brahmans, and neither Kshatriyas nor Vaisyas here interfere even with the reading [of] these works. The Pandits occasionally read the Purans to wealthy men, and explain the meaning in the more polite dialect of the vulgar language; but this is not done to such an extent as by the Kathaks of Bengal.

The people here consider themselves as degraded by taking an oath. The Hindus think that the only



lawful manner of deciding causes is by ordeal (Pariksha), which must always have rendered their government, whatever enthusiasts may pretend, a most miserable system of oppression and injustice. A person accused of crime could only escape from punishment by a miracle, by corruption, or by chance; as it was always expected that the accused person should vindicate his character by undergoing an ordeal; nor could a man refuse to pay any claim for debt, if the complainant had the audacity to take the money from the head of an idol. So obstinate are mankind in following old customs that I have never found a Hindu who was sensible of the advantage of determining suits by testimony. It was only great cases that were determined by the high ordeal called Pariksha. In petty thefts a common juggler gave the accused person some rice to chew; and, if guilty, it was supposed that the moisture of his mouth would disappear, and he would spit out the rice quite dry. As alarm produces this effect, many weak innocents were no doubt found guilty, while many hardened thieves escaped; but as less audacious rogues are often afraid, and confess, recourse is still often had to the practice. In case of small complaints respecting debt, as I have said, the defendant often placed money on the head of an image, and desired the complainant to take it from thence. This is still frequently practised at a temple of Kangkali near Nathpur, and probably in other places that are remote from the seat of justice. The only remedy that the poor had against a rich debtor seems to have been the practice of sitting Dharana.

The office of Purohit is much more profitable than that of Guru, and what is thus lavished seems to be the only expense in which the people here equal those of Bengal. On this account the Mithila Brahmans have judiciously given themselves little trouble about those who act as Gurus; but condescend to act as Purohits for by far the greater part of the Hindus of this district, and the number of those who are considered as too vile for receiving the assistance of a Brahman in the performance of their ceremonies is very small. There are nearly the same ranks among the Purohits here as in Bengal. Those who officiate for Brahmans



and the classes of pure Sudras that abstain from concubines (Samodh) are called Pandits, but those who have little learning annex to this title the name Dasakarma. The Purohits of the pure castes that admit of concubines (Samodhs) are called properly Purohit Brahmans, but these also usually assume the title of Dasakarma, without however presuming to call themselves Pandits. They are not absolutely excluded from communion with the others; but if they acquire money sufficient to enable them to purchase a marriage with a high family, they give over their degrading profession, and appoint some person of their kindred to perform the ceremonies of the swinish multitude. Those who perform the ceremonies for impure tribes are totally degraded, and excluded from communion, so that even a pure Sudra would not drink water which they had drawn; nor will a proper Brahman perform their ceremonies, nor give them instruction (Upades). They perform ceremonies one for another, and some Sannyasis act as their Gurus. They are, however, in many respects higher than any Kshatriya; because it would be equally sinful to kill them as to kill any other Brahman. It is also lawful for them to read and explain any books, and their prayers have the same influence on the gods as those pronounced by any person of the sacred order. The word Varna, used for this class in Bengal, is commonly known to the people of this district, but its use is said not to be customary in Mithila. Those who act for the four richest classes of impurity form a separate order called Chausakhis. Each other tribe has degraded Brahmans peculiar to itself, and called by its name.

Among the Sakti sect no one Guru possesses great influence, and every Pandit has a few pupils. By far the greatest is Baburiya Misra, at Rasara in Dhamdaha, who is supposed to guide 400 families; but all these are not Brahmans, nor does any one confine his labours entirely to the instruction of the sacred order.

Next in importance to the sect of Sakti is that of Sib, whose followers, although not so dignified, are by far more numerous. The few Brahmans of Mithila who are of this sect carefully conceal their opinions from every one except the Pandit who gives them



instruction, and he is often of the sect of Sakti; but he knows the forms, and does not scruple to comply with the wishes of his pupil. The Sudras of this sect are under the guidance of the order of men called Sannyasis or Gosaings, who pretend to follow the rules of Sangkaracharya, at least as established in the north-west of India. In this district they are pretty numerous, especially in the south-east corner, where they carry on the greater part of the trade in silk, and where they have purchased considerable estates. These people accept of male children of pure tribes, and educate them as pupils, who succeed them; but the Brahmans abstain from all communion with them, so that they are totally different from the proper Sannyasis of the south of India. There indeed the Sannyasis of the north are never called by that name, but are always called Gosaings. Here they follow exactly the same customs as in Dinajpur and Ronggopur. They are divided into ten kinds, Giri, Puri, Bharati, Ban, Aranya, Parbat, Sagar, Saraswati, Yati, and Dandi, seemingly from the different places of penance that they frequented and the different species of penance that they endured. On this account they are often called Dasnami Sannyasis. Almost the whole belonging to this district, who have kept separate from wives, follow entirely secular professions and abstain from begging. A few, however, come from the west country, who are dedicated entirely to religion, and by the others are treated with great respect. The whole may amount to 600 houses, of which 500 are in Bholahat.

Many of the Dasnami Sannyasis of this district have not been able to resist marriage, and their ten divisions have become exactly analogous to the Gotras of the Brahmans, no person marrying a girl of the same denomination with that of his father. These persons, on account of their yielding to the temptations of the flesh, are called Sang-Yogis, but they call themselves Sannyasis, Gosaing, Atithi, and even Fakirs, which is a Moslem title.

The Sang-Yogis are said by some to owe their origin to a pupil of Sangkaracharya, who could not resist the flesh, and married; but those whom I have



consulted know nothing of their history. Some of them cultivate the ground by means of servants; but they all beg, and some have charity land, and the number of those whom they guide is very great. They admit of concubines (Samodhs). The Pandits say that they have no learning, but it is evident that the sacred order views the Sang-Yogis with considerable jealousy; and these fellows have indeed the impudence to bestow their blessing on the Brahmans, to which those here quietly submit, but those from Bengal cannot well restrain their indignation. They will receive no instruction from the sacred order, but Mithila Brahmans perform their ceremonies. The Brahmans who so far degrade themselves, officiate for no other tribe and marry with no other kind of Brahman. The number of Sang-Yogi families in the whole district amounts to about 350. No one of them has considerable influence, nor do they appear to have any common head; but among the worshippers of Sib they hold a place similar, but higher than what the Vaishnavs do among the sect of Krishna; for the highest Sudras of the sect of Sib receive instruction (Upades), from their lips.

Among the sect of Sib, although I think this rather doubtful, my native assistants place the Aghorpanthi, who are said to be the spiritual guides of some impure tribes. I have not been able to procure an interview with any of these people, who are always vagrants, and shall not from report enter into any description of their manners or doctrines, the stories that are related concerning them, such as their eating human flesh, seeming to me doubtful. It is said that they were founded by a certain Kinaram, and assumed the title of Aghor as being exempt from darkness.

Next to the sect of Sib the most numerous are the followers of Vishnu, who are mostly guided by the Goswamis of Bengal, and it must be observed that all these seem to be descended from the three great doctors of their sect. A very large share of the sect of Krishna is under the authority of a family of Gayespur near English Bazar, which manages its flock here in the same manner as that in Dinajpur. I suspect



that, even there, the Adhikaris who act as Gurus are different from those who have temples, and that when I stated them to be the same, I have been misled by the identity of names; for both here and in Ronggopur these Adhikaris have different offices, and very different ranks.

This family is descended from a certain Virbhadra, son of Nityananda, of whom an account has been already given. Virbhadra had three sons. The Goswami of Khardaha near Barrackpur is descended from the eldest, and is considered as the chief of the family of Nityananda. The middle son of Virbhadra was Ram Krishna, who had two sons, Hari Gosaing and Raghunandan. The former had three sons, of whom the eldest was Abhimanyu, the second was Kanav, and the third was Manahar, who obtained from the Moslems the title of Sahab Ram. He had two sons, Kshiradhar and Udaychand, who died without heirs and were succeeded by the three sons of Abhimanyu; first, Darpa Narayan, second, Ananda Chand, and third, Navin Chand. These divided the property into three, called the elder, middle, and younger houses.

Darpa died without issue and left his share to his nephew Utsabananda, son of Navin Chand, who had been adopted by the widow of Uday Chand. On obtaining the property of two houses he took two names, and collected the profits of the elder house under the name of Lal Vihari, while he continued to enjoy those of the younger house under his proper name. His son Devananda continues the same practice, and is best known by the name of Atal Vihari, under which he receives the profits of the elder house. He only has studied the books belonging to his sect that are written in the poetical language of Bengal, and is quite ignorant of Sangskrita science. The middle house is possessed by the son of Ananda Chand, who is said not only to be illiterate but of a very slender understanding.

There are some other Goswamis that have influence in this district, although it is not considerable. Some of these are said to be descended of the same Nityananda that was ancestor to Atal Vihari,



but I have not been able to trace the whole pedigree; nor is it certain that they are descended from Virbhadra, the only son of that teacher, for in this family females have been admitted to the honour of succession, and many Goswamis claim a right to guide consciences through their descent from Gangga, the daughter of Nityananda. Either, however, descended from her or from her brother Virbhadra, there is a family which resides in a part of Murshedabad called Soudabad, and which has much influence in that vicinity, and a little here. One of its members was in such high estimation that he obtained the title of Chakrabarti, usually bestowed on those who were emperors of India. This title and that of Thakur Mahasay are assumed by all the sons of the family, of which at present there are two representatives, Ramkisor and Chaitanya Charan, sons of two brothers. A collateral branch, it is said, of this family of Soudabad has settled at Kulundurpur in Bholahat, and has some followers. The present representative has Acharya Prabhu for a title. At the same place resides a family of Goswamis descended of Adwaita, which has divided into three branches, represented by Radhanah, Pulinchand and Nandamohan. The Uttar Rarhi Kayasthas, who are mostly of the sect of Vishnu, while almost all the others of Bengal are of the sect of Sakti, have for their instructors two Goswamis who reside at Kangtoya below Murshedabad. Their names are Nandakumar and Nartanananda. I have not learned from which of the great doctors these are descended.

In the south-east of the district the members of the medical tribe, who have invaded the rights of the Goswamis, and are called Sarkar Thakur, have a few followers, to whom they give religious instruction. Under the Goswamis of Bengal, the Vaishnavs have care of the lower classes of those who worship Vishnu under the form of Krishna.

In the western parts of the district are about seventy convents (Akharas) belonging to these Vaishnavs, who formerly were Udasins; but a great part of the proprietors have been unable to resist temptation and have married, and their office and property has



become hereditary. Perhaps twenty convents (Akharas) are inhabited by Vaishnavs who have deserted their families, and still hold out against the flesh. The total number of families of the Vaishnavs may be 3000, all impudent beggars. Most of them however rent land, but they never labour with their own hand. Some call themselves Banggali, some Gauriya, and some Aukali or Baleswari; but I have not been able to trace their history. It must however be observed that the Gauriya Vaishnavs still chiefly reside within the boundary of the ancient province of Gaur, and that they are the only persons deriving their national appellation from that territory who reside within its precincts. They are therefore probably aborigines, and like the Kalitas of Kamrup are the old priesthood of the country, who compelled Janmejaya to withdraw the colony of Brahmans that Vyas had established.

In the territory of Gaur, at a place called Janggalitola mentioned in my account of the topography of Kaliyachak, is the chief seat of the Sakhibhav Vaishnavs, who dress like girls, assume female names, dance in honour of God, and act as religious guides for some of the impure tribes. The order is said to have been established by Sita Thakurani, wife of Adwaita, but so far as I can learn has not spread to any distance, nor to any considerable number of people. The two first persons who assumed the order of Sakhibhav were Janggali, a Brahman and Nandini, a Kayastha. Janggali was never married, and it is only his pupils that remain in this district, and these are all Vaishnavs who reject marriage. Nandini was married, but deserted his wife to live with the pious Sita. He settled in Nator, where his disciples still remain.

Those among the vile castes, who dedicate themselves to religion, are usually called Narha Vaishnavs, or shavelings. This class seems to be peculiar to some parts of Bengal, especially about Agradwip (Ahghadeep, Rennell). In the south-east corner of this district are a few of this tribe. They shave their heads, live entirely by begging, and induce people to bestow charity by singing the praises of the three great



luminaries of the Goswamis of Bengal. These songs were composed by Ramananda, a Narha, who by some extraordinary circumstance could read and write, and by the Brahmans even is considered as an elegant poet.

In this district there are a few persons called Ramayit and Ramanandis, who have deserted the pleasures of the world. Part are descended of Brahmans, have images, and bestow instruction on the followers of Vishnu, who worship that god under the form of Ram. There are also some Ramayits who are Sudras, and serve the others in bringing water and other such occupations, but are not allowed to eat in company. These are properly called Birakta Vairagis, but in this district the Ramanandi Brahmans and Vairagi Sudras are usually confounded together, and the name Ramayit is given to both. In the west of India the Vairagis are often called Vaishnavs, and very few have married. In this district all their successors come from the west, and indeed very few here attempt to educate youth. This order is said to have been founded by Ramananda, who went to the south and studied under Ramanuj Acharya. On his return to Ayodh he formed this order, partly according to the rules of Ramanuj, but with differences sufficient to entitle him to be considered as the chief of a new sect. In the west the sect has very numerous followers; but various schisms immediately arose concerning the essence of the deity, and the various roads (Pantha) to heaven. Ramananda had a pupil, who assumed the name of Ramkavir, and who had a pupil named Dharmadas, who denied the corporeal nature of God, and established a new way to heaven called after his preceptor's name Kavir Panthi, a name well fitted to give fine employment for etymologists in discussing the mysteries of the ancient Cabiri. Dharmadas had a pupil called Baktaha, who discovered another way to heaven. Those who follow both ways are called Kavirs; but the disciples of Dharmadas are called Sat Kavir, and the followers of Baktaha are distinguished by his name. There are in this district a few followers of these Kavirs who live in Akharas like other Ramayits. The chief of the Sat Kavirs in this district is a



Mahantā, by birth a Brahman, but he has deserted the world, and lives at Puraniya. He has under him several Sudras. Most of the Ramayits have here been unable to resist the flesh, and the greater part have become San-Yogis, that is, have married. These call their houses Akharas, and continue to instruct such as follow the doctrines of their sect. All the Akharas have endowments. The number of the whole may be 100, but about 70 of these belong to persons who have married, and the remainder only have adhered to the rules of their order. None of them possess any considerable learning; but they understand some of the poems written in the common Hindi dialect. The Kavirs use the Amarmal, which gives an account of the controversy between Dharmadas and the other Ramayits. There are in this district no convents (Akharas) belonging to the Sanak Samprada.

All the Mithila Brahmans who are attached to temples, even those supposed to have been established by God, are disgraced, and can only marry among themselves, and their alliance would be scorned by even those who are in the service of men. Those who officiate in temples of Sib are called Tapasi in the vulgar dialect and Tapaswi in Sangskrita, that is to say, penitents. They ought not to shave, on which account a fish called mango-fish by the English of Calcutta, which has long fibres proceeding from near its head, is called by the same name. Those who officiate in other temples are called Pujaris.

Among the Mithilas, the young Brahmans are not required to pass more than three days in the austerities of Brahmacharis, before they assume the thread; and few dispense with less time. No one recollects any one having become a hermit (Bana-prastha); nor has any person been seized with the insanity of becoming a gymnosophist.

One Mithila Brahman, about 300 years ago, attempted to dedicate himself to God, and at Benares went through the ceremonies that entitled him to become a Dandi; but soon after he found this state very inconvenient, and the flesh prevailing, he returned to his house, resumed his thread, and took a young wife. His descendants have been degraded,



are called Vishnupuris after his name, and can only intermarry with Pujaris or such people. Since that time no one has made an attempt at such purity.

Among the Mithilas, as well as the Bengalese, there are no women dedicated to God, except the wives of Vaishnavs or Vairagis may be called such, or the few women, mostly widows that have no family, who attend on the holy men that live in Akharas, or who usurping the title of Vaishnav beg for the sake of God. But in the west some virgins are dedicated to a religious life, assume a red or yellow dress, rub themselves with ashes, and adopt the usual follies of the Sannyasis. These sometimes visit this district, where they are much respected, and are called Avadhutinis. Some are by birth Brahmans, others are of the high tribes. An Avadhut is properly a Brahman who considers everything as equal, and who is supposed to have attained such purity that he is incapable of stain. In fact this state is accompanied by still greater extravagances than that called Dandi, and of course its professors are more highly esteemed. I have not yet met with any such person. The character is very difficult to support.

The Mithilas of this district have nothing like the Dals or companies of Bengal, but the affairs of the different castes, and the punishment of transgressions against their rules, are settled by assemblies (Pangchayit). Among the Brahmans the most learned or wealthy persons of the vicinity preside. The Rajputs and Kayasthas follow the same rule, and a Pandit Brahman assists in their assemblies. The Vaisyas and all the tribes of pure Sudras settle their own disputes entirely in their own assemblies, where hereditary chiefs preside. Among the Vaisyas these chiefs are called Sirdars. Among the Sudras they are called Mangjans. The president and assembly always dine at the expense of the person who has been restored after committing any offence, and divide among themselves any fine that may have been imposed, and the president gets a larger share. The assembly usually consists of all the families of the caste that reside in the vicinity, and is usually commensurate with the extent of the transgressor's acquaintance, so



that a poor man has few assessors and the rich a great many. Transgressions against the rules of caste in this district seem to be very rare. Almost the only causes that come to be tried are occasioned by the frailties of sex; and in this point the people here are very austere moralists. Among the low castes the same kind of customs prevail, and even among them the Gurus have very little influence. The Purohit is usually called by the Mangjan, and receives a present (Sidha). The vile castes also have Mangjans, and settle their transgressions in the same manner.

In my account of Dinajpur and Ronggopur, I was led to treat of the Sikhs as of a sect that had entirely separated from the Hindu law, and that would admit into full communion Moslems or even Christians, having totally relinquished the doctrine of caste and the influence of

VARIOUS SMALL  
SECTS.

the sacred order. I inferred this from a short account of the Sikhs that was published by Mr. Wilkins, in the first volume of the Asiatic Researches, where he says that the people of Patna declared their place of worship open to him and all men, and offered to receive him into their society; and in fact, he sat on the same carpet and partook of their food, which had they retained the Hindu doctrine they could not have done. He also states that previous to the adoption of a convert, he must show a sincere desire to renounce his former opinions. There is not the smallest reason to suppose that Mr. Wilkins was in any respect either misinformed or mistaken; but the short period of 29 years, and the strong prejudices against such liberal conduct, have in this district produced considerable alterations, and in consequence of these, probably, the sect seems to be fast increasing.

The term Sikh is little if at all known here. The sect is usually called Nanak-Panthi, or the people who follow the way pointed out by Nanak. They are also very commonly called Wah Guru, from their custom of expressing in these words an assent to the dogmas of their instructors. It is generally admitted among them that Nanak penetrated to Mecca, which he could not have done in the fifteenth century without having



adopted the external signs and demeanour of a Moslem. It is therefore highly probable that he endeavoured to found a religion common to both Hindus and Muhammedans, and may have admitted proselytes from both sects; but in this district, at present, none except Hindus of pure extraction are admitted. In various places, the Pandit informed me that persons of many impure and even vile castes were admitted among the disciples of this order; but this is strenuously denied by such of its teachers as I have consulted. After admission all proselytes can eat the sweetmeats in their temples, as described by Mr. Wilkins; but in every other respect the doctrine of caste is maintained in full force, and a Brahman convert will no more eat boiled rice or intermarry with a Sudra convert than he would if he had adhered to his former instructor. Neither does any convert wean himself from his former idolatry and mummeries. A Brahman Purohit continues to perform all his ceremonies, and he worships all the Hindu Gods except the indecent Mahadev. In fact the Sikhs differ only from other Hindus in having superadded a little more mummeries than usual, and in having chosen what they call a new path (Pantha); and such differences, as I have had repeated occasion to observe, are very frequently arising.

The disciples of Nanak suppose that while at Mecca he disappeared, and obtained immortality (Aprakat), but the better-informed seem to view him much in the same light as the Moslems view their Prophet. God they call Nirakar, or an immaterial and omnipresent being. Such refined notions, however, are I believe confined to a very few in this district, and by no means exclude a belief or worship of other Gods; although probably at Patna there may be still some who adhere strictly to this doctrine, and exclude all other deities. In general in this district, even the teachers (Guru) of the multitude consider Nanak as the same with God, and worship besides most of the Gods of their neighbours.

At Patna is a place of their worship. It is called Hari Mandir, which of those belonging to this sect in the east of India is by far the most celebrated, and



people frequent it in pilgrimage, just as other Hindus frequent Kasi. It is however called a Sanggat or Dharmasala, and is under similar regulations to other places of worship of a similar name; but it is more splendid, and seems to be the place which Mr. Wilkins visited. The person who presides is styled Mahanta, and has forsaken the world. He has very great authority, and is said to have under his power 360 Gadis, that is, an indefinitely large number of inferior Sanggats or Dharmasalas. At each of these is a Fakir. Some of these are said to have forsaken the world (Sannyasis), others indulge openly in its pleasures (Sang-Yogi); but all are subject to the authority of the Mahanta at Patna. He fines those who transgress the rules of the order, and appoints successors when any dies. These successors not only obtain the office, but also the whole private estate of their predecessor, even if he has been married and has left children, who depend for support on the discretion of the successor. The Mahanta also receives occasional presents from these Fakirs, but no regular income.

In order to guide such a numerous flock, the Patna Mahanta appoints inferior persons of the same name. One resides at Siriniya in Dangrkhora, one at Bhawanipur in Dhamdaha, and one in Gondwara. I have not learned of any other in this district. All these are Sannyasis. Each of these has a Dewan, who is also a spiritual guide who visits the subordinate Gadis, and manages the affairs of his principal, who resides constantly at his own Gadi. Subordinate to the Dewan is a Kotwal or messenger; and each Fakir has an officer of this kind.

Before the Mahanta at Patna dies, he appoints a successor from among his disciples, and distinguishes him by putting a cap on his head. At Kasi there is another person of a similar rank, who resides at Asi Sanggam; and there is another in the Punjab. I cannot hear where any other resides; but there is another, whose Sanggat is called Amareir.

It is said that all the Fakirs can read and understand the book called Guri Mukhi, which I however very much doubt, from the nature of their conversa-



tion; and I find that few of them possess a copy. Those whom I have consulted say that they admit no other book to be canonical. It is not kept secret from the laity; but they consider the Bed and Purans as of divine authority, and are therefore subject to whatever explanations of these works the Brahmans choose to admit. The Fakirs give their pupils (Sishya) among the multitude a Mantra, form of prayer or short confession of faith, with some rules for purity in eating and drinking, and this is all the instruction which they usually bestow, and is much of the same value with that given by Vaishnavs, or other such persons. Some study the Guru Mukhi, but few apply to this who have not the ministry in view. The Fakir twice a year gives at the Gadi such an entertainment (Sanggat) as is described by Mr. Wilkins, only the hall is a mere hut, but it is accompanied by the same religious ceremonies. This is repeated so often as any of the flock chooses to defray the expense, which in most Gadis may be four or five times a month. The five Sanggats or entertainments a day, mentioned by Mr. Wilkins, seem to be confined to the splendour of the patriarchal residence.

A few Osawal merchants are scattered through different parts of the district, but I have had no opportunity of learning any thing satisfactory concerning their customs.

There are in the district about a dozen families of native Christians, who are called Portuguese, and who are chiefly employed as writers. Some of them are decent respectable men; but their number is too small to admit of a priest. A protestant missionary resides in the south-east corner of the district. He was absent on a visit when I was in that part; but so far as I could learn, he has made no sort of progress in converting the natives.

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**PART III**  
**NATURAL PRODUCTIONS OF PURANIYA.**

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*Extract from Dr. Buchanan's Instructions.*

Your enquiries should be particularly directed to the following subjects, which you are to examine with as much accuracy as local circumstances will admit:—

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III. The Natural Productions of the country, animal, vegetable, and mineral, especially such as are made use of in diet, in medicine, in commerce, or in arts and manufactures. The following works deserve your particular attention:—

1st.—The fisheries, their extent, the manner in which they are conducted, and the obstacles that appear to exist against their improvement and extension.

2nd.—The forests, of which you will endeavour to ascertain the extent and situation, with respect to water conveyance. You will investigate the kinds of trees which they contain, together with their comparative value, and you will point out such means as occur to you, for increasing the number of the most valuable kinds, or for introducing new ones that may be still more useful.

3rd.—The mines and quarries are objects of particular concern. You will investigate their produce, the manner of working them, and the state of the people employed.

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In addition to the foregoing objects of inquiry, you will take every opportunity of forwarding to the Company's Botanical Garden at this Presidency whatever useful or rare and curious plants and seeds you may be enabled to acquire in the progress of your researches, with such observations as may be necessary for their culture.

## PART III

### NATURAL PRODUCTIONS OF PURANIYA.

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#### CHAPTER I.

WILD ANIMALS—BIRDS—REPTILES—FISH—INSECTS.

The only monkey that I have seen wild in this district is the Markat, or *Simia Rhexus* of Audibert, mentioned in my account of Dinajpur. In the ruins of Gaur there are a great many, and I saw them nowhere else; but I am told that in the marshy woods of the south there are many.

WILD ANIMALS.

Wherever they are numerous they do much harm; but no one kills them.

For some years three or four wild elephants have frequented the woods in the southern parts of the district, and it is from thence, probably, that the two mentioned in my account of Dinajpur made their incursion into the ruins of Peruya. Here they have been extremely destructive, so that, to the total disgrace of the police, they have every year destroyed some villages, and unless checked they seem to be in a fair way of ruining the whole of that vicinity. The farmers are so timid, and the zemindars are on such mutual bad terms, that unless the magistrate interferes, there is not the smallest hope that the elephants will be disturbed. It would, however, be unreasonable that any expense should be incurred, except by the zemindars. These have plenty of tame elephants, and the whole of these being assembled, and a couple of good musketeers placed on each, in the course of a few days the wild ones might to a certainty be killed.



Towards the northern frontier herds of forty or fifty elephants make occasional incursions from Morang. The people make a noise, but never attempt to repel them by violence.

A rhinoceros lately made his appearance in the marshy woods of the south; but fortunately he thrust himself into the premises of an indigo planter, and was shot.

The jackal (Seyal) and Indian fox (Khikir) are common. The former is supposed to steal both money and cloth, which it conceals. This I presume is a fabrication of those who pilfer, in order to account for the disappearance of many things that they have been suspected of taking.

I heard of no wolves or hyænas. At Nathipur, however, in the course of the beginning of the year 1810, some children were carried away in the night, as was supposed by some animal, and this was naturally thought to be a wolf (Hunda); but the attacks were always in the dark, the people were too much terrified to pursue, and their search in the day was without effect; so that the animal was never seen. Formerly such accidents were common; but since the country in the neighbourhood has been cleared, the wolves have disappeared. They do not seem ever to have frequented the southern parts of the district.

Except in the ruins of Gaur, tigers and leopards are not common. By both Moslems and Hindus they are considered as the property of the old Muhammedan saints, who it is imagined are offended at their death: so that in general the natives are far from being pleased at the sport of tiger hunting, although they admire the courage of those by whom it is practised. I am indeed of opinion that a few tigers in any part of the country that is overgrown with woods or long grass are useful in keeping down the number of wild hogs and deer, which are infinitely more destructive. The natives seem to be in general of this opinion, and the number of either people or cattle that the tigers destroy, even at Gaur, is very trifling. If the number of other wild animals on which the tigers prey was reduced, they no doubt would become destructive, and it would become of



advantage to offer a reward for killing them: but in the present state of the country the reward now bestowed seems to be of very doubtful benefit, and wherever the country is cleared they disappear. Most of the heads paid for, both here and in Dinajpur, I believe have been brought from Morang.

I have been unable to learn any thing satisfactory concerning the Nakeswari-Vaghi, mentioned in the account of Dinajpur. The natives are so exceedingly indistinct in their nomenclature, every striped or spotted animal of prey being called Vagh, that I can place no reliance on what they say. I everywhere indeed heard of the Nakeswari, but from the natives' descriptions I suspect that what they mean is the common leopard.

The Indian ichneumon is exceedingly common, but is rarely tamed. There are many otters, and the farmers sometimes kill them and sell the skins to the northern mountaineers; but no persons make this a profession. The Indian bear is very uncommon. The porcupine is rather scarce, being too much pursued; for all the pure Hindus are desirous of eating them. Hares are much more numerous, being less disturbed, although they are occasionally eaten.

Deer and antelopes are by the natives included under one general name Harin, and although many specific names exist, I cannot pretend to say that I have been able to ascertain in a satisfactory manner what species are meant. By showing the animals and asking their specific names, I have often thought myself secure, but the next person that I asked has often applied the names differently. The proper deer that I have seen in the district are the axis or spotted deer, the porcupine or hog-deer, and the *cerf des Ardennes* of Buffon. They are pretty numerous wherever the country is overgrown with woods or bushes, especially towards the south and on the frontier of Morang towards the branches of the Kankayi, and are very destructive; but are not so overpowering as in the eastern parts of Ronggopur. The common antelope is abundant on the bare swelling lands of all the western parts of the district. It feeds



chiefly on short grass, and is not nearly so destructive as the deer.

Although all the natives are fond of venison, and although there is no restraint, no one makes a profession of hunting for sale, nor do many keep nets, and the deer are too fleet for the usual manner in which the low castes destroy game.

In the wastes of the south of the district are some wild buffaloes that are exceedingly destructive, but in general this district is not so much afflicted with so great an evil.

— Wherever there is any shelter, the wild hog is exceedingly numerous, and he is very destructive. The low caste called Dosad pursue him eagerly for eating. They have dogs taught to bring him to bay until their masters come up and attack with spears and arrows.

In the large rivers porpoises are numerous; but are very seldom killed for their oil.

There is an immense variety and number of vultures, eagles, kites, and hawks; but at present none are employed in sport, nor do they any harm.

Everywhere north of Puraniya parakeets are in immense numbers and eat a great quantity of grain. In the southern part of the district

#### BIRDS.

wild peacocks are a great nuisance.

In every part there are three other kinds of birds, that consume much grain and occasion a heavy loss:—

The worst is the Kaim (*Galinula porphyrio* L.), a bird celebrated for its beauty among the ancient Greeks, with whom it was a great rarity. It remains here all the year, and consumes much rice that grows on the lower lands. It seems to be a very stupid bird, and is tamed with great difficulty, very few for any time surviving the loss of liberty.

The Bageri of the natives is what the English in Bengal call an Ortolan, and in spring, after it has been fattened on the winter crops, and the grass seeds which abound in the hot weather, it becomes a very delicious morsel. It approaches so near the *Calandre* lark of Latham that I suspect a drawing of this bird, found in the collection of Lady Impey, induced that



able ornithologist to place the *Calandre* among Indian birds. The Bageri is a bird of passage, and with us is always found in very large flocks and only during the fair weather. It disappears when the rainy weather commences, and it might be supposed that a few stragglers might reach Italy and the south of Europe, where the *Calandre* is a rare bird; but there appears to me abundant marks by which the two birds may be distinguished, and their habits and uses are so different that it would be improper to consider them as belonging to the same species.

The third of these destructive birds is the Kolang of the natives, the common crane (*Ardea Grus*) of Europe. It remains all the cold season, and as the heats increase, retires to breed. It consumes much grain.

The peacocks, cranes, parakeets, and ortolans make an open attack in the day time, and may be kept off by care; but this occasions trouble, especially where the farmer is harassed all night by watching his crops to keep off the deer and wild hogs. The *Galinule* creeps unseen along the marshes, and in fact does more harm than any of the other birds.

Partridges and quails are very numerous. The Kalatitar, or black partridge, is the most common. It approaches very near to the *Francolin* of Europe but there are some differences, and it is very poor eating, while the *Francolin*, by the most scientific eaters of France, is admitted to be excellent. I suspect, therefore, that our bird cannot be entitled to so valued a name. The black partridge chiefly frequents long grass and low bushes, where its presence is readily discoverable by an incessant loud whistling noise; but it is not readily seen until it takes wing.

In the woods of this district is a much larger partridge called simply Titar. In the manuscript accounts which I transmitted to the India House from the menagerie at Barrackpur, I called this bird *Perdix sylvatica*, as it has not been noticed by Buffon nor Latham. It is an excellent bird for the table, but wants the splendid colours of the other kind.

The swarms of waterfowl that are to be seen in the cold weather are altogether astonishing. Among



the ducks, birds strongly resembling the *anas clypeatas* (Songkas), the *anas acuta* (Dighongs), and the *anas ferina* (Lalmuriya) of Europe are very common, and are all most delicious. These disappear in spring, but I can scarce persuade myself that our Dighongs can be the *anas acuta* or pintail of Europe, which scarcely ventures to a climate less rigid than the shores of Orkney. A class of people called Kol take ducks in nets, but they have little or no means of disposing of their game, as none but the dregs of impurity will eat such abominable food. The Kol are therefore obliged to eat it themselves. In the evening they lay their nets by the smooth side of a marsh or tank. About break of day the ducks resort to sport; and as they sit on the nets, a man on watch draws his cords so that the nets rise, and meeting together, confine all the ducks that sat on them until the other Kol run up and secure them. Almost every kind is easily tamed and readily eats grain, on which, if put into a proper house and allowed a pond of water, they will become very fat. The gentlemen of Madras have an excellent supply of this kind, which in Bengal has been almost totally neglected.

This district also abounds in snipes, in golden plovers, and in the florikin or lesser bustard, all excellent eating but totally despised by the natives. The smaller white herons (Vak), of which there is a great variety and number, and the shags and water crows (Gandhala and Panikaur), the numbers of which surpass imagination and the variety is considerable, are in much greater request, and are prized on account of having a fishy taste. Some people live in part by catching these and sparrows for the luxurious, and parakeets for the devout or idle, who choose to amuse themselves by bawling the name of God. They are caught by a rod smeared with birdlime, but the parakeets caught in this manner seldom thrive.

The tortoises are very numerous, and in some places are very much eaten, while in others they are neglected except by the very dregs of the people.

Lizards are not in request. Except in Dulalgunj, I heard of none who molests the crocodiles of either



kind mentioned in the account of Ronggopur, although both are very common. At Dulalgunj some fishermen occasionally spear the Ghariyal, partly for his oil and partly for his teeth, which are used as amulets. I have already mentioned the crocodiles which are objects of worship, and the degree of tameness of which they seem susceptible.

Serpents are, I think, more numerous and dangerous than anywhere that I have yet been. According to the reports which I have collected, probably 120 persons, besides many cattle, are annually killed. The natives do not seem to have any aversion to their destruction, although the Brahmans say that a prudent and wise man would not, with his own hand, put one of the kinds of hooded snake (Gokhar) to death; yet on all occasions I saw them very much satisfied with the impure sinners who took that trouble. I do not, however, know any plan by which the breed could be destroyed or excluded from the houses; for in rainy weather many kinds, and some of them the most dangerous, are very desirous of the shelter of a roof. There are people who make a practice of catching them, but they do it merely with a view of performing tricks and extracting money. They, however, are very useful in catching any snakes that have taken possession of the thatch of a hut, or of some hole in an inhabited place, in their nocturnal excursions from which these reptiles are liable to be hurt by someone treading on them, which occasions a dreadful retaliation. A care indeed in watching such intrusions, and the employment of the snake-catcher, seem to be the only remedy, and the latter is beyond the reach of the poor.

The snake-catchers have a curious source of profit. On the hooded serpent, which is considered in some degree sacred (Gokhar) and which perhaps is the *Coluber Naja* of European naturalists, is found a small insect, much of the same shape, size, and colour with the common bug. It is a species of *Acarus* but by no means agrees with the description of the *Acarus auratus* that is given in Turton's translation of Gmelin, although that insect is said to have been found on this species of serpent. This insect by the natives



is called Eteli and Killi, and is considered as of great efficacy. Tied in a small silver box like an amulet and worn round the loins, it produces two very remarkable effects. One is that it restores the vigour which has been exhausted by the too frequent enjoyment of pleasure, and the other is that in all suits it procures the favour of the judge. Now as most of the rich natives, at all advanced in years, have suffered very much from excess, and as it seldom enters into their imagination to conceive that any motive but favour has the least influence on a judge, so the insect is in great request. The snake-catchers, of course, increase its value by saying a number of ridiculous things, such as that there is only one on each snake, and that, being its protecting genius, the insect always deserts the ill-fated serpent that is destined to fall into human clutches, and can only be taken in the act of escaping.

Notwithstanding the large rivers and numerous marshes of this district, a very great number of fishermen, and a great demand for fish, the markets in the north-west parts are very indifferently

and scantily supplied. The fishermen in these parts of the district have still less art than those towards the east; and as they man most of the boats employed in commerce, the number actually engaged in the fishery is but small, although when not engaged as boatmen they all fish. Towards the Ganges and Mahananda the supply is abundant.

A very few fish are dried, in order to be exported to the mountaineers, by the same process as in Ronggopur; but among the people of the district this sort of fish is not in request, nor in most parts do they prepare the balls called Sidal by beating the fish with vegetables. This however is done towards the north and east, where there are Koch, for the art seems to have originated with the people of that tribe. The people are not, however, select in their choice, a great part of the fish used being in a state of the most disgusting corruption. That is particularly the case with what is used at the capital, most of which is brought from a distance. The difference of species



makes very little alteration in the value, a ser of fish selling for nearly the same price, of whatever kinds or sizes the fish may be.

With regard to the means used for catching fish, I have little to add to what I have said in the account of Dinajpur but that in general the methods are more imperfect, and that the fishermen can take very little fish except what is almost left dry. Those on the Mahananda, however, are much more expert than most of the others; but in my account of Dinajpur I have said all which has suggested on that subject. On the Ganges also the fishermen seem to be expert; but as most of the fisheries on that river belong to the district of Bhagalpur, which I intend to survey next, I shall say nothing on that subject until I have made a more complete examination.

The Kosi is not very abundant in fish, and the fishermen are the most obstinate people with whom it has ever been my misfortune to deal. In fact, the fishermen make very high wages when employed to man boats or bring down timber, and this enables them to be very idle when they are at home, so that the fishing is only a kind of amusement. On this great river they have no nets but such as are thrown from the shoulder, or a miserable kind of bag-net. Most of the fish are taken as the river dries up, by putting screens across the smaller channels until the water leaves them dry.

The farmers are very unskilful in catching fish, and chiefly procure them in ditches, by making little banks across and throwing out the water. The fishermen, so far as I saw, have none of the complicated machines used in Dinajpur and Ronggopur, and a great many have neither nets nor boats: but in place of the former use screens made of reeds, and never go to fish, except in shallow water. There are none of the Gangrar, or people who fish with the harpoon; but some of the lower tribes of fishermen occasionally use a gig. Many of the natives fish with the rod for amusement. The rod and tackle are exceedingly coarse, and not at all fitted for showing dexterity in their use. The fisher never uses an artificial fly, nor does he drag his bait. It is suspended by a float,



and he sits with the utmost patience until a fish bites. He then drags out his prey by mere force and, if he be small, makes it fly over his head like our European boys fishing minnows.

In most parts the right of fishing is annexed to the land and is let to renters (Mostajirs), who sometimes employ men to catch the fish for wages or for a share, and sometimes relet them to the actual fishermen, giving them either an exclusive right to the use of a certain extent, or a right of frequenting a certain extent along with others. The nominal value of the fisheries is a trifle, most of the landlords pretending to give them to their servants as a reward for their trouble; but as I have said, there is no knowing the amount of a zemindar's profit from the nominal rental. The leases of the fisheries are generally renewed annually, and at each renewal a Salami or homage is paid, and without knowing the amount of this we learn nothing. A great many of the actual fishermen pretend to give one-half of all they take to the renter; but he is in general defrauded. By far the greatest fishing, that of the Ganges, belongs to a lady who resides at Rajmahal in Bhagalpur, and of whom I shall for the present avoid saying anything farther; although many fishermen of this district are in her employ.

The number of fishermen was estimated to me at about 7,000 houses; and it was said that in each house there might on an average be two able-bodied men, giving 14,000 fishermen; but as I have said, many are boatmen and only fish when they cannot procure a voyage, and several also catch ducks, or have other avocations that interfere with their catching fish. It is probable, however, that each man on an average may catch fish to the value of 18 rs. a year. They probably give at least to the value of one-third of the fish to the agents of the landlords.

Some fish is exported. A little of this is dried, and is sent to Bhotan or Nepal: but by far the greater part is sent to Murshedabad, without any care taken to preserve it farther than by using a quick conveyance. The kinds sent are chiefly the Rohu (No. 105), Mriyal (No. 104) and Chital (No. 76).



In the cold season, some boats of from 100 to 200 *mans* burthen are half-filled with water, and great quantities of small fish are put into them and sent living to Calcutta. The fish are so thick that they are just kept wet, but the water is frequently renewed. The kinds are the Singgi (No. 38), Mauri (No. 37) and Kabai (No. 20), all small fishes very tenacious of life, and in much request with the natives, as supposed to possess restorative powers.

The wives of the fishermen sometimes retail the fruit of their husbands' toil, but in this district most of the fish are bought from the fishermen by wholesale, and retailed by people called Kungjra and Pajara, who are not of tribes that fish. Those which are sent to Murshedabad are bought by petty traders who come from Bhagawangola, and have fast rowing boats. The fishermen in general live very easily, those on the Mahananda by the labour of their profession, and those in the other parts of the district by acting as boatmen.

With regard to the species of fish that are found in this district, not a great deal of new matter has offered; and I shall confine

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KOSI.

myself chiefly to give a list of those of the Kosi, by which means I shall be able to give the Hindi names, at least such as are used in the dialect of Mithilia. When therefore no particular place is mentioned, it is to be understood that the fish is found in the Kosi near Nathpur. For the synonyms and other particulars, I shall merely refer by the initials of the name of the district and by the numbers to the account given of the fishes of Dinajpur and Ronggopur.

1. Phokcha (D. 1; R. 1).

2. Kanthawaleh Phokcha, and 3. Karaiya Phokcha, are two small species of the *Tetrodon*, similar to the fish first mentioned.

4. Rajvam is the eel common in Europe, the *Murana anguilla* of naturalists, it is found in marshes near the Kosi, and as usual, when found in dirty stagnant water has very lurid colours, of various shades of green above and of dirty yellow





below. I am a good deal surprised at the talk which Lacepede makes about this ugly animal, which has every appearance of a snake, and wants the beautiful colours with which most serpents glitter. The manners of the eel are as disgusting as its form. Whenever it can, it buries itself in putrid carcases or in the mud, in which it forms holes with great celerity. It is a very irritable animal, and when angry its head and neck swell, although not to such a degree as the hooded snake. All Hindus except Brahmans and Rajputs eat this fish, which is not very common, and does not here attain a very great size.

5. The Sasuka Kangchal is a species of *Ophisuris*, and a much prettier eel than the one above mentioned. It is found in the Mahananda, as well as near Calcutta. The Hindus on the banks of the former river eat it, but at the latter place it is rejected with disgust. Its name is derived from an imagination that it is born in the ear of the porpoise.

6. The Gachchi (D. 4; R. 5) of the Kosi, at Bholahat is called Chhota Gachi.

7. Vam (D. 2; R. 4).

8. The Patahi (D. 3; R. 3) of the Kosi, at Bholahat is named Patal Gachi.

9. Galla (D. 5; R. 6).

10. Kotra (R. 10).

11. Kariya Kotra (D. 6; R. 7).

12. Lal Kotra (R. 8).

13, 14. Khesra (R. 12). The same name is here given to the eleventh fish of the Ronggopur list, a very distinct species.

15. Chengga (R. 13).

16. Garai (D. 8; R. 14).

17. Bhongra (D. 7; R. 17).

18, 19. The Darhi includes two species, one is the 19th of the Ronggopur list; the other nearly resembles it.

20. Kabai (D. 10; R. 20).

21. Dhali (D. 14; R. 21).

22. Channa (R. 26).

23. Suhi Channa (R. 22).

24, 25. The Kesira Chanda of Bholahat is applied to both the 24th and 25th fishes of the Ronggopur list.

26. The Taka Chanda of the same place is the 12th fish of the Dinajpur list.

27. Vaghi (D. 49; R. 27).

28. Latta (R. 30).

29. Lalka Latta (D. 15; R. 29).

30. Kukura (R. 34).

31. Chhota Kukura, a small fish very much resembling the one immediately preceding.

32. Kharika, another small fish not differing greatly from the two last.

33. A small fish, not differing much from the last, was brought to me by two names, Savan Kharka and Pathar Chatta.

34, 35. The Balgara includes two species; one the 33rd fish of the Dinajpur list. The other does not differ a great deal.

36. Pema (R. 65).

37. Manggura (D. 16; R. 41). In the south part of the district it is called Mauri.

38. Singgi (D. 17; R. 40).

39. Boyali (D. 19; R. 39).

40. The 35th fish of the Dinajpur list was brought to me by the fishermen on the Kosi by two names, Bochoya and Sasuya.

41, 42. Checkra (D. 18). Under the same name is also included a kindred species, which grows to about a foot in length, and is one of the best fishes of the Kosi.

43. Chotki Checkra (R. 38).

44. Lalmukha Checkra (R. 37).

45. The 42nd fish of the Ronggopur list in the Kosi is called Angchacheya and Satanbiri. At Bholahat it was called Bangspata, or the bamboo-leaf, a name given by the Bengalese to several fish that have a very small resemblance to each other, or to the object from which the name is derived.

46. The Manggoi is a small very ugly *Pimelode*.

47. Katla (D. 26; R. 59). This must be carefully distinguished from the Katol of the Bengalese, at Calcutta usually called Katla, which is a species of



*Cyprin* very common in the Ganges and Mahananda, but is scarcely ever found in the Kosi.

48. The Chhotka Vachoya of the Kosi at Bholahat is called Murivacha, and has a great resemblance in form to the last-mentioned fish; but it never grows to a large size, and is not so ugly, nor are its colours so lurid.

49. Patasi (D. 27; R. 55).

50. The Thunka Patasi (D. 53; R. 51) of the Kosi, at Bholahat is called Khamain.

51. The Pangsa of the Kosi was by all my people considered as the same with the Panggas of Bengal (R. 57); yet the only specimen that I was able to procure had no abdominal fins. If this was not an accidental circumstance, the Pangsa cannot be arranged with the *Pimelodes*, nor even among the same class of fishes, which shows the inconvenience of arbitrary systems such as that used by Lacepede.

52. Ariya (D. 23; R. 60).

53. Vaghair (D. 24; R. 61).

54. The Menada of the Kosi on the Ganges and Mahananda is called Gagar or Tel Gagra, and is the prototype of a large class of fishes. It is a small lurid *Pimelode*.

55. Kosiya Tyangra or Tenggara (D. 51; R. 49).

56. Tyangra or Tenggara or Hara Tenggara (D. 28; R. 43).

57. Bajha (D. 50; R. 24).

58. Lara Tenggara (R. 45).

59. Mahujar (R. 53).

60. Telchitta is a small lurid *Pimelode*, which like the following has the character of the *Hypostomes* of Lacepede; but I can see no sufficient grounds for separating these from the *Pimelodes*.

61. Nangra is a small ugly fish.

62. Padna (D. 52; R. 46).

63. Nangra is a small fish, nearly related to the above.

64. Guthalyangra (R. 48).

65. Chamar, a small *Pimelode*.

66. Hara, an exceedingly ugly small *Pimelode*.

67. Nanggara (R. 64).

68. The small fish, No. 30 of the Dinajpur list, was brought to me from the Kosi by several names, Pathar Chatta, also given to a fish already mentioned (No. 33), Ganggajali and Ghat pona.

69. Dhongga (D. 29; R. 66).

70, 71. The Tituya of the Kosi includes two species, Nos. 67 and 68 of the Ronggopur list.

72. Kharra (R. 69).

73. Hundara (D. 31; R. 70). At Bholahat it is called Murail.

74. The Dhani of Bholahat is a very small species of *Atherina*, of which immense numbers are found in the lower parts of the Mahananda.

75. Gohali (D. 33; R. 73).

76. Bhuni (D. 34; R. 74).

77. The fishes of the Kosi differ in nothing more from those of the rivers towards the east than in containing few species that have an affinity to the herring. In fact, no species that has teeth is found in this river, but in the Mahananda the kind called there Phangsa (R. 71) is very common.

78. Of the fishes related to the herring which have no teeth (*Clupanodon*), the only one commonly found is a small fish nearly related to the 78th of the Ronggopur list, and to the 35th of Dinajpur. In the Mahananda it is called Bara Khayra.

79. The Hilsa (D. 57; R. 76) sometimes but very rarely straggles into the Kosi, and never in large shoals; but it is very numerous in the Ganges and lower part of the Mahananda, into which it penetrates as far as Krishnaganj.

80, 81. In the last-mentioned river two species, the 77th and 78th of the Ronggopur list, are called by the common name Karti.

82. In the Mahananda the 79th fish of the same list is [called] Haluyad.

83. There also I found a very singular small fish named Suvarna Kharika, which differs from the above fishes in having two fins under the tail, of which I have seen no other instance.

84. Mali (R. 83).

85. The Kachki is a small fish, a good deal resembling the last, which is found in the Mahananda.



It can be with difficulty considered as a *Cyprin*, but is nearer that class of fishes than any other.

86. The Kongri is also a small fish that has only a distant resemblance to the *Cyprins*.

87. The 80th fish of the Ronggopur list on the Kosi is named Bilra, on the Mahananda, Dhor Chela.

88. Gutta (D. 38; R. 122).

89. Malki (R. 81).

90. Podki (R. 91).

91. Jaya is a small compressed *Cyprin* with its back fin placed near the tail.

92. The small fish, No. 82 of the Ronggopur list, on the Kosi is called Soli, on the Mahananda, Peheli.

93. The Marur of the Kosi is one of the most delicate small fishes of the rivers in Bengal, and its taste and size have a considerable resemblance to those of the smelt. It is a *Cyprin*.

94. The fish of the Ronggopur list No. 104, on the Kosi is called Karsa, on the Mahananda, Mochhna.

95. The Phakra is a small *Cyprin*, and like the two following has dark bars transversing its sides.

96. Phuya (D. 58; R. 88).

97. Tiluya (R. 89).

98. Tilee is a small *Cyprin* which, with the following has its sides spotted somewhat like those of a trout.

99. The Goha grows to the size of a herring and is a pretty good fish.

100. The 93rd fish of the Ronggopur list on the Kosi is called Malangga, and on the Mahananda, Eleng.

101. The 95th fish of the Ronggopur list is the Reba of the banks of the Kosi; and the Raikhari of the Mahananda are the same. This fish seems to suffer considerable alterations in colour from the nature of the water in which it lives. In marshes and small channels overgrown with weeds its back is green with a gloss of gold, while in clear water the whole is white, and shines like silver.

102. Pangusiya is a small fish nearly resembling the two following kinds, but does not grow larger than a smelt.

103. Bhangana (R. 98).

104. Mirka (D. 62; R. 99).

105. Rohu (D. 45; R. 100).

106. The Nandin of the lakes or marshes of Gaur is a very fine large well-flavoured fish like a carp. I have seen it nowhere else in India.

107. Basraha (D. 44; R. 108).

108. The Kursa is a beautiful striped large *Cyprin*, very like that mentioned in the Ronggopur list No. 101, but its scales are much smaller. It is full of small bones and is poor eating.

109. Under the name Sahara there was also brought to me another very fine large *Cyprin*, which name, however, was also given to the following.

110. The 103rd fish of the Ronggopur list on the Kosi is called Turiya, or Sahara as I have just now mentioned.

111. The Masal of the Kosi is a very large fish, which many people think still better than the Rohu, and compare to the salmon. I cannot say that I could perceive any resemblance. It does not grow to such an immense size as the Mohasaul (R. 102) of the Brahmaputra, but has very large scales, and has a great affinity to that fish and still more to the one last mentioned.

112. Garhan (R. 110).

113. The Khangri of the Kosi is a fine large *Cyprin*, but the following is also called by this name.

114. The 111th fish of the Ronggopur list (D. 43) on the Kosi was by some called Darhi, but others again called it Khangrhi, which however was probably a mistake.

115. The Koswati strongly resembles the Pungthis that will follow, but has no spots.

116. The 112th fish of the Ronggopur list is here also commonly considered as the prototype of all the Pungthis, and is usually called by that name alone; but the specific appellation Dudhiya is often prefixed.

117. The name Kumrhi was often given to the 113th fish of the Ronggopur list, which however from the redness of its fins is often called Lalka Pungthi.



118. The name Changyi was given to a small fish of the same list (No. 115), but at times it was also called Kumri Pungthi.

119. The name Khudi or Khudhi was also given to another similar fish (R. 116), but it was also occasionally called Changyi.

120. The same name Khudi, without any addition, is also given to a small *Cyprin* having one black spot on each side, and not being semidiaphanous like the Khudis that follow.

121. Chhotka Khudi (R. 118).

122. The 117th fish of the Ronggopur list on the Kosi was sometimes called Bhu and sometimes Khudi.

123. Lalka Bhoti (R. 119).

124. Mara (R. 120).

125. The same name Mara is also given to another small fish (R. 121).

126. A small fish like a minnow (*Cyprinus Phovinus*) on the Kosi, is sometimes named the Dyangra and sometimes the Angjana. There are two other Dyangras (Nos. 127 and 132); but the latter has no great resemblance to this nor to the following.

127. The Kosiya Dengra or Dyangra is another pretty little fish like a minnow, but has a long beard. In Dinajpur (39) it is named Dhangrika; at Calcutta it is named Dhana or Danikona.

128. The Jongja of the Kosi very much resembles the last.

129. The Rishi Jongja of the Kosi is one of the most beautiful little fishes that I have ever seen, being ornamented with fine longitudinal lines of purple and yellow.

130. Karsa (R. 104).

131. The Paungsi of the Kosi is a small fish nearly resembling Nos. 105, 106 and 107 of the Ronggopur list.

132. A good deal resembling these also is the third kind of Dyangra mentioned above. It is also called Konghari and is of little value.

133. Desari (R. 124).

134. The Anhai of the Kosi is a species of *Synbranche* totally without fin, and as like a snake

as possible. It is not however a very ugly eel. In the vicinity of Lokhipur, it is called Kuchiya, and is supposed by the natives to kill cattle by its bite, but this is probably a mistake, as they also suppose that its bite is not fatal to man. It is not found more than two feet in length.

In the southern parts of the district oblong crustaceous fishes, as I have described in my account of Dinajpur, form a very considerable part of the animal food which the natives use; but in the northern parts there are few animals of this kind, and in general they are too small for use. In the low lands near the Nagar and Mahananda, there are many such crabs as I have mentioned in my account of Dinajpur.

In most parts of the district several species of flying bugs that have a very disagreeable smell, during the rainy season are exceedingly troublesome, flocking round every light, so that in the evening it is impossible to eat with comfort. In the

## INSECTS.

ruins of Gaur, during the whole rainy season, mosquitoes are almost intolerably numerous. In the other parts, these insects are somewhat more troublesome than towards the east, but are not a very great annoyance, nor is any other insect very troublesome to the persons of the inhabitants. There is, however, as usual in India, an abundance of white ants and cockroaches. The former, I am told, seldom infest any house built on a sandy soil, which in some measure compensates for these situations being less healthy than where the soil is clay.

In the south part of the district I heard of one flock of locusts, which about ten years ago came from the west, in the month Vaisakh (middle of May to middle of June). Although they made but a short stay they did a good deal of harm. They were eaten by the Moslems of the Sunni sect.

Honey bees are not very numerous. Mr. Fernandez of Dinajpur has rented some of the wax which is produced on lands that formerly belonged to the Raja of Dinajpur. In other places it is much neglected. The servants of the zemindars take a share from any person who chooses to collect the honey and



wax; but there are no men who make this a profession. If there were, and if they had an exclusive right of collection, the quantity procured would in all probability be much increased.

The same kinds of shells that in Ronggopur are used for preparing lime abound in this district.

## CHAPTER II.

WILD PLANTS—WASTE LAND, WOODS AND FORESTS—  
BAMBOOS, PALMS, AND OTHER TREES—REEDS—WILD  
PLANTS USED FOR FOOD, ETC.

For a botanist this country is still a worse field than Dinajpur. In the spring and rainy seasons,

however, I found many plants,  
WILD PLANTS. some of them very beautiful,  
that have not yet been intro-

duced into the common systems of botany; but as in Ronggopur, I shall here confine myself to a general view of the more remarkable spontaneous productions of the waste lands, referring in general by the initials of Ronggopur and Dinajpur and by the numbers to the lists given in the accounts of these districts.

In the parts of this district where the Hindi dialect prevails, land overgrown with trees and bushes is called Tal or Dak, while waste land that contains only coarse grass or reeds is called Rumnah. The Rumnah again is divided into two kinds; on one the grass is so short that it is fit for pasture alone; on the other it is very long and reedy, and is fit for thatch or the walls of huts. The

WASTE LAND. former is called Char, the  
latter Chari; or if the reeds be  
very strong it is called Janggala. In the Statistical Table I have estimated that there may be 389 square miles of land liable to be flooded, which are overgrown with trees, bushes and reeds. A large proportion of this is on the banks of the great rivers Kosi and Ganges, and is covered with tamarisks intermixed with various reeds. Some part also is in the ruins of Gaur, where the land was originally low; but it has been so cut by small tanks filled with crocodiles that it is now almost impenetrable, and the earth thrown out from the tanks is so high that trees of



various kinds grow on it, while the lower parts are overwhelmed with reeds, and the tanks with aquatic plants. There is however a considerable part of the 389 miles that would not appear to have ever been cultivated, and extends from the banks of the Nagar opposite to Peruya to the banks of the Kosi near its mouth, running parallel to the Ganges. In several places this is intersected by cultivation. In others again it is ten or twelve miles wide, and probably occupies 100 square miles. It is much intersected by marshes and water-courses, overgrown with reeds, while the higher parts are overgrown by the tree called Hijal (No. 36) and by rose trees (Koya) just like the woods of Patilada near the Brahmaputra mentioned in my account of Ronggopur. On the borders of this are some plantations of mango trees, which are subject to inundation and have become totally wild, the people having deserted their villages owing to the attack of wild beasts. In the northern parts near the small rivers, some small part of this land produces reeds alone, and is valuable and high-rented, because reeds, as a material for building, are there very scarce.

The woods on land exempt from inundation I have estimated at 93 square miles. More than one-half of this consists of ruinous  
WOODS AND FORESTS. plantations about Gaur and deserted villages, which have been allowed to be overgrown with a variety of trees that have sprung up among the mangos. There are, however, a few forests that apparently are in a perfect state of uncultivated nature. In the north-east corner of the district there is one which forms a small part of a large woody tract that extends into the district of Tirahut. The most common tree is Sal (*Shorea robusta*); but it contains a variety of others. The trees have been of late gradually diminishing in size, and few are now to be found fit for any other use than for small posts and the common implements of agriculture; but within these thirty years it contained many trees fit for the crooked timber of ships, and a good deal has been sent to Calcutta for this purpose. Along the frontier of Bahadurgunj and



Udhrail with Morang are several similar small woods; but they contain more Palas (trees, No. 85) and Simal (trees, No. 56) than Sal.

The whole property of these wastes has been vested in the owners of the soil, and to them it is of very trifling value. Where the quantity of reeds in any vicinity is small, they become valuable, often more so than rice, and in such situations they do little harm, although they always more or less harbour wild hogs, the most destructive of all animals. In general, however, the reeds and bushes are in such masses that they become unsaleable, and the wild trees nowhere give any price that is worth noticing, while the whole harbours herds of deer, hogs and buffaloes, that distress the natives beyond measure. Besides the loss actually suffered, which is great, the watching of their crops by night is a most harassing and expensive part of the farmers' labour, and in some parts costs one twenty-fourth part of the gross produce. It must however be observed that scarcely either tenant or landlord have made the smallest exertion to destroy the cause of the evil; and where the lands are not assessed and the rents are trifling, both parties having little occasion to exertion are allowing the wild beasts daily to gain on them. In Matiyari, Dular Singha employs some men called Jaygirdars to keep off the wild animals that are harboured in the wastes of Morang. These people have lands at a low rate, and live on the frontier. Scandal indeed says that in former times these men were employed for very different purposes, to which the fortune of the family is attributed; and it is supposed that the proprietor is unwilling to dismiss his family dependants, or to deprive them of the lands which they formerly held for the services to which he owes his fortune. In all probability, however, such assertions are mere scandal, for which the natives have a great propensity. The family managed the affairs of the Puraniya Rajas, an employment offering abundant resources for emolument without having recourse to robbery.

In the north-west corner, when Morang was conquered by the Gorkhalese the woods were much



more extensive; but a colony of hardy mountaineers who fled from the oppression of their conquerors settled in the woods, and cleared most of what had a rich soil. The hogs and deer afforded them a means of subsistence, and those that escaped the arrow soon retired to the woods of Tirahut. No sooner had the natives seen that the animals had vanished than they quarrelled with the mountaineers; and as these people had no legal security for the property which they had cleared, a great many have been driven out, and the lands given to favourites. These silly fellows complained to me that the wild beasts had again become troublesome, and that they could no longer pay their rents. When upbraided for their imbecility, they seemed to glory in differing from the impure monsters of the hills; and their only resource seemed to be submission to the will of the beasts. They indeed said that it was the duty of government to protect them, and to send men who would destroy their enemies. In this there may be some reason; but the method that I would propose, and most earnestly recommend to the consideration of government, is totally different from what the farmers would wish. The zemindars in my humble opinion ought to be compelled to clear whatever waste land was found to harbour destructive animals. In some districts such as the eastern parts of Ronggopur, where there are hills and an immense extent of wilds with merely spots of cultivation, this might be unreasonable; but in all the eastern parts of Ronggopur, and in all Dinajpur and this district, such an order might be enforced with great propriety and justice. The nuisance is extreme and the remedy easy; for wherever the country is cleared, these destructive animals vanish. After a sufficient general notice, say of three years, the collector might be allowed to indict any zemindar or other proprietor of land, who held wastes overrun with trees, bushes or reeds, that harboured the animals destructive to the crops. On conviction the estate should be put under the management of a Tahasildar, who should have orders to clear the land, and when he had been reimbursed for the expense, should restore it to the



owner, who of course should have a right of superintending the Tahasildar's conduct, and of bringing him to a fair account.

It may be urged that, the timber being of some use and the reeds in constant employment, it would be a loss to destroy them entirely, and that to afford a supply small wastes should be left in different parts of the country. In my opinion this can never be done without harbouring wild beasts, nor is there any necessity for allowing such a nuisance. All the reeds, including bamboos, may be planted in rows like hedges, and in this case they do no harm; while in general the trouble which attends planting them is compensated by saving that which is incurred in going far to the wastes, from whence they are now brought. In fact they are now planted in many well cleared parts of the country, and supply the natives with abundance.

The natives consider it as a religious duty to plant trees, and in this district the performance of this duty has produced as much inconvenience, as in Dinajpur has arisen from digging tanks. The plantations in general consist of large mango groves, placed at some distance from the houses, which are bare and without shelter. These groves produce the most execrable sour resinous fruit, filled with insects, and were it allowed to be cut the timber is of very little value; but as every man thinks himself bound to preserve the trees planted by his ancestors, the trees are usually saved until they rot, or are blown down by accident, and as they decay, various other trees and bushes spring, and form a destructive thicket. The plantations most advantageous for the country, except good fruit trees and palms, would be rows of forest trees planted round the houses of the villages, and the zemindars might be compelled to plant such; for in the present state of their manners, no expectation can be formed of their spontaneously doing anything worthy of praise. If ever the rearing of teak, so as to be adequate to supply ship-building to any extent, is to be attempted in Bengal, it should be done by some such means. In every Mauzah, according to its size, the zemindar should be compelled to plant round



the houses from one to ten trees, and to preserve them from cattle until of a proper age. As this would not probably exceed one tree for each farmer in easy circumstances, the burthen would be totally insignificant, and after the sweets of selling the trees had been experienced, there would be no longer occasion for any compulsion. Indeed the leaves, sold or used for platters, would yield an immediate profit. In the south of India, wherever teak grows no other platters are employed. Where the soil is of a nature unfavourable for teak, many valuable native trees might be found, some of which would answer in almost any situation where a village is placed. At present those which are almost totally useless are usually selected, just for the purpose that they may never be cut. I of course do not propose that there should be a restraint on any person from planting whatever trees he thinks fit, either for ornament or as a religious duty, provided he does not allow his plantations to run into thickets so as to become a nuisance. The trees which I propose to be planted should be considered totally distinct, and as pledged for the use of the public, and should be cut whenever fit for the purpose to which they can be applied, and it might be a part of the Collector's duty to present all landlords, who failed in keeping up their number of trees, or refused to cut them when of a proper age.

Having premised these general speculations, I shall proceed, as in the two districts already surveyed, to give an account of the different trees that grow in Puraniya.

The bamboo in this district is not so much cultivated as in either Dinajpur or Ronggopur, and in many parts is very scarce; this is entirely to be attributed to the stupidity of the natives, as in every part where it has been attempted, it seems to thrive. The speculations of the gentleman in Ronggopur, concerning the injury done by this plant, are not confirmed by the experience of this district. In place of having been compelled by necessity to build houses with better materials, the natives, where bamboos are scarce, have contented themselves with

BAMBOOS.

finding the most wretched succedaneums to serve in its stead, and have supplied the place of the bamboo with the stems of the *Cytisus* Cajan, with tamarisks, or twigs. This renders their huts to the last degree miserable. The kinds of bamboos that I have found in the parts of the district where the Hindi dialect prevails, are as follows:—

1. The Jawa is a species abundantly distinct from the Makla of Dinajpur (D. 2), and probably I there fell into an error in supposing the Jaoya and Makla as the same; for it is very difficult to avoid being deceived by the natives, who in order to save themselves the trouble of going a little distance when you are inquiring after any plant, will show you the first thing that comes in their way. The Jawa does not grow to a large size, but is very strong for rafters.

2. The Makla is, I presume, the Makla of Dinajpur.

3. The Bhaluka in its appearance and qualities resembles the Borobangs (D. 1; R. 1). I have not seen its flower.

4. The Haruthi would appear to be the Korongji of Dinajpur (D. 3).

5. The Ghurghutiya is a small solid heavy bamboo, used for walking sticks and the shafts of spears. I have not seen it growing.

6. The Ratans are much the same as in Dinajpur, and are chiefly confined to the low eastern and southern parts. There are none towards the north-west.

7. About the capital, and towards the north-east corner of the district, there are very few *Areca*s, or betel-nut palms, which in the Hindi dialect are called Supari. They are much neglected, and in all probability, owing to the hot winds, would not thrive unless great care was taken to

PALMS.

preserve them moist, and are not therefore an object worth attention, as plenty is produced in other parts of the country.

8. The Khajur or *Elate* of botanists (D. 10; R. 15) is not so totally neglected as in the two districts



towards the east, but as I have mentioned, its cultivation has been checked by the operations of finance. I have nowhere seen this tree so flourishing as near Gondwara, and were it permitted or required, vast numbers might be reared, and nowhere to more advantage. It seems to spring spontaneously, and the following estimate was given of its produce, as stated by the people employed:—The trees begin to yield juice when seven or eight years old, and a man manages 45 trees. He makes a fresh cut in each once in the three days, and at each time gets about 3 sers (six quarts) of juice. He therefore gets about 45 sers a day, and owing to the monopoly it sells at one-quarter anna a ser. His monthly receipts are therefore 21 rs. 1 anna 6 pies. His charges are:—

		Rs.	a.	p.
Six annas a day for duties	...	11	4	0
Wages to the servant who collects	...	1	8	0
Pots	...	0	0	8
Rent to the proprietor of the trees	...	1	9	6
Total	...	14	6	2

leaving a profit of 6 rs. 9 annas 4 pies. The tree yields juice from Kartik to Jyaishtha; the former ending on the 14th of November, and the latter commencing on the 13th of May. The officers of police, however, told me that although most is procured at that season, a certain quantity is at all times obtainable. The juice is always allowed to ferment before it is used, and is called Tari. It is never made into sugar, nor distilled. The Tari or wine of the Khajur palm is not so strong as that of the Palmira.

9. In the eastern parts of the district the palm which botanists call *Caryota* (D. 9; R. 16) is found, in very small numbers, but is applied to no use.

10. The Coco-nut palm is exactly on the same footing as in Dinajpur and Ronggopur, that is, a few are raised as ornaments or objects of curiosity; yet I see that even at Nathpur, in the north-west corner of the district, it grows very well.

11. The *Palmira* or Tal of the natives (D. 11; R. 20) is here more common than in the eastern districts;

and had it not been for the tax, its cultivation would probably, in a few years, have been very much extended, especially in the southern parts of the district where it requires scarcely any trouble to rear. It is not, however, fit for giving juice until it is from 20 to 25 years old; as until then it does not shoot forth its flowering stem (spadix), which is daily cut and pours forth its juice. The juice is procured from about the middle of November until the middle of May, is always used fermented, and is also called Tari. It is sold at a half anna a ser. The man who pays the revenue sells, and keeps servants to collect the juice. Two men collect that of 25 trees, and procure monthly about 1500 sers, worth 35 rs. 2 annas 6 pice.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Duty to government, at 6 annas a day ...	11	4	0
Servants' wages ... ..	3	0	0
Pots, there being three or four to each tree.	0	4	0
Rent, at 2 annas a month for each tree ...	3	2	0
<b>TOTAL</b> ...	<b>17</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>0</b>

leaving a net profit of 17 rs. 8 annas 6 pice.

In this district I have found three kinds of the Myrobalan.

12. The Harra of this district is by the natives considered as the same with the Horitoki of Bengal (D. 14; R. 26), its fruit being

OTHER TREES. applied to the same purposes; but the trees that I examined seemed very different from the *Myrobalanus Chebula* of Gaertner, which I take to be the Horitoki of Bengal. The uses of the two plants however being nearly the same, the discrimination is of no great importance.

The Myrobalan which by the natives of this district is called Bahara is of two kinds, a greater and smaller, so called from the different sizes of their fruit.

13. The smaller Bahara is the same with the Bauri of Bengal (D. 13; R. 24).



14. The greater Bahara grows spontaneously in the woods of Dimiya, and has a great advantage over the other kind in being free from that stench which the flowers of the lesser emit. I have not been able to trace an account of it in the botanical works that I possess.

15. The tree called Bijolghota in Dinajpur (*Tomex japonica*, No. 15) in some parts of this district is called Bang Kangthali, or the wild Jak, for which it would be difficult to assign any sort of reason. In the woods of Dimiya, as well as in those of Goyalpara (R. 35), it grows to a considerable size, and is called Bankatahar.

16. The name Bang Kangthali, it must be observed, in some parts of this district, as Sayefgunj, is given also to the tree which at Goyalpara is called Vagnal (R. 38), and which would appear to be of a very inferior quality. I have here seen it very large.

17. The tree which in Ronggopur (No. 40) is called Digloti, in some parts of this district, as Sayefgunj, is called Chhagalnadi.

18. The Siyuli or Sephalika of the Bengalese (*Nyctanthes arbor-tristis* D. 16; R. 42) in the Hindi dialect of this district is called Singgarhar. It is very common, and by the native women its flowers are much used for dyeing. Early in the morning all the flowers that have expanded on the preceding evening fall to the ground. In the morning they are collected, and the tubes (*tubus corollæ*) which are yellow, are kept, while the white parts (*limbus*) are thrown away. The tubes are dried two or three days in the sun, and sell at 1 pan of cowries for a chhatak of 4 rs. weight. One ser of the Calcutta weight (2 lbs.) will therefore cost 5 annas; but the dye does not keep longer than six months. A tree will give from 8 to 12 chhataks of the dried flowers. The manner of using this dye here is said to be as follows:—Eight s. w. are boiled with 1 ser of water for about 24 minutes. To this are added 16 s.w. of milk, and these are boiled 12 minutes more. The liquor is then strained from the flowers, and a piece of cloth, 10 cubits long by 3 wide,



is put into it and allowed to remain for about 24 minutes. It is then dried in the shade, and is of a fine but perishable yellow, which disappears after two or three washings.

19. In the low eastern parts of this district there is a tree named Angchhui, which may be the same with the tree of that name found in Ronggopur (No. 44), and no doubt belongs to the same genus; but the species of this are very difficult to determine without seeing both fruit and flower, which I did not. In its manner of growth, on low flooded land, the Angchhui of this district more resembled the Bhodiya of Goyalpara (R. 43), a tree of the same genus.

20. In the woods of Dimiya I found a tree called Gambhari, which is undoubtedly a species of *Gmelina*, and approaches very near to the *Cumbulu* of the Hortus Malabaricus, although it does not agree in every respect with the description given by the Dutch governor. It is so exceedingly like the tree which I have before mentioned (D. 17; R. 50) under the same name that I can scarcely suppose them different; yet some notes that I took concerning its fruit at Goyalpara lead me to suppose that there are two Gambharis, exceedingly like in everything but their fruit, and of which the foliage and even flowers are not readily distinguishable. There is also in this district, as well as in Dinajpur, a third Gambhari which has a very similar foliage, but its flowers and fruit are totally different, as will be afterwards mentioned (No. 98).

21. The species of *Cordia*, which in Dinajpur (No. 18) was called Dhovoli, and is mentioned in my account of Ronggopur (No. 51), is found in the woods of Dimiya, where it is called Baboyar.

22. In the northern parts of the district I found the species of *Cordia*, which Willdenow has called *obliqua*, and which is the *Vidimarum* of Rheede (H. M. IV; tab. 37). It is abundantly distinct from the tree mentioned in No. 52 of my account of Ronggopur, which I have little doubt is the *arbor glutinosa* of Rumphius (III. tab. 96). This tree at Arariya was called Lasaura, and its bark is said to



be made into matches, which the native soldiers use for their pipes. In some places it was also called Bohar.

23. The *Ehretia levis* of Willdenow, which has been formerly mentioned under the name of Jonggoli Guya (D. 19), that is, wild betel, I found in this district by the name of Kath-Rangga, or the wild reddener.

24. The other species of *Ehretia* that has formerly been mentioned under the names Bijol (D. 20) and Khat Guya (R. 54) is here sometimes called Lahichan, but its most usual name is Dangt Rangga, that is, the tooth-reddener. Some of the bark added to the betel and lime which the natives chew, stains the teeth red, which in some places is considered as an ornament, as distinguishing the man from a dog. It seems to be on this account that the name of wild betel has been given both to this plant and to the other *Ehretia*, the bark of which may probably supply its place, although imperfectly, as in this district it is called wild reddener. I am told also that the basket-makers use the bark of this tree in communicating a red colour to the bamboo; see Barhar, No. 111. At Puraniya there is such a scarcity of fruit that the natives eat this, which does not exceed the size of a small pea, consists mostly of stone, and is very insipid.

25. The species of *Bignonia* which in Ronggopur (56) was named Atkopaliya, in the woods of Dimiya is called Palli.

26. In the south of the district the *Bignonia indica* is called Soinpat. It is not at all common.

27. The *Flos convolvulus* of Rumphius is not so common as in Dinajpur (No. 21), nor even as in Ronggopur (No. 59). Near Gaur it is called Kut Champa.

28. The Dudkhuri of Ronggopur (No. 61) is here known by the same name.

29. The *Echites scholaris* (D. 23; R. 62) seems to be everywhere known by the name Chhatin. In this district it is not common.

30. The Mahuya (D. 24) or *Bassia* is found both in woods and planted near villages. It is, however, only in the south-west corner that there is any



considerable number of trees, or that it is applied to any use. There a spirituous liquor is drawn by distillation from its flower, but I had no opportunity of seeing the process. The flowers of one tree sell at from 8 to 16 annas. A kind of butyraceous oil is also extracted from its seed, but in this district it is in little request as the natives use it only for the lamp, and for that purpose it is too thick. In substance it very much resembles that oil of which the Chinese make candles, and which is said to be extracted from the fruit of the *Stillingia sebifera*; but this I suspect is somewhat doubtful.

31. The Bokul (*Mimusops Elengi* D. 25; R. 63) is here called Malsari and is very uncommon.

32. The Khyirini of Peruya (*Achras dissecta* W. D. 26) is known by the same name (Kshirini) in the south-east parts of the district.

33. The *Embryopteris* of botanists (D. 28; R. 65) is everywhere known by the name of Gab. In this district it is very rare.

34. The Lodh of this district, used by the tanners, is the same with the Bhaungri of Ronggopur (No. 69).

35. The Kombo of Ronggopur (No. 70) is here called Kumbi, and in every wood that is not flooded is very common.

36. The Hijol of Ronggopur (No. 71) is known here by the same name, pronounced Hijal or Hyar, and is equally common, both in the flooded lands and higher parts.

37. In the northern parts of the district I found a large tree called Ganihara, but saw neither its flower nor fruit. It is evidently of the natural order of the *Rubiaceæ*, and may have some affinity to the *Vangueria* or Moyen (D. 29; R. 74), as its leaves are pretty similar to those of that tree, and generally surround its branches by three at each joint.

38. The Moyen (D. 29; R. 74) is scarcely to be met with except in the eastern parts of the district.

39. The Bish Moyen (D. 30; R. 76) is found here also, and is known by the same name (Bish Moyen).

40. The Dhaniya of the woods of Dimiya is a species of *Gardenia*, which grows to be a small stiff



tree. The pulp of its fruit is said to possess a saponaceous quality.

41. The Piralu (*Gardenia uliginosa*, D. 31; R. 78) is everywhere common and its fruit is often sold in the markets.

42. In the woods of Dimiya the Koreya is a middle-sized tree, and is a kind of *Morinda* which I have not been able to trace in the works of botanists that I possess.

43. The Kodom (*Nauclea orientalis*, D. 43; R. 80) is not common in this district, but is everywhere known by the same name (Kadam).

44. The *Nauclea parvifolia* of Dr. Roxburgh (D. 35; R. 81) in this district is called Kangjhi.

45. The Tiliya of the woods of Dimiya is a small tree, a species of *Bertiera*.

46. The *Craetava tapia* (D. 36; R. 86) is common in the marshy woods of the south and is called Vorna.

47. The Nageswor (R. 94) is here sometimes called by that name, and sometimes Nageswar Golab. In the northern parts of the district it thrives remarkably.

48. The *Shorea robusta* (R. 95) in the Hindi dialect of this district is called Sangkuya, although it is everywhere known by the name of Śal, which is its appellation among the Nepalese as well as in Bengal. In this district it is at present found only in a stunted state, but that merely arises from its being cut so soon as it grows to a size fit for being of the smallest use.

In describing the gardens I have already mentioned the kinds of *Citrus* that this district produces.

49. The Kotbel (*Limonia anisifolium* D. 39; R. 103) of Bengal is known here by the same name (Katbel), but it is very rare.

50. The Bel (*Craeteva marmelos* D. 40; R. 104) is very common wherever the soil is stiff and high.

51. The Nim (D. 42; R. 106) is found here, but is very rare.

52. The *Melia Azedarachta* I have seen as far south as Gaur, where it is called Bakayen: but it is not nearly so common as in Ronggopur (No. 107).

53. The Poma of Ronggopur (No. 114) and Tun or Jiya of Dinajpur (*Cedrella*, No. 44) in this district is called Tungd. It is pretty common, but does not grow so well as on the hills.

54. The *Pterospermum suberifolium* (D. 45; R. 118) in the south-east part of this district is known by the name of Makai Champa. It is very rare.

55. A good deal resembling the fine plants of the last-mentioned genus, and also nearly approaching to the *Gordonias*, is a tree, which in the woods of Dimiya is called Arsiya. Its fruit and flower have the strongest affinity with those of a tree found in the woods near Priyapatana in Mysore, which is called Gumsi, and which has been mentioned in the account of my journey to that country.

56. The tree called Simul (*Bombax heptaphyllum* D. 46; R. 119) is everywhere known by the same name, and is pretty common. From its trunk proceeds an exudation which is called Mochras and is much used by the natives as a medicine in fluxes (Am). When it first flows it is white, opaque, and viscid, somewhat like gum tragacanth softened in water. It has no smell and is very insipid; and when dry is opaque, and of a dark brown colour.

57. The *Malvarisius populneus* of Gærtner is found in a few places of this district, and is called Palas Pipal, a name compounded from the native appellations of the *Butea frondosa* and *Ficus religiosa*. To the former it has some resemblance from the splendour of its flowers, and to the latter from its foliage, but the resemblance to either is not very striking. The tree is probably an exotic. It is very ornamental, but I know of no use to which it is applied.

58. The Chompok of the Bengalese (*Michelia*, D. 47; R. 121) is here called Champa and is not very common.

59. The Chalita (*Dillenia speciosa* D. 48; R. 123), even towards the south-east, is very scarce, and the natives of Nathpur could give no name to one that is growing in a gentleman's garden.



60. In that part of the country there is however a very fine species of *Dillenia*, which is called Dengr.

61, 62. The Ata and Lona (*Anona squamosa*, D. 49 and *A. reticulata* D. 50; R. 127 and 128) are found here, as in the two districts before surveyed, but are not so common. The former is usually called Velati Ata, as introduced by Europeans; the latter is called Desi Ata as being indigenous. It is also called Surifah.

63. The *Flacourtia* which I mentioned before under the names Paniyala, Panimala or Phalsa (D. 52) and Baingehhi (R. 130) is here called Katahi. The name Phalsa was probably a mistake, as in this district it is given to a very different tree, No. 66.

64. In this district I have found pretty common that species which is usually cultivated in the gardens at Calcutta, and which both there and here is called Paniyala. Although it is a most clearly marked *Flacourtia*, there is little doubt but that it is the *Carissa spinarum* of Linnaeus, for it is evidently the *Spina spinarum* of Rumphius (VII. tab. 18. fig. 3). The plant described by Vahl as the *Carissa spinarum* has not the smallest affinity to this. The Paniyala never grows to a large size, but its wood is said to be uncommonly strong in resisting friction, and might therefore answer for the sheaves of blocks and many other purposes. The fruit is very poor, much like that of the other *Flacourtia* but rather larger. This is probably the Paniyala of Ronggopur, which I did not see; but it is a very distinct species from the Paniyala of Dinajpur above mentioned.

65. The species of *Eleocarpus* called Jolpayi (D. 38; R. 131) is found in every part of the district, but is not common.

66. The Phalsa of this district is very different from what in Dinajpur was called by the same name, which was a *Flacourtia*, while this is the *Grewia asiatica* of botanists; both indeed belong to the same natural order and both produce a small sour worthless fruit; and neither is of any other use, so that the confusion in the native nomenclature is not very important.



67. In this district the Goyava (D. 55; R. 141), from a far-fetched resemblance to the Mango, is called Saphritm or Latam. It is not common and produces most execrable fruit.

68. The *Jambulana* of Rumphius (D. 56; R. 142) in the south-east part of the country is called Jam and Jamni; but in the Hindi dialect it is called Jamun and is the prototype of an Indian genus. It is one of the most common trees.

69. The Janggali Jamun of the woods of Dimiya is a tree very nearly resembling the former, but has smaller fruit. I suspect that it has been the unripe fruit of this tree which Gaertner has described as those of the *Jambulana* of Rumphius. This may very possibly be the *Arbor rubra uhar dicta* of Rumphius (Vol. III, page 75, Plate 47), although it seems to have also a great affinity with his *Jambuluna Ceramica Altera* (Vol. I, page 130).

70. The Keoya Jamun of the woods of Dimiya has a great affinity to the Bhadei Jam of Goyalpara (R. 145); but not having seen the fruit of the latter, I am uncertain of their identity. It agrees in everything with the description which Rumphius gives of the *Arbor rubra prima* (Vol. 3, p. 74) except that its leaves have both an agreeable aromatic smell and taste, whereas the leaves of the plant described by Rumphius had a disagreeable smell and a harsh acid astringency. The fruit of the Keoya is a globular berry about the size of a black currant, by which it may be at once known from the two former, which have oblong berries.

71. The Golab Jamun or Rose Apple is the *Eugenia jambos* of botanists. In this district it is pretty common and is ornamental, but the fruit is very poor.

72. The pomegranate or Dalim of the natives is very common, but produces very bad fruit, consisting almost entirely of seeds, with very little pulp.

73. The Babla of Dinajpur (No. 59) is known in the south-east parts of the district by the same name, but in the Hindi dialect it is called Babar or Babur. I learn that I was mistaken concerning the name that Dr. Roxburgh gave to this tree, which is his *Mimosa*



*sepea*, having pods shaped like a necklace. I was misled by observing that it was larger and more erect than the next tree that will be mentioned, and that it seldom grows in hedges as the other usually does. In this district it is not very common. A pure gum like the Arabic often exudes from this tree. It is often adulterated by the gum of the Jeyal.

74. The Guyi Babla (D. 60) is common here, and in the south-east parts is called by the same name, while in the Hindi dialect its name is Guhiya Babur.

75. The Sirish (R. 149) in the south-east part of the district is called by the same name. Towards the north it was called Sirash.

76. The Sami of this district is very different from that shown in Dinajpur (No. 65) by that name, which is the *Prosopis aculeata*; and is also different from the Sami of Sir W. Jones, which is the Babla above mentioned. It is a species of *Mimosa* which in the south of India is very common. In the dialect of Karnata it is called Mugli, and in the language of the Tamuls its name is Kovalun. The Sami being one of the sacred plants, we might have expected more uniformity of opinion concerning it; but among the natives I seldom find any sort of agreement concerning such subjects. This is a fine large tree, which like the *Robinia mitis* would seem to answer in almost any situation. I have seen it growing on the arid hills of Karnata, and in the deepest mud on the banks of the Ganges.

77. Amidst the ruins of Gaur the Tamarind (D. 66) is very abundant and large. In other parts it is much neglected, but a few are to be found in most places. It is everywhere called Tetul.

78. The *Cassia fistula* (D. 67; R. 155) is not common. In the Hindi dialect it is called Sundaraj.

79. The Lalkangchon of Dinajpur (*Bauhinia*, No. 70) is here known by the same name (pronounced Lâlkângchân).

80. The Vaga Kangchan of this district is a species of *Bauhinia* similar to the former. The flowers are odorous, showy and white, with one of the leaves variegated with yellow and green. In



Mysore it was called simply Kangchala as the prototype of the genus.

81. In this district the species which is held in that light, and is simply called Kangchan, is the *Bauhinia variegata* of botanists, which has fine purple flowers and is highly ornamental. In Mysore this plant flowers in August, at Puraniya in January.

82. The Vokpushpo of Bengal (D. 72) in this district is very rare. I saw it only in the south-east corner, where it is called Sada Vak.

83. The Sesbar of Egypt is found at Puraniya, where it is called Jayanti.

84. The *Erythrina indica* (D. 74) is rare. In the Hindi dialect it is called Pharhar.

85. The *Butea frondosa* (D. 75) is only common towards the frontier of Morang. It is everywhere called Palas, a name which extends even to Malabar.

86. The *Dalbergia arborea* W. (D. 76; R. 168) in the Hindi dialect is called Andor.

87. The species of *Dalbergia* called Sisu or Sisav (R. 167) does not seem to be indigenous in this country; but a good many trees have been planted, especially in Bholahat, Dhamdaha, and Dimiya, and they are very thriving. In its manner of growth and in the appearance of its foliage it has a strong resemblance to the Laburnum, but its flowers are not showy. As yet this plant has not been introduced into the systems of botanists, and it must be observed that the Sisu of the south of India, although also a species of *Dalbergia*, is a very different tree. It must also be observed that the natives give the name of Sisu to the *Stillingia sebifera*, now also introduced into the district; and it must be confessed that, except in the eyes of a botanist, the two trees must be considered as having a strong resemblance; although both in botanical affinity and use, no two trees can be more different. Here it is most usually called Sisau.

88. The Bhela (*Onacardium*, D. 78; R. 170) is common in the woods of this district, and is known by the same name.

89. I have already mentioned that in this district the mango seems to be a nuisance, and in many parts it is the only tree of which there is any considerable



number. Except towards the east it is not planted near the houses, to give them shade nor shelter from the winds, but is formed into regular orchards. In by far the greater part of the district the fruit is execrable, sour, resinous, fibrous, and full of insects, nor during the whole season could I procure any of a fine quality; but at the south-east corner, far distant from where I then was, the mangoes are universally acknowledged to be the best in Bengal. Even where I was, tolerable mangoes were, however, very dear, and the produce of a tree, of such as were eatable, could not be purchased for under two or three rs. Indeed such trees are very rare, while those producing the common sour fruit are in such exuberance that the common produce of a tree in some places, as Dhamdaha, does not sell higher than two annas, and in most parts four annas is about the average value. In fact no pains whatever are in general bestowed on a selection of kinds; the trees are planted for the good of the soil, and for reputation, and the number is the only thing considered. Near Gaur, the luxury of that capital having occasioned a very great demand for the finer kinds, such only in all probability were allowed to grow; and thus even now, the seed of the best kinds is procurable without any more trouble than that of the worst; to which, perhaps, more than to anything peculiar to the soil or care, the superior quality of the fruit is to be attributed. On the management I have nothing to offer in addition to what I have stated in my account of Dinajpur, only that many of the plantations at English Bazar are in an excellent condition, belonging to natives of high rank, who manage them by their servants. In the ruins of Gaur are, however, a vast number of mango trees, now half wild. The produce of these, being execrable, reduces the average value of the fruit of a tree, even in the division of Bholahat, to half of what I allowed in Dinajpur. I am, however, inclined to think that the average value of the produce there was overrated. At Nathpur the green mangoes come into season about the 1st of May, and continue for about six weeks. They are chiefly preserved by drying, and are not usually pickled. The ripe fruit



come in season about the end of June, and are plenty only for about 20 days. The juice is expressed and preserved, by being inspissated in the sun.

90. The tree called Jiyol in Dinajpur (No. 81) in the northern parts of this district is called by the same name (Jiyal). In the south, as in Ronggopur (172), it is known by the name Jiga; but in order to distinguish it from the following tree it is usually called Ban Jiga or wild Jiga. It is not so common as in Dinajpur. Its gum is sometimes mixed as an adulteration with that of the Babla.

91. In the south-east part of the district, Jiga is the name given to the Jiya Kohi of Goyalpara (R. 175). In the Hindi dialect it is called Jogra, and is common in the woods.

92. The Amra (*Spondias amara*, E. M.; D. 82; R. 176) is everywhere known by this name, which extends even to Malabar. It is not very uncommon. A kind of dark opaque gum called Kumar Kuni exudes from this tree, and is sold by druggists. It is used as an application to the nose in the disease called Nasa. It has neither taste nor smell.

93. The Bayer, with a round fruit (*Jujuba* D. 83; R. 184), is common in most parts, and in Gaur is planted for rearing lac, as I have mentioned in the account of the agriculture.

94. In the woods of Dimiya there is another species of the same genus, which grows to be a small tree and is named Barai. I cannot trace it in any of the botanical works that I possess.

95. The Amla (*Emblica* D. 87; R. 188) of Bengal is common in this district, but in the Hindi dialect is called Angora.

96. The *Bradleya philippensis* of Willdenow is a small tree found in the woods of Dimiya, where it is called Nati.

97. In these woods I also found a tree of the same genus with the *Clutia stipularis* (D. 90; R. 191), which is named Kangji. I have also seen this tree in the woods of Animali in the south of India, where it is called Calani.

98. The nomenclature of the natives in this district concerning the *Trewia nodiflora* or Cansehi of



Rheede is no less confused than in Dinajpur (No. 92). The names Pithali, Pithalu and Gambhari are used apparently without discrimination for both the rough and smooth kinds that in Ronggopur (Nos. 194 and 195) are distinguished.

99. The Konibish of Goyalpara (R. 201) at Manihari is called Jamalgota, the name which at the former place is given to the *Croton tigilium*.

100. The Sindur of Dinajpur (No. 94) and Komila of Ronggopur (No. 198) is very common. Near Gaur it is called Kamila, but in the Hindi dialect its name is Sundri, which in the dialect of Bengal is the name given to the *Heretiera fomes* that I have described in the account of the Embassy to Ava by Colonel Symes.

101. The *Stillingea sebifera* W. has been introduced into the south-east corner of the district, where it thrives, and as I have said, has been confounded by the natives with the Sisu (No. 87).

102. The *Ficus bengalensis*, or Banyan tree of the English (D. 95; R. 210) in this district is the most common of the tribe of figs, but I have not observed any that was remarkably fine. In the Hindi dialect it is called Bar or Barkat.

103. The *Ficus religiosa* (D. 96; R. 216) is also common in this district. Its most usual name, in the Hindi dialect, is Pipal; but at Gaur it was called Pakur, a name also given to the two following kinds, and in Dimiya it is most commonly called Naksa, the name given in Dinajpur to the last of these.

104. The *Arbor conciliorum* of Rumphius (Pakur D. 97; R. 217) at Puraniya was called Pakar, and at Gaur Nakar, a name which in Dinajpur (98) is given to a different species.

105. The *Tojela* of Rheede (Naksa D. 99) is here called Pakar.

106. The *Ficus venosa* (R. 220) in this district is not so common as in Ronggopur. It is called Nata Pakair.

107. The *Ficus glomerata* of Dr. Roxburgh (D. 101; R. 224) is not very common in this district. At Gaur it is called Dumar and Gular, the last of which is its Hindi name.



108. The *Ficus oppositifolia* of Dr. Roxburgh (D. 100; R. 225) is here not very common. At Gaur it was known by the name Khoska, while in the north of the district, that name was given to the following species, and this was called Khuski.

109. The fig tree with semicordate leaves, mentioned in my account of Ronggopur (230), is found in the northern parts of this district, where it is called Khoska.

110. The Jak (*Artocarpus integrifolia*, D. 102; R. 231) is here also called Kangtal. It is too much neglected, but seems to thrive wherever it has been tried. There are at least 30 Mango trees for one Jak. The average produce may be worth half a rupee for each tree.

111. The Deuyo of Dinajpur (*Artocarpus* No. 103 and R. 232) is found everywhere. At Gaur it is called Deuyo and Barhal, while in the Hindi dialect, at Dimiya, its name is Barhar, the same word with Barhal, the Bengalese constantly changing R into L. The basket-makers of this district communicate an indelible red stain to the bamboo, by equal parts of the barks of this tree and of the Dangt Rangka (No. 24) beaten together with a little lime and water.

112. The Sara (*Tinda Parua*, H. M., D. 104; R. 236) Seora or Sakot of Bengal, in this district is called Sehora.

113. Both kinds of the mulberry mentioned in my account of Ronggopur (Nos. 237 and 238) are here very common.

114. The Papiya (D. 105; R. 239) is also common.

115. The *Celtis orientalis* (D. 106; R. 240) in most parts of the district is called Jigni, which in Bengal is changed into Jibni and Jiga, a very doubtful name, as being common to two very different trees (Nos. 90 & 91). At Purniya it was called Jangjhani.

116. The Kataiya of Dimiya seems from its habits and fruit to be a species of *Celtis*; but not having seen the flower, I cannot be certain. It is an ornamental tree, and its timber is said to be uncommonly hard.

117. The Amri of Ronggopur (No. 249) in the woods of Dimiya is called Tengga.



118. The Kshir of the same woods is a similar kind of *Antidesma*, which agrees tolerably with the description of the *Bunias agrestis* of Rumphius, but differs somewhat from his figure (vol. 3. tab. 131A). Again, it agrees well with the figure of the *Noeli Tali* (Hort. Mal. vol. 6, table 56), but differs from the description given by Rheede in having acid leaves.

119. The *Pinus longifolia* of Dr. Roxburgh has been introduced from Nepal in some gardens, both belonging to Europeans and natives, and in the northern parts of the district seems to thrive. The natives of this district call it Dhup or resin tree, but the mountain Hindus name it Salla.

120. The Bish Kat of the woods of Dimiya is a species of *Samyda* which I cannot trace in the botanical works that I possess. Its fruit, thrown into the water, intoxicates or stupefies the fish so that they may be taken.

121. The Sojina (*Moringa*, D. 68; R. 252) of Bengal, in the Hindi dialect is called Angjana. It is not so common as towards the east. From this tree there exudes a substance that is used as a medicine. All gummy exudations are by the natives called Gond, which seems to be the same word with our gum. Each kind is usually distinguished by the name of the tree by which it is produced.

122. The Pitangjira of the western parts of the district is a fine tree, which I found only in fruit and did not see the flower. Its fruit has some affinity to that of the *Styrax* or of the *Nageia* of Gærtner; but I cannot refer it with certainty to any natural order of plants.

Respecting the reeds of the district, I have already offered whatever general remarks have occurred. With regard to the species, I am still more uncertain than I was in Ronggopur.

#### REEDS.

1. In the Hindi dialect it is said that the whole are called Khari or Kharui. Some people however alleged that there is a particular species that is called by this name.

2. The reed that is best, and most used for making the outside of walls and to retain the straw with which



the middle is filled, is the Ikiri, I presume the same with that so called in Dinajpur; but I have not been able to ascertain this. Being very useful, it is often planted in hedges, and on account of the frequency of its use is usually called Kharui, or reed, by way of excellence.

3. In Ronggopur I was led to think that the Madhuya of that district (Nos. 4, 5) was the same with the Ikiri of Dinajpur, but at Nathpur I am informed that the two plants are different, and that the Madhuya is very inferior in quality, although it is applied to the same purposes. In many parts it is very common in a wild state, and is often used for fuel. On comparing the plants in a flowering state the differences appear very trifling, and may probably arise from the one being wild and the other cultivated.

4. At Krishnagunj I heard also of a reed called Modho, applied to the same uses, and the names are nearly the same; but I have not seen it in a state fit to ascertain its affinities.

5. In the south part of the district I heard of a reed called Khagra, but did not see it in a state that could enable me to judge to which of the species mentioned in Ronggopur it belongs. From its size, however, it is probably not the first kind, and from its uses it is most probably the third or Sada Khagra.

6. Very nearly related to the above is a reed which in the south-east corner of the district is planted by those who cultivate betel leaf, as its stems serve to shelter their tender charge. It is called Kangra, and may very possibly be the *Saccharum bengalense* of Willdenow; but the short characters given by systematic writers are totally inadequate to enable any one to determine concerning plants whose general resemblance is so nearly the same. I have seen this reed in all its stages, but not having seen the Sada Khagra in flower I am uncertain whether or not they are different. At any rate they are very nearly allied.

In this district four reeds are used for writing, nor can I say whether any one of them is the same with the Lal Khagra used in Ronggopur for that purpose.



7. The first called Maniyasi is found on the Kosi and Mahananda, and is the same with the Moneri Kajayi of Goyalpara (No. 7). Its shoots afford a coarse saccharine extract, that is prepared at Nathpur by those who make Catechu. In the south-east corner of the district I heard of a reed called Maniyasi used to form the outsides of walls. From the name I should suppose it to be the same, and this is also, I suspect, the case with the reed called Kuchayi on the Nagar, a name that seems to be the same with the Kajayi of Ronggopur.

8. The second, called Batarhi, is found both on the Ganges and Kosi, and its stems being strong are often used for the outside of walls.

9. The third kind called Dhungrhi is found chiefly on the Ganges.

10. The fourth kind called Kilki is found on the banks of the same river, and is reckoned the best.

11. Dhanggar is a large thick reed, growing in wastes near Nathpur. I have not seen its flower, but from the account of the natives it is either a *Saccharum* or *Arundo*. Its dried stem is used for making fences to enclose the space which surrounds the houses.

12. The Tanggha is a large reed of considerable size, which in the north-east parts of the district is raised in hedges, and its woody stem is employed in the outsides of walls and in sheltering betel leaf. The shoots that support the flower are used by itinerant jugglers to form a kind of shed by stringing them on a rope. This is extremely light, and is said to turn rain, although it has not the appearance of being fitted for the purpose. The sheath (vagina) that surrounds the flowering stem is split and made into coarse ropes, called Muj.

13. The Sarpat is another but smaller kindred reed, found in the hedges of the same parts and on the banks of the Kosi. It is used in the walls of houses, and perhaps is the Sor of Dinajpur.

14. The Ramsur of Dimiya may however be that plant. It grows as large as a sugar cane, and is usually reared in hedges by laying down cuttings of the stem. It is not very strong, the stem, although



thick, being of a pithy substance. Its flower is said to be like that of the Tanggha.

15. In this district are found the larger and smaller varieties of the species of *Saccharum* called Kasi and Kese in Ronggopur (Nos. 9 and 10) and Dinajpur (No. 2). The difference in these seems to arise merely from the nature of the soil where they grow. When in a low moist situation the stems grow very long, and push roots from their lower joints. In high poor land the reed is stunted and grows erect. The Bengalese name seems to be Kese, while in the Hindi dialect this plant is called Kasi or Kas, and in some places Rari; but the people speak of these with great want of precision, and sometimes apply these names to distinguish the greater and smaller varieties. The smaller in this district is often used as thatch, or to stuff walls, between the two rows of reeds. The larger is often used to confine the stuffing. It is however much inferior to the Ikiri, and the smaller kind is inferior to the next species that will be mentioned. It is never used for making ropes, at least in the western parts of the district.

16. The Ulu or Khar of Bengal in the Hindi dialect is called Dabhari, and under both appellations are included two very distinct species, which as I have said in my account of Ronggopur may be the *Saccharum Thunbergi* and *Saccharum Koenigii* of botanists. These grasses are used for thatch, for stuffing the walls of huts, for making the ropes by which the frame of the house is tied, and for the mats on which the poorer natives sleep. In many parts it pays a high rent; but in some places it is so abundant that it is used for fuel. In Matiyari the grass commonly used for thatch is called Dewhari, and in Arariya the Dohari is used; but I presume that these names are mere variations of Dabhari. At the capital the best thatch is called Dabhiya, which may also be another way of pronouncing the same name.

17. The Ratni is a very coarse kind of grass, sometimes used for thatch, but it is of a bad quality. Its seeds are said to adhere to the clothes of those who pass among it, so as to be exceedingly troublesome. From this it may be a species of *Panicum*, which has seed of that kind; but of this I cannot be certain. It



is not the *Andropogon*, which has seeds of this nature, and which the natives call Kangla chor.

18. The species of *Andropogon* mentioned in Dinajpur (No. 10) and Ronggopur (No. 18) is very much used in this district. Its stems are employed to form the outside of walls, and its leaves the stuffing and the thatch. Its root, which has a smell that some people think agreeable, is not used here and is called Khaskhas. The leaves, before the stems are shot, are called Katra. In flower it is called Siki. The reedy part of the stem is called Birna.

19. The Siyata of the same quarter is said to be used for fuel alone. By some it was said that this is the same plant with the Byana of Dinajpur, a species of *Andropogon*.

20. At Gondwara a reed called Sikra is used in forming the outside of walls, and this name may be a variation of Siki, but of this I am uncertain.

21. The Paliyal and Dhapri are reeds of the south-east parts of the district, of which I know nothing but that they are said to be used for making the walls of huts and as fuel.

22. The Nol of Bengal (*Arundo bengalensis*, D. 4; R. 14) in the Hindi dialect is called Narkat. It does not grow so luxuriantly as in the wastes of Ronggopur, but in the southern parts is much used for making mats, on which people sleep, and which are used as dunnage in loading boats. I had no opportunity of seeing its flower; but it is probably of the same kind with that seen in Dinajpur.

23. The Jawa is a reed used by the natives for making arrows, and may probably be a species of *Arundo*. It is planted in hedges.

24. The Kas or Kusa (D. 1; R. 16) or *Poa cynosuroides* is very common, and is sacred. It is much used for making mats, on which the natives both sleep and perform some of their endless ceremonies.

25. The Gon is also used for making mats, and grows in rice fields. It is a fine species of *Cyperus*, about three feet high, with a sharp triangular stem.

26. The Kesar grows in marshes and deeply inundated fields. The stems are used for making



mats and the roots are eaten, so that afterwards I shall have occasion to mention it.

27. A species of *Scirpus* that is used for making mats, and which seems to have some affinity to the *S. grossus* of Linnaeus, was brought to me by the name Patera. It grows in marshes and has a creeping root. Other natives speak of plants called Patiwa and Pati applied to the same purposes, and these are probably variations of the same name.

28. The Aksa is a *Cyperus*, the stems of which are split, beaten and twisted into ropes, which are very bad but serve to tie cattle in the stall.

29. The Sabe is a species of *Ischaemum* not noticed by the botanists whose works I possess. Its leaves are used for making ropes that are employed in tying together the frames of houses. In some parts of the district it is raised near the houses: but most of what is used is brought from the lower hills of Nepal, from which the roots have been lately introduced.

Of the plants which grow wild, or nearly so, and that are used in the diet of the natives, I shall now give a short view:—

I. Plants of the kind called Tarkari.

1. Piralu trees (No. 41).
2. Dumar or Gular (No. 107).
3. Khoska (No. 41).
4. Ghungli Baigan, *Solanum zeylanicum* E. M.
5. Chathel, the fruit of a plant said to resemble very much the *Momordica dioica* W.
6. The fruit of the wild *Trichosanthes* called Palwal.
7. The young shoots of bamboos are sometimes but rarely used.

II. Plants of the kind called Sak.

1. By far the best of these is the stem of a species of *Caladium* or *Arum* (for I have not seen the flower) which grows on the mats of floating weeds that cover the surface of the lakes or marshes behind Gaur. On this account it is called Dal Kachn, and it has the strongest affinity



to the Bish and Bon Kochus of Ronggopur. In its quality it is however far superior. The stems, when merely boiled, have a rich taste as if they had been dressed with butter. It is by far the best vegetable that the natives possess, and being in much request, those who collect it pay a rent.

2. In every part of the district the Bon Kochu of Ronggopur is found in both its varieties.
3. The young shoots of a wild species of *Asparagus*, called Sitavari or Sitakangri, are used boiled with fish. In Nepal this plant is called Khurila.
4. The Kangta Khuriya or Kangtayi, is the *Amaranthus spinosus*.
5. The Lata Khuriya is an *Amaranthus*.
6. Bathuya, a *Chenopodium*.
7. Khar Batuya, a *Chenopodium*.
8. Kasaungji, *Cassia Sophora* W.
9. Kalmi, the *Olivivagum* of Rumphius.
10. Susani, *Marsilia quadrifolia*.
11. Gima, *Pharnaceum Mollugo*.
12. Marmariya, a species of *Stellaria* not described in the books that I possess.
13. Bhotmarai, *Solanum Nelentsjunda* Hort: Mal. X, tab. 73.
14. Bara Bhotmarai, *Solanum nigrum indicum* E. M.
15. Dhengkiya, a species of *Asplenium* mentioned in Dinajpur and Ronggopur.

I heard of many others; but as I can place no reliance on the native nomenclature, and did not find the plants, it would be needless to repeat them: for instance, in this district the Marmariya is a *Stellaria*, and in Ronggopur it is a *Polygonum*.

### III. Fruits used as an acid seasoning.

1. Amra trees (No. 92).
2. Barhal trees (No. 111).
3. Bayer trees (No. 93).
4. Jalpayi trees (No. 65).

## IV. Wild fruit eaten raw.

1. Bel trees (No. 50).
2. Paniyala trees (No. 64).
3. Kadam trees (No. 43).
4. Jamun trees (No. 68).

V. Aquatic plants eaten raw. These are usually included under the general name Chaka Makhana, and wherever they abound, those who gather them pay a rent.

1. The Chaka, so far as I can learn, is the root and fruit of the *Nelumbium*. It is eaten raw, toasted and boiled. In the Hindi language the plant is called Bisang. Its Bengalese name is Podmo or Komol, but the fruit is called Chaka and the root Mrinal.
2. The Makhana, so far as I can understand, is the plant nearly related to the above, which is entirely covered with prickles, and which I have mentioned in my account of Ronggopur. It is only the seeds of this that are esculent.
- 3, 4. The Bhengt and Salak of the Hindi dialect are the fruits and roots of two kinds of *Nymphaea*. The one is the Saluk of Bengal. In the Hindi dialect its flower is called Koka or Koi. In Sangskrita the plant is called Kumud. The other kind is the Sundi of Bengal. In the Hindi dialect the flower is called by the same name.
5. The Singgara of the Hindi dialect is the *Trappa quadricorinis* of botanists. Its fruit is eaten.
6. The Kesar, from having seen merely the roots, I took in Dinajpur to be the *Cyperus tuberosus*, and in Ronggopur on no better grounds, I imagined that it might be the *Cyperus esculentus*; but having seen the plant here in flower, I find that it is a species of *Scirpus*, very like the Patera that is used for making mats. The stems of the Kesar are applied to the same use. The roots are eaten raw.



I have been able to learn nothing of the officinal plants that would be satisfactory.

The Mehendi or *Lawsonia* is used by both Hindu and Moslem women to stain their hands.

The Sola or *Aeschynomene diffusa* is everywhere abundant, and is much used.

The species of *Guilandina* used by dyers and tanners, and mentioned in my account of Dinajpur, is here called Taiyar, and is a common ingredient in tooth powder.

## CHAPTER III.

### MINERALS.

#### ROCK, CLAY, AND SAND—SPRINGS AND WELLS—SALINE EARTHS.

The only rock in the country that has been discovered is in a small detached hill at Manihari, where a calcareous mass reaches the surface and is of pretty considerable dimensions. I can perceive nothing in it like strata, and in different parts it is of very various appearances. It is what Wallerius calls an aggregate rock, that is, it would seem as if composed of many small pebbles or nodules united by a common cement. On the surface many of the nodules are half-detached, I shall not say positively whether from the cement having been worn away, or from not yet having been completed; but the former is the most probable, as the surface is also penetrated by many holes, as if worm eaten. In the cement there are also many veins, so that a broken surface of it has much the appearance of porphyry. The nodules are sometimes rounded at the corners, as if water-worn; at others they are very irregular in their shape, and a few are angular, like felspar. The stone contains some small cavities, the insides of which, although uneven, are enamelled, as if they had been in fusion. The most common colour of the ground or cement is a pale brick red; but it is sometimes white, in which case the stone is always much softer. The colours of the nodules are very various, white, iron black, the same mixed with red, ochre yellow, brownish red, and drab. In general the nature both of the cement and nodules seems to be nearly the same. The internal surface of the stone is dull, with a few shining points irregularly scattered. It feels dry. The external surface is



rough with protuberant nodules, and full of cylindrical perforations. The fracture is compact, sometimes a little inclining to conchoidal. The structure is solid, the fragments indeterminate and sharp. It is everywhere opaque. It is readily scratched with a knife, the powder being of the same colour with the part scratched. It is tough. It effervesces strongly with nitric acid, which although it reduces the whole to powder, dissolves only a part, probably about a half. The strongest heat that I could give it with a small charcoal fire, continued for two days, did not reduce it to lime. It indeed became white, attracted water with a strong effervescence and a hissing noise, and rent into many fragments; but it did not fall to pieces, the quantity of other matter retaining the lime.

Some parts, chiefly those which are white, have very different characters from the above. In many parts, and these of some extent, the stone has been reduced to a kind of soft substance like chalk, but rather harder and harsher. In a few parts, especially in the small nodules, it does not leave a white stain on cloth nor on the fingers, when handled; but when a large mass it generally does both, and is called Kaliya. This kind of substance, the nearest to chalk that I have seen anywhere except in England, is most usually disposed in large beds, which fill galleries, as it were, formed in the stone, four or five feet wide and as many high, and running through the mass in very irregular directions. A man rents the privilege of digging this substance. He employs five people for two months in the year, who during that time dig about 100 *mans* (lbs. 82 each) and deliver them to petty traders who beat, sift, and with a little water form the Kaliya into little balls, which are sold all over the country to the women that spin cotton, who rub it on their fingers.

In other parts again of the stone, generally in small masses, the white matter puts on the granular appearance of a granite, and looks as if composed of fat quartz intermixed with mealy quartz, and red martial veins. This also is acted on by the nitric acid, which totally destroys the mass but leaves a still



greater proportion of insoluble powder. In no part could I observe the slightest trace of animal nor of vegetable exuviae. The nearest rock to it is on the opposite side of the Ganges, about seven miles distant. On the other side there is no rock within the Company's territory.

I can only account for the appearances of this rock, which are highly singular, by supposing that originally it was porphyry which by some process of nature has gradually changed the nature of most of its particles into lime; and if the process is not stopped, may in time become pure chalk. It is a kind of calcareous petrification of porphyry, just as we have siliceous and calcareous petrifications of wood, where the form is perfectly retained but the matter is quite changed.

The strata of the country in other parts consist entirely of clay and sand, as in Dinajpur. The clay is in general very indifferent for the potter's wheel, is mostly of various shades of ash-colour when dry, but blackish and hard when moist. It is only in some parts that it contains any small stony concretions; but these are found wherever there is red clay, which however is very uncommon. The best potter's clay is in the southern parts of the district.

The sand is generally very light-coloured; but in some places is stained black, apparently by an admixture of the mud of marshes, which I have described in Ronggopur under the name of Dol. In the north-west corner of the district I observed some yellow ferruginous sand, which the natives consider as well fitted for making mortar. Gravel and small stones are found in most of the rivers, as far down as about the parallel of Krishnagunj. In the Mahananda there happens to be none near Sannyasikata, as I mentioned in the account of Ronggopur; but lower down I observed very extensive beds.

There are no mineral springs, nor is there any mine. The springs are numerous, but among the natives none is in any request,

SPRINGS AND WELLS. nor is their water ever used.

Indeed they almost all rise in bogs or marshes overwhelmed with frogs, snakes and



stinking aquatic plants, so that they have no kind of affinity with the pure fountains of mountainous countries.

Water, by digging wells, is generally found at no great depth. In the southern parts of the district the wells in free soil are usually from 15 to 20 cubits deep, and in stiff clay from 20 to 30 cubits. At Manihari it was said that the usual strata found in such situations were as follows:—In loose soil; first, soil 5 or 6 cubits; second, coarse white sand 3 or 4 cubits; third, fine sand of different colours, to the water. In clay lands; first, soil, 3 cubits; second, black hard clay, 10 to 15 cubits; third, reddish clay containing small stony concretions, 5 to 7 cubits. In the northern parts the water is usually found at much less depths, often at 4 cubits from the surface, but usually at from 8 to 14. The soil is two or three cubits, then is commonly found a stratum equally thick containing much sand but some clay (Balu Sundri), then as much of a hard black potter's clay, becoming ash-coloured when dry. Then pure sand, in which the water is found. It is sometimes mixed with pebbles. The clay is often altogether wanting, and is commonly very scarce near the surface. The potters usually procure it on the steep banks of rivers, by the action of which it has been exposed. The water found in the red clay is not good. That found in sand is abundantly clean. In general the well water is very good, and except when the sand in which it is found is stained black, it must be considered as vastly preferable to that of either tanks or rivers. In sandy soils, the sides of the wells are always secured by rings of potter's ware, which are not necessary where the soil is stiff.

In many parts of the districts, especially in old mango groves, the earth would seem to be strongly impregnated with a muriate

SALINE EARTHS. of soda, as the cattle are fond of licking these parts and a

culinary salt is prepared from this earth by boiling. On old mud walls that have been sheltered from the rain, a saline matter often effloresces. This by Europeans has usually been supposed to be nitre, and

indeed it may be a nitrous salt; but it would not seem to be the nitrate of potash, for in some operations the natives require both substances.

I have not yet had an opportunity of analyzing the specimens of these saline earths which I took, with an exactness that would enable me to speak precisely on their nature. In the division under Thanah Gondwara I heard of another saline earth called Us Mati, but I did not hear of it in time to view the place. It is however said that the washermen of the neighbourhood collect it for bleaching linen. There can be therefore little doubt but that its chief saline ingredient is the carbonate of soda, which a little farther west is found in vast quantities.



*Extract from Dr. Buchanan's Instructions.*

Your inquiries should be particularly directed to the following subjects, which you are to examine with as much accuracy as local circumstances will admit:—

\* \* \* \* \*

IV. Agriculture, under which head your inquiries are to be directed to the following points:—

- 1st.—The different kinds of vegetables cultivated, whether for food, forage, medicine, or intoxication, or as raw materials for the arts; modes of cultivation for each kind; the seasons when they are sown and reaped: the value of the produce of a given extent of land cultivated with each kind; the profit arising to the cultivator from each, and the manner in which each is prepared and fitted for market. Should it appear that any new object of cultivation could be introduced with advantage, you will suggest the means by which its introduction may be encouraged.
- 2nd.—The implements of husbandry employed, with the defects and advantages of each, and suggestions for the introduction of new ones, that may be more effectual.
- 3rd.—The manure employed for the soil, especially the means used for irrigation.
- 4th.—The means used for excluding floods and inundations, with such remarks as may occur to you on the defects in their management, and the remedies that might be employed.
- 5th.—The different breeds of the cattle, poultry, and other domestic animals reared by the natives. The manner in which they are bred and kept; the profits derived from rearing and maintaining them; the kinds used in labour; whether the produce of the country be sufficient, without importation, to answer the demand, or to enable the farmer to export; and whether any kinds not now reared might be advantageously introduced.
- 6th.—Fences, the various kinds that are used, or that might be introduced, with observations concerning the utility of this part of agriculture in the present state of the country.
- 7th.—The state of farms; their usual size, the stock required with the manner in which it is procured; the expense of management; the rent, whether paid in specie or in kind; the wages and condition of farming servants and labourers employed in husbandry: tenures by which farms are held, with their comparative advantages; and the means which, in your opinion, may be employed to extend and improve the cultivation of the country.
- 8th.—The state of the landed property, and of the tenures by which it is held, in so far as these seem to affect agriculture.

## PART IV.

### AGRICULTURE.

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### VARIOUS KINDS OF CULTIVATION.

INTRODUCTION—PLANTS CULTIVATED FOR GRAIN—OIL—  
VEGETABLES OR FRUIT—THREAD OR ROPE—SACCHARINE  
JUICE — CHEWING OR SMOKING — DYEING — REARING  
INSECTS—MATS—FATTENING CATTLE.

Before entering upon this subject, I think it my duty to acknowledge the obligations under which I am to Mr. Ellerton of Guyamatti, who has long resided in the district, who is very conversant in almost every department of its culture, and who has with great patience and liberality communicated many of his observations. I am also indebted for some useful observations to Mr. Smith of Nathpur, the oldest European resident in the district.

In the General Statistical Table (No. I) I have supposed that, besides 404 miles of land fit for the plough which at present are in fallow, there are 4103 square miles actually occupied; and in this I do not include what pays rent for pasture, or for grass and reeds that are preserved for thatch, but only what is occupied by houses, gardens, plantations and cultivated fields.

In the Statistical Table No. 13 will be found an estimate of the manner in which this occupied land is employed, and of the various crops that it produces, and in the following eighteen Tables (Nos. 14—31) will be found many particulars respecting the cultivation



of each, together with an estimate of the quantity and value of the average produce, when sold at the price usual in wholesale, immediately after harvest.

With regard to farther particulars I shall in general refer to my account of the agriculture of Dinajpur, and here shall only mention what I observed in this district that differs from the accounts already given.

Although for the sake of method I have in the following account divided the objects of cultivation into different classes, yet in practice, as will be seen from the 13th Table, no attention is paid to these distinctions, and plants of the various classes are not only sown in the same ground at different seasons of the year, but are even intermixed in the same crop, so that to separate the profits and expenses of each, all being cultivated by a common stock, would in many cases be impracticable.

This practice of mixing the crops seems to be much more general in this district than either in Dinajpur or Ronggopur. It no doubt on the whole, were a series of years taken into account, diminishes the produce very considerably, not only as one article injures another by its growth, and as the reaping of the earlier articles does more or less injury to the later, but as it is more exhausting, and the ground prepared for one article is less fitted for production of the others than if it was prepared for only one. The practice has however one most important advantage; it renders the annual average produce of each farm more equal; for if the season is unfavourable for one thing it will more probably suit another, so that every man is more secure from being destitute, and on the whole there is less danger of that total failure which might produce famine, the greatest of all evils.

The constant succession of crops from the same fields, although by exhausting the ground it no doubt diminishes the general produce, yet as the whole seldom fails, tends to prevent the same evil and ought therefore by all means to be encouraged. The vast variety of articles cultivated, and the numerous different sorts of each, seem also highly advantageous,



as enabling the farmer to suit his crops better to the various soils and circumstances of the season than could be otherwise done.

✓Much subject for experiments, highly important, concerning the various advantages of each still remains untouched; but the farmers of this district have paid much more attention to the subject than those towards the east, and especially those of Ronggopur. It is true that the seasons here seem to be more uncertain, which is probably the reason why the people have made greater exertions; but on the banks of the Tista and Brahmaputra the variations in the floods of different years would require more attention to this subject than the people have bestowed, and many lands now considered as useless in Ronggopur would by the people here be made to produce a great variety of useful articles.

Here it must be observed that a great quantity of seed, of many different kinds, is sown without any previous culture. The farmer merely scatters the seed among the mud at the commencement of the fair weather, and is at no other trouble with his crop until he comes to reap it. This is performed in two situations. One is among the growing rice when approaching to maturity, as is commonly practised towards the east; but here the custom is not only extended, but a much greater variety of articles is thus sown. It does little or no injury to the rice, and although the after crop is seldom heavy, it costs almost nothing. The other situation is on the banks of the great rivers Kosi and Ganges, where as the floods retire, large spaces are left covered by mud and free from weeds.

Such a happy and favourable opportunity for sowing seed might be found in many places near the Brahmaputra. I am not sure, however, that the people there do not adopt a better plan. They wait until the mud dries so far that it can once at least be ploughed, before the seed is sown, and thus avoid the risk of losing their seed by any accidental return of the flood. I believe, however, that such returns are more frequent in the Brahmaputra than on the Ganges.



Although this mode of sowing grain without previous culture is perhaps not ill suited to some places of this district, it does not require any particular encouragement, the indolent habits of the people prompting them to carry it to a length that in many cases perhaps is injurious. Towards the west, where these habits increase in strength, they have carried their personal indulgence still farther. One kind of the spontaneous rices (Uridham) which are found in Bengal, and which has very long awns, is a very common weed in low marshy lands. In most parts the farmers are at the pains to remove it; for if the precaution is not used in fields that are favourable for its growth, it would in the course of a few years choke the kinds that are cultivated, as its grain when ripe is shaken by the least wind, and remains in the mud until the following year. Many careless farmers in the western parts have allowed this inferior grain to overrun their fields, and content themselves with saving as much of its grain as they can; enough is always shaken to serve for seed, and they are at no sort of trouble but with the harvest. This indeed is very scanty, but the grain is considered as a food of extraordinary purity.

#### 1. CULMIFEROUS PLANTS CULTIVATED FOR THEIR GRAIN.

As the quantity of spring rice reared in the marshes behind Gaur far exceeds what I have anywhere else observed, I shall

give a particular detail. It is chiefly reared upon the banks of marshes, which gradually dry as the spring advances, but which always retain water in the centre sufficient to supply the fields, to which it is raised by machinery. This land is unfit for any other crop. Between the 16th of September and the 14th of November the farmer ploughs a plot on the edge of the marsh, then full of water. This serves for a seed bed, and for every bigah that he intends to reap, he sows one-tenth of a bigah. The seed, before it is sown, is made to sprout by steeping it 36 hours in water, and



then keeping it in a warm place covered with grass. The bed is filled with water and reduced to mud, among which, during the time above mentioned, the seed is sown. It springs rapidly, and between the 16th of October and the 11th of January it is transplanted twice, lower down on the side of the marsh, as the water retires. At each transplanting it occupies double the space it did before. Between the 12th of January and 11th of April it is finally transplanted, so that for every bigah that was sown it now occupies ten, the seedling land and all that has been used in the successive transplantations being again employed. About one-half of the whole is finally transplanted in the first month of the season, and is extremely productive; five-eighths [of the rest] are transplanted in the second month, and give an indifferent crop; and three-eighths are transplanted in the third month, making so miserable a return that the practice would seem to be bad economy, but the people would be otherwise idle. The crop is reaped between the 12th of April and the 12th of June. An industrious man with a pair of oxen can cultivate in the season (9 months) 10 bighas Calcutta measure, the seed of which, at from 8 to 10 seers (80 s. w.), will be about  $2\frac{1}{4}$  mans. The produce of one half transplanted early, at from 8 to 10 mans a bigha = 45 mans; of five-eighths [of the rest] transplanted during the middle season, at from 7 to 4 mans a bigha =  $16\frac{1}{6}$  mans, of three-eighths [of the rest] transplanted in the late season, at from 2 to 3 mans a bigha, =  $3\frac{2}{6}$  mans: total produce  $54\frac{3}{6}$  mans, leaving nearly 52 mans after deducting seed. This is a very poor return for a man's labour for nine months. The watering is very troublesome, but the ploughing and weeding are very easy and the early crop is uncommonly certain.

The summer rice (Bhadai) is a very important crop, as will appear from the Tables. There is not

#### SUMMER RICE.

such a variety as in Ranggopur, but considerably more than in Dinajpur. The most remarkable kinds, as named in the dialect of Mithila, are as follows:—1st. Loki; 2nd. Ginodha—both somewhat fine, and sown on high land. They are usually



followed by a winter crop of pulse, seeds for oil, wheat, or fine transplanted winter rice, some of which has pulse sown amongst it when nearly ripe. 3rd. Sasarpul—a coarse grain sown on high land. This is usually followed by linseed or barley. All these are often sown intermixed with Maruya and Maghuyarahar, or sometimes with a pulse called Tulbuli, which nearly resembles the Thakuri of Dinajpur, and which ripens among the stubble. 4th. Ajan—a coarse grain sown on low land. This is mostly followed by transplanted rice. 5th. Kabatmani—a coarse grain sown on low land. This is late and does not admit of a second crop. These two are often sown intermixed with winter rice to a much greater extent than in Dinajpur. Such are the names and kinds in the western parts of the district. Those used in the eastern resemble those in Ronggopur and Dinajpur. None is transplanted.

In some parts the people preserve for fodder the tops even of summer rice. It seems to be mere prejudice that it is hurtful to cattle; and when the weather happens to be favourable, much of the straw of the summer rice might be preserved. Broadcast summer rice admits of a crop of China, taken from the same land in spring, before it is sown.

In this district there is raised a very small quantity of the rice which is reaped in the end of September or beginning of October, and which in the dialect of Mithila is called Sati. It is probable that a little is also raised in Dinajpur, although it escaped my notice; for in some ceremonies of religion it is considered as necessary.

The winter rices in Mithila are called Aghan and Hengwat; the former signifying the month and the latter the season at which they are reaped. One manner of cultivating winter rices

WINTER RICE. which is practised on some sandy land near the Kosi, deserves particular notice. This land, called Sorah, produces in the beginning of the rainy season a crop of long grass, which is cut and given to the cattle. Between the 15th of July and the 15th of August the



field is ploughed twice, and sown broadcast with winter rice of several kinds, all very coarse.

The varieties of winter rice are very numerous, and the study of these is highly important to the practical farmer, for the different kinds vary much, as being better or worse suited for different soils and elevations; but their names differ in almost every petty vicinity, so that it would be endless to detail them. I shall therefore merely mention them in the classes which I have enumerated in Dinajpur.

The coarsest kinds are sown broadcast on the lowest lands, and entirely by themselves. Even in one part of one estate (Pergunah Dharampur, Zila Nathpur), I heard of no less than eighteen different kinds, and the list was probably far from being complete. One of them, called Pichar, is more than usually liable to break when it is beaten to separate the husk. The grain is not lost, but is not so saleable as that which remains entire. Where the land is exceedingly low these kinds are sown between the 13th of March and the 11th of April, but the common seed season is in the following month. This crop not only admits of pulse (Khesari) being sown among it when growing, and allowed to ripen among the stubble, but the pulse is sometimes mixed with mustard (Rayi) or rape seed (Sarisha), when it is sown among the growing corn. In the same manner are frequently sown, among this rice when growing, various other kinds of grains, such as the field pea, rape seed, mustard, and barley.

The kinds of winter rice which are sown broadcast along with summer rice are not so numerous nor so coarse, and they are sown on higher land between the middle of February and the middle of April, but it seldom springs until long after, when a good deal of rain has come. The kind of millet called Kaun is sometimes sown together with the broadcast winter rice, and the same is practised with the pulse called Harimug.

One kind of winter rice, sown broadcast by itself on middling high land, ripens between the middle of October and the middle of November. The others are two months later. The winter rices that are sown



broadcast in this district, except three or four kinds, are reckoned to keep equally well with any transplanted rice. Although therefore this kind of cultivation ought to be more valuable than in Dinajpur, it is not so eagerly followed, and much of the waste land in the southern parts of the district would appear to be very fit for the purpose. It is, however, one of the greatest crops in the district.

In Dinajpur a particular class of rices is preserved for middling high land; but in this district all the above-mentioned kinds of winter rice are transplanted on land which is usually covered to about one cubit in depth. Where the water commonly rises to a greater height, they are sown broadcast. These kinds are not improved in quality by being transplanted. Khesari is sown among them, when nearly ripe, and grows among the stubble. If the crop on this land has been spoiled either by too much or too little water, the field is usually cultivated with wheat or barley, or the latter mixed with mustard, or with mustard and lentils.

The class of winter rices which is raised on high fields is transplanted between the middle of September and the middle of October; but here it is only in favourable circumstances that it admits of a previous crop. The favourable circumstances are a stiff soil (Matiyal), which enables the field to retain moisture, and early showers in spring, which permit such a soil to be cultivated. When the farmer is contented with one crop, as is most usual, it is heavy; when he takes a crop previous to transplanted rice, this is trifling, and the value of the first is inferior.

These finer rices, as in Dinajpur, will not grow on very low land, while most of the rich free soil that is high is here preserved for winter crops of other grains. In this district I heard of no fine winter rice which equals that of the clay near the Karatoya, so as to be ranked with the fourth or finest class of rices in Dinajpur.

The seed for winter transplanted rice, when sprouted before it is sown, in the eastern part of the district is called Pota; and the seedlings, when sown without having undergone that operation, are there



called Khaur; but in the western part, seed that has been sown sprouted is called Chhituya or Achhar, and that which is sown dry is called simply seed (Biya). In most cases the natives will not allow that they take any crop from the seedling land, which I have therefore allowed to be the case in the Tables: but I suspect that I have been misinformed, and that the greater part gives a crop as in Ranggopur. In some places, indeed, they acknowledge that they sow no seedling land for the coarser kinds of transplanted winter rice, but pluck up seedlings from the fields that have been sown broadcast, which are always sown too thick, and which are at any rate thinned in weeding. This is practised chiefly in the western parts, and there these seedlings are called Khaur, the same name that in the western parts is given to seedlings reared on fields reserved for the purpose, by sowing seed that is not sprouted. The allowance of seedling land stated in Arariya, Bahadurgunj, and Udhraail was one-eighth of the land to be transplanted, in Dulalgunj one-ninth, and in all the other parts one-tenth; but some deduction must be allowed for the coarse kinds, the seedlings for which are taken from what is sown broadcast on low land.

The seed sown without preparation, as in Dinajpur, is by far the most common practice. Summer rice is never sown by being dibbled. A bigah of land, if the seed is sprouted, requires ten sers, while a ser less suffices where this operation is not performed. The people here seem to pay a good deal of attention to weeding their rice, especially the summer crop on high ground. Before harvest they do not imitate the people of Dinajpur in laying their rice down as it approaches maturity.

The farmers almost always sell their rice in a rough state, and one kind of the petty dealers (Beparis) bring it home from the markets in that state, and hire women to beat it and remove the husks. These traders chiefly supply the common markets with grain for consumption. By this means an enormous additional expense for carriage is required. Another class of petty dealers (Paikars) who supply the foreign merchants for exportation,



having no cattle, agree with the farmers to beat the rice and to bring it to the warehouse.

The reward that is allowed here for the troublesome operation of removing the husks from rice is much smaller than anywhere else that I have been. At Puraniya the owner gives 70 sers of rice in the husk for 40 sers of clean grain, when the operation is performed without boiling. Now according to the experiments related in my account of Dinajpur, 70 sers of rice treated in this manner ought to give 45 sers of good entire rice, leaving five sers or one-ninth of the whole for the woman's trouble. Besides this, she would have 3.36 sers of broken grains, not so saleable, but equally nourishing.

When the operation is performed by boiling, the woman gets 13 sers of rough rice, and delivers 8 of clean. According to the experiments which I have stated in my account of Dinajpur, the woman from 13 sers of rough rice should procure 9.767 sers of clean, leaving for her trouble 1.767 or rather more than 18 per cent. of the whole. The instrument almost everywhere used, where the rice is to be cleaned on a large scale for exportation or retail, is the pestle moved by a lever (Dhengki). What the good women clean for the use of their own families is almost always done with the common wooden pestle and mortar; and I perceive a considerable difference in the effect of the two operations. Where the ordinary pestle and mortar is used, and the rice has been boiled, as was done in the experiments at Dinajpur, few or none of the grains are broken; but when the heavy pestle raised by a lever is employed, the quantity of broken grain is always considerable. It is equally wholesome food, but is not saleable. Two women usually beat in company, and their ordinary morning work is to clean 65 sers ( $82 \frac{1}{6}$  s. w.) in two days. They therefore in that time procure about  $113 \frac{1}{2}$  lbs. avoirdupois of clean grain, of which their share is almost  $18 \frac{3}{4}$  lbs. or 4.684 lbs. daily for each. It must however be observed that the people admit of no such profit. They say that 65 sers of rough rice on an average give only from 43 to 44 sers of clean. The cleaner, on this supposition, in place of 18 per cent.



receives only a very little more than 8 per cent and the woman's daily gaining would be only 1855 lb. of clean rice.

In the eastern parts where grain is measured, the reward is higher, as in Kharwa, where a woman receives 24 measures of rough rice and returns 10 measures of clean grain. Two women are there supposed in their usual morning work to be able to beat 20 sers (92 s. w.). According to the experiments I have made, the quantity of rough grain would be 2267 cubic inches, the quantity of clean grain would be 1255 cubic inches, and after giving  $\frac{19}{14}$  parts to the owner they would have for their daily trouble 310 cubic inches or  $11\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. of clean grain. From this it would appear that where the reward for cleaning rice is high, women clean little; and where the reward is low, they work hard, so as to make almost as high wages.

The manners of preparing rice called in Dinajpur Chira, Khai and Muri, and here Chura, Lava and Murhi, are not near so commonly used in the western parts of this district; but rice parched (Bhuna) without any previous preparation is much more eaten, and the people more frequently grind their rice, and form it into the kind of cakes (Bhaka), which are usually boiled like a pudding.

Wheat is much more used here than in Dinajpur. Except rich and luxurious people, who have the finer kind (Mayda) separated, the

OTHER GRAIN. whole wheat is reduced to coarse flour (Ata), from which little bran is separated. This is always mixed with cold water and formed into the cakes (Roti) which the Hindus toast in an earthen platter. They are totally unacquainted with the art of fermenting bread; but at the capital some Moslems know the mystery of baking. In some parts the straw of wheat is given to cattle, in others it is neglected.

Barley is sometimes sown on the banks of the great rivers as the floods retire, without any previous culture. It is much used by the poor. Half of it is first beaten to separate the husks; it is then ground to meal, and formed with cold water into cakes, that are toasted. The other half is beaten, then parched, and then



ground into meal, which is mixed with cold water and salt. This is called Chhatu. The natives have not the art of boiling it so as to form porridge. In some places barley straw also is given to cattle.

Maruya or the *Cynosurus Corocanus* of Willdenow, which from a minute difference in the fruit Gærtner has chosen to call by a new name *Eleusine*, is much used, especially on the west side of the Kosi. The Maruya is ground in a hand-mill, sometimes having previously been parched, sometimes not. The meal is formed with boiling water into cakes, that are toasted. The straw is often given to cattle. In poor soils this is cultivated, as in Dinajpur, with the *Cytisus Cajan* and rice, which form a valuable crop.

A good deal of maize, Indian corn (*Zea Mays*), called here Makkai, is used. The people like it, but they imagine that it occasions fluxes. The experiments which the natives have tried on its cultivation show that, in their hands at least, the sanguine expectations which might be formed from the experiments tried at Ronggopur would not be realized. The grain is sometimes parched, and eaten with salt; or it is dried, ground into meal, mixed with cold water, and formed into cakes that are toasted. The leaves and fresh stems are sometimes given to cattle; but the quantity is so inconsiderable that the natives are not sensible of any advantage; and near Kaliyachak, so slow is the progress of knowledge that the people who give all manner of other straw to their cattle burn this, as being totally unfit for fodder. The cattle however are voraciously eager to procure it, which is perhaps the reason why it is neglected by the natives, who would have a great difficulty in preserving the crop.

Janera, or the *Holcus Sorgum* of botanists, in this district is a less considerable crop than maize. The natives think it more wholesome, but not so palatable. It is used in the same manner; but when parched, if exposed two nights to the dew, the grain swells out like the preparation of rice called here Lava. Cattle eat the stems and leaves, but not eagerly. In some places there is only one kind, and what I saw was everywhere that which has a white seed; but in Dhamdaha the



people reckon three kinds: Gehungya, Narkatia and Raksa, which I did not see.

The kinds of millet called Kaun (*Panicum italicum*) and China (*Panicum miliaceum* E. M.) in some parts of this district are much cultivated, and in times of scarcity the cultivation has with great advantage been much extended, especially that of the latter, which ripens quickly and with very little rain. The China is of two kinds, called Bhadai and Vaisakhi according as it ripens in spring or in the middle of the rainy season. A very little Bajra, the *Holcus spicatus* of botanists, is reared in this district. It is but a poor grain, and does not deserve encouragement. The quantity is too trifling to have obtained a place in the Tables of produce.

There are two other kinds of millet, which are reared in a more considerable quantity. The one is called Sama or Kheri, and does not seem as yet to have been introduced into the systems of modern botanists; but Dr. Roxburgh in his manuscript collections, I believe, calls it *Panicum frumentaceum*. It has a very strong resemblance to the *Holcus Sorghum*. The other is called Kodo, and is probably a species of *Paspalum*, which I know grows in Tirahut. Both are very poor grains; and in a country producing so many better kinds seem to deserve little attention.

## 2. LEGUMINOUS PLANTS CULTIVATED FOR THEIR GRAIN.

On the whole the most common pulse here is the Mash Kalai, which has seeds of a green colour with a white eye. I have not seen this plant in a state fit for ascertaining its botanical appellation, as it is confined to parts of the district which I did not visit in the proper season. The name Max given to a kindred plant by European botanists, according to the Portuguese orthography, is the same with the Mash of the Hindi dialect, or the Mas of Calcutta; but so far as I can judge, the Max of botanists is the Thakuri of this district and of Dinajpur, which in Ronggopur is indeed called Mas, but produces a pulse of very different qualities, which is readily distinguished by its colour. On the banks of the Ganges the Mash is



reared in vast quantities, and is often sown on the mud as the river dries up, without any ploughing, and ripens without any sort of trouble. There it frequently forms the common diet of the natives, is ground into meal and formed into cakes, which are toasted. In other parts, however, it is only used like other pulse, that is to say, it is freed from the husk and split, forming what is called Dal. This is used in two manners. First, mixed with rice, boiled and seasoned with oil or butter, and salt and spices, it forms Khichri, very much used in cold weather. Secondly, fried with oil or butter, and capsicum, salt and turmeric, it forms what we call a curry, but by the natives here this also is called simply Dal. In this district a preparation called Bari is made from Mash. The entire pulse is steeped a night in cold water, then the integuments are rubbed off with the hand. The pulse is then beaten in a mortar or rubbed on a stone with some water until it forms a paste, into which small pieces of the cucurbitaceous fruit called Kumra are put; to these are added salt, the carminative seed called Mauri, and sometimes Assafœtida. The whole is formed into small pyramidical plums, which are dried in the sun and used in curries or stews. These are most commonly made in the dry season, and then will keep three months. Here cattle will eat both husks and straw of the Mash, and the latter is sometimes kept for them. The natives imagine that this pulse is cooling.

The Max of botanists, here as in Dinajpur, is called Thakuri, and is readily distinguished from the foregoing by its seeds when fresh being black and green mixed. When old they become almost entirely of a dirty black. It is reared in most parts of the districts; but on the whole in much less quantity than the former.

Khesari (*Lathyrus sativus* W.) is a very common pulse. It also is prepared in the manner called Bari, for which the Dal of this pulse is steeped for about six hours, and then treated as already mentioned. It is also ground into meal (Besan), which is used by those who make sweetmeats. On the banks of the great



rivers it is often sown as the floods retire, without the mud having undergone any culture.

In this country vast quantities of the *Cytisus Cajan*, called here Arahar, are cultivated. There are two kinds, that from the months in which they ripen are called Maghi and Vaisakhi. The latter is of the finest quality, and is sown by itself on a good clay soil, or placed in hedges round other crops, especially round sugar-cane, and is the kind raised in Ranggopur and in the south of Dinajpur. Some smaller pulses are occasionally intermixed, as will appear from the Tables. The Maghi is sown on poor sandy lands, sometimes by itself but more commonly mixed with summer rice and Maruya, as described in Dinajpur, in the northern parts of which a good deal is reared. This kind is also sown mixed with a variety of other articles, as will appear from the Tables. The seed of either kind will fail, if it is attempted to be managed like that of the other. The stems of Arahar in this district, owing to the scarcity of bamboos and reeds, are frequently used for making the fences which surround the native huts.

In this country there is reared a great deal of the pulse which in the western parts is called Badam, and is the *Cicer arietinum* of Linnæus. In the eastern side of the district it is more usually called Chana or But, and in other places it is called Dhangga. The kind with a white flower is everywhere called Kablibut, and sells dearer, but very little is produced. This is considered as a pure offering to the gods, while the variety with a red flower is only fit for man. It is reckoned a heating food, and by the natives is never given to cattle, being too high priced. It is used mostly split (Dal) which is done by drying it two or three days in the sun, and grinding it in a hand mill. It is also used merely parched, and eaten with or without a little salt or oil. Thirdly, it is sometimes merely steeped in cold water until it swells, and then it is mixed with a little salt or extract of sugar-cane. Fourthly, it is ground into flour (Besan) for preparing sweetmeats.

Masur or the lentil is much cultivated, and is used only when split (Dal).



A good deal of the poor pulse called Kurthi or Kulthi, mentioned in Ronggopur, is reared in this district, and is the food that is used by the natives to fatten cattle. It is imagined to be very heating. Men however eat it in curries. Before it is ground, in order to separate the integuments it must be dried over the fire. The common field pea (Matar) is also a good deal cultivated, and is only used split. There are two varieties, Maghi and Vaisakhi, one of which ripens in winter, and one in spring.

The *Phaseolus Mungo* in this district is a good deal cultivated, and is called Hari and Vaisakhi Mug. It is used both split and for making the kind of balls called Bari. It may be split and freed from the husks either by drying it over the fire, or by oiling it and exposing it to the sun before it is put into the mill. I heard of a species called Seha Mug or Mahananda, which probably has some near affinity to the foregoing; but I did not see it. It is often sown on the banks of rivers, without any previous culture; but is raised to only a trifling extent.

The Meth Kalai of this district is the *Phaseolus minimus* of Rumphius, which in Ronggopur is called Kheri, and only a small quantity is reared. It is used split, and is considered as very heating. The integuments are separated by parching, before it is put into the mill.

Bora is a leguminous plant which I have not seen, but in most parts of the district a little is reared. Like Khesari it may be split without either previous oiling or parching. It is used also in the kind of balls called Bari. The Barbati is a pulse very nearly related to the above, but its seed is vastly smaller. I am told that it is the same with the Labiyah of Ronggopur, which is the *Dolichos Sinensis*.

The *Cadelium* of Rumphius is here called Bhet Mash. It is of very little consequence. The same is the case with another pulse called Tulbuli, which I have not seen growing. To judge from the appearance of the grain, I should take it to be exactly the same with the Mash Kalai.



## 3. PLANTS REARED FOR THE OIL IN THEIR SEEDS.

In the greater part of the district these may be considered as the staple article of cultivation; for although on the whole greatly inferior in value to the grains which serve as food, yet they are the great object of commerce, and that by which the greater part of the rent is paid. The most common are the two species mentioned in my account of Dinajpur under the names of Sarisha and Turi, which there I have considered as species of *Sinapis*, and often called mustard; but perhaps they approach nearer to the Rape-seed of Europe, and I shall now call them by that name. The two species differ in points which are so minute that they do not deserve much attention. In Dinajpur indeed it was supposed that the one was more productive of oil than the other, and that there was a difference in the quality of the two oils; but neither the people of this district nor those of Ronggopur seem to be aware of these circumstances; and I am uncertain whether this is to be attributed to their want of observation, or to the opinion of the people in Dinajpur having its origin in imagination. I have not been able to ascertain this circumstance, because the native nomenclature for these plants, in this district, is so confused that without seeing the plant growing I cannot trust to purchasing the seed; for the same names are applied to both very irregularly. These names are Sarisha, Maghi Sarisha, Turi, and Kajali, and in different vicinities these names are applied in opposite senses.

The species of Radish (*Raphanus*), the seed of which is used for producing oil, in this district is reared in great quantities, and is a very luxuriant crop: but the natives prefer the oil of the rape-seed. This plant is here also called Tora; but is more commonly known by the name of Purabi Sarisha or old rape-seed, having perhaps been the kind that formerly was alone cultivated. It is also called Se-uti Sarisha or white rape-seed, the grain being much lighter coloured than that of the other kind.

Rayi or the *Sinapis Amboinicum* of Rumphius is what should properly be translated mustard, as it has qualities similar to the European plant of that



name Much more is reared in this district than towards the east, and it is sometimes sown on the banks of rivers without any previous culture: but more commonly it is a winter crop after summer rice. In the south part of this district I heard of two kinds said to resemble the Rayi, and which are called Gangrayi and Rayichi Sarisha. I had no opportunity of seeing them, nor am I certain that they are different from the common Rayi.

The Tisi or linseed in this district is a common article of cultivation. It in no respect differs from the flax of Europe: but I doubt whether a supply of seed could be sent from hence. It ripens in March and April, and might no doubt be forwarded to Ireland and Scotland in abundance of time to be sown in the following year; but it seems doubtful whether its vegetating powers could be preserved through such a long voyage, and the freight would probably be too heavy. The climate would, I am persuaded, be no objection; as the plant here grows in the cold weather, which is not hotter than our summers. The price here for the last two years has been about 1 rupee for 40 sers of  $82\frac{1}{2}$  s. w., which is about  $84\frac{1}{2}$  lb. avoirdupois. The experiment however seems worth the trying, and a few hundredweight might be sent home to be given to experienced farmers, who might ascertain its quality. In this country the plant is of a very diminutive growth, which seems to be owing partly to its being sown too thin, so as to allow it to spread into many branches for the sake of the seed; and partly to the want of that moisture which the luxuriant crops of Ireland enjoy. I have no doubt that, were it occasionally watered and sown thick, its crops would be highly luxuriant, and yield a flax equal to that of Egypt. The oil is used for the lamp alone. At Calcutta it has been tried by painters, but probably owing to a difference in the process for expressing, it has been found exceedingly inferior to that brought from Europe at an enormous expense. The Indian process, in all probability, expresses a great part of the mucilaginous matter along with the oil.

The *Ricinus* in this district is raised almost entirely for the oil (Castor oil) which is used for the



lamp. In a few parts, as will appear from the Table, it is cultivated in fields of a poor soil, in which it is sown with turmeric, the *Phaseolus Mungo*, and cotton; or with cotton, the same pulse, and the *Corchorus* that is used as a green vegetable; or with ginger and cotton; or with turmeric, cotton and the *Cytisus Cajan*; or with a yam (*Dioscorea Suthni*) and cotton. In some places again it is mixed with rape-seed. When sown in these fields the *Ricinus* is always the small green species, or the *Ricinus communis* of Willdenow. In many parts of the district the large *Ricinus*, that is, the Pandi Avanam of Rhede and the *Ricinus* of Rumphius, is often the only shelter, or at least the most common, which the natives enjoy round their huts. Here the plant perfectly agrees with the description of Rhede and Rumphius, as on account of this shade it is permitted to live for seven or eight years, and grows to be a kind of small tree like Elder. I am now told that the Pat Erandi of Bengal would live in the same manner, were it permitted; but as every year it becomes less productive, the custom there is every year to destroy the plant, and to sow fresh seed. It is the kind with the green stem that in this district is most common. In the parts where the Mithila dialect prevails, the *Ricinus* is called Erengri. In the western parts it is called Eranda.

In this district is reared a rather larger quantity of *Sesamum* than grows towards the east. There is cultivated only one kind, which is that sown in the rainy season, and called Krishna Til.

#### REAPING, THRASHING, AND PROFITS.

Having thus detailed all the articles cultivated, I shall make some remarks that are common to all:—  
 ✓ In this district one of the most heavy charges attending the cultivation of grain is the reaping and thrashing. No man in tolerably easy circumstances performs any part of this labour, farther than to watch, in order as much as he can to check the pilfering of the labourers, in which, however, it is alleged that few have great success, and indeed many of the

REAPING AND  
THRASHING.



higher castes are too proud and indolent to pay sufficient attention to their interests.

Except in a few parts towards Dinajpur, the servants who hold the plough are not engaged for the time of harvest; but are then allowed to share in the profits of reaping. Each master endeavours as much as possible to secure its advantages to his own servants and dependents; because at other seasons he gives them inadequate wages, and without an extraordinary profit at harvest they could not subsist. In many cases, however, the proprietor is not able to confine the profits to his own dependents, and many people, especially old women, rush upon the field to assist in the labour and spoil. This is especially the case with the fields of the plants which are reared for producing oil and with those of pulse. The rate of hire is lower for these than for rice by in general about a quarter part; but the opportunity for pilfering is greater, and weakly persons can go through the whole labour; as the grain is usually beaten or rubbed out from the husks on the field, and the seed alone is carried to the farmer's house.

The harvest of rice and other culmiferous grains is carried on in the same slovenly manner that is usual in India. The reaper merely cuts off the ears and carries them home to the farmer, by which means the straw is greatly injured, and a great part of it is neglected, or left on the field to be eaten by the cattle. This part is called Nara; and if wanted for thatch or fodder, other labourers must be hired to cut it and carry it home. The small quantity of straw cut with the ears is called Poyal, and is the most usual and in some places the only fodder.

The whole straw that is reaped and the grain are carried home on the labourers' shoulders, and cattle are never employed for the purpose, a degree of stupidity that seems astonishing. In most places the same people both reap and thrash the grain. The rate is always fixed by a share of the produce, which varies for rice from one-fifth to one-eighth part of the whole crop; for which the people cut off the ears and carry them to the owner's house, beat them out, and deliver



the grain clean to the master. In other parts one set of people cut and carry home the ears, and get one-ninth bundle of the ears. These allowances however are not all. In some parts every man who cuts is allowed to bring his wife to the field at noon, in order to take him some refreshment, and then, besides what she pilfers, she avowedly takes about two sers of grain, for what is called Khari or Lara. Besides, the reaper when he goes home in the evening carries with him a small bunch of ears, which usually contains as much grain as his wife took. In other places it is only the servants of the farm that are allowed this indulgence.

Where the same people reap and beat out the rice, they usually tread out the grain with their own feet, rubbing the ears until the whole is separated, and the miserable nature of this operation seems to be in some measure the cause of the enormous expense. At Dhamdaha, where the reapers do not thrash, the farmers furnish cattle for treading out the grain, and the expense is a trifle,  $\frac{1}{100}$  of the crop. The workman gets three sers (72 s. w.) of rough rice a day, and in that time two men with the use of four oxen can tread out ten *mans* or 400 sers of grain. This however is far from being clean; but in such a state it is often sold. Of 200 measures of rough rice, as taken by accident at different times from the common market, I found that they contained more than  $12\frac{1}{2}$  of impurities; and in the operation of cleaning they lost rather more than two per cent. of their weight.

The expense, as I have said, attending these operations is enormous, partly from the avowed allowance and partly from frauds, at the extent of which the farmers can only conjecture, and which must differ much from the various degrees of individuals' care. In their conjectures different people varied very much, some saying that the reaping and thrashing costs one-fourth of the whole crop, and others alleging that one-eighth part is sufficient. In all the estimates of produce which I received, this expense was deducted, as is usual in this district, where every means are taken to conceal the produce, owing to the rents having often been levied according to the nature of the crop.



In stating the gross produce I have not ventured to make an allowance for these frauds, but have only added to the net proceeds the avowed rate of hire.

In all the western parts of the district the rice and other grains are preserved, during the rainy season, in vessels made of unbaked clay, which have generally covers of the same material; but this, although of the utmost consequence is too often neglected because it is attended with some more trouble. Where there is a cover, a circular hole is made near the bottom. This can be stopped with a plug, and the grain can be taken out as wanted. These vessels are called Kuthis, and are very useful; for if the cover is well fitted, the grain is not absolutely spoilt although the hut is burned, which is a very common occurrence. If there is no cover, a great part is lost, although towards the bottom some part is generally saved. The loss from this is so great that those who are so negligent ought perhaps to be fined; were it not that this might encourage a system of interrupting domestic privacy that would be a greater evil.

These Kuthis might with great advantage be introduced in Bengal, where the loss of grain by fire is enormous. They are made by the men and women at their leisure hours, and cost little or nothing. Their use is however attended with considerable inconvenience; for they occupy so much room in the wretched huts of the natives that scarcely space enough remains for the poorer people to stretch themselves out to sleep. In the dry weather, therefore, the people prefer keeping their grain in pits, which occupy no room and are entirely secure from fire, which at that season is exceedingly common. The pit is lined with straw, filled with grain, and covered with a good coat of earth. In the rainy season the soil is too damp to admit of these pits being used, but they are by far the safest and most commodious receptacles for grain. Merchants and great farmers have granaries like those in Dinajpur, and are equally negligent about fire, a circumstance that would seem to require the interposition of the police.



On the profits of this kind of cultivation, I have little to add, or alter, from what I have said in Dinajpur. The expense of

PROFITS. harvest, as I have said, is here enormous, and ought to reduce

the profit of the farmer lower than in that district; but his ploughmen's wages are lower. This lowness of reward is again made up to these men by the profits which they make in harvest, so that on the whole there seems to be little or no difference in the gains that in the two districts attend the cultivation of grain, when it is conducted by the farmer's own stock. Those, however, who employ men to cultivate for a share usually make less than in Dinajpur, because they are at the expense of reaping their half of the crop, which deducts at least one-seventh part from their gross proceeds. Careful men, even allowing them neither to keep stock nor to labour, have as a profit the difference between the rent and six-fourteenths of the value of the crop. This profit is so great that many subsist by its means alone; and even on very inconsiderable portions of land, such as 30 or 40 acres, find a means of subsistence without either manual labour or stock.

#### 5. PLANTS CULTIVATED AS VEGETABLES FOR THE TABLE.

In the thirteenth Statistical Table it will be seen that I have estimated the land in kitchen gardens at 85,000 bigahs, and that about 6,600 bigahs in the fields are cultivated with vegetables for the table. This is not however the whole. In the thirteenth Table several plants belonging to this class, which are cultivated on a larger scale or that are reared along with articles belonging to other classes, have been referred to separate heads, which I have done wherever I have been able to procure an estimate of the quantity or particular value of the produce. The articles to which I allude as vegetables cultivated in the fields are generally in very small plots, in which a vast variety of things are intermixed; but the most important are the baygan, capsicum, sweet-potatoe, mallow, and cucurbitaceous fruits. The supply is therefore more copious than in Ronggopur,



and many people make gardening a profession. It must, however, be observed that in both districts, as well as in Dinajpur, but more especially here, a very great proportion of the vegetables are reared on the roofs of the huts or on little arbours that are contiguous; and that this proportion has not been brought to account.

The profession of a gardener, both among the Hindus and Moslems of this country, is considered as very discreditable, the people who practise the art are therefore so stupid and fearful that I could procure from them no sort of account of either their management or the produce of their gardens, on which the smallest reliance could be placed. Each family has a garden which contains from about one-third to one-sixth of an English acre, but they do not live by the produce of this alone. They buy by wholesale the vegetables which the farmers rear, and retail these at the markets, and they occasionally plough or assist in the other labours of husbandry. They water their gardens from small wells, and pay a heavier rent than many of those who cultivate grain; but not more so than what is paid by many of the low tribes. The following account will therefore chiefly consist of a few observations on the different kinds that are reared:—

*(a) Plants used as warm seasoning.*

Of plants used as warm seasoning, which in this district are usually called by the generic name *Latkana*, 1. Ginger is everywhere raised in a quantity sufficient for the consumption of the country, which is not very considerable. This is commonly raised in gardens. That which is reared for exportation is chiefly cultivated on poor lands, as I have mentioned in my account of Dinajpur and Ronggopur. In such situations it is mixed with a great many other articles, as will be seen from the Tables of produce. I have not yet seen the flower of the ginger that is cultivated here in the fields, and shall not venture to give an opinion on its botanical name; but like that found at Goyalpara its leaves are hairy. It would therefore seem to be different from the plant which



Dr. Roxburgh has seen (As. Res. XI. p. 28), as he quotes as synonymous the *Inschi* of Rhede, and the *Zinziber majus* of Rumphius, both of which plants have smooth leaves.

2. Turmeric also is reared in the gardens of every part of the district for the consumption of the country, which is very great. Some is also exported, and this is reared on fields of a poor soil, intermixed with a great variety of other articles, as will be seen in the Tables of produce. I here have found the plant in flower and can observe no difference between it and what I found at Goyalpara. I presume therefore that the natives were mistaken in supposing that the turmeric of that place differs from what is commonly found in other parts of India.

3-5. *Capsicum* is not so much used here as towards the east; but still great quantities are reared. The common kind is the Desi Marich or *Capsicum annicum*, but there are also to be occasionally found the Pahari Marich or *Capsicum frutescens*, and the Gob or Doma Marich or *Capsicum grossum*. The same name is often given to black pepper.

6, 7. Two kinds of onion are cultivated here: one called simply Peyaj, the other called Behariya, as having come from Behar. These I suppose are the same with the Choti and Baro of Ronggopur, but this I have had no opportunity of ascertaining. The Peyaj is sometimes called Pun Peyaj, and is raised from seeds. The Behariya is also called Dorangga, is propagated by separating the roots into different portions, for each root produces many bulbs, and each bulb like garlic is composed of several subdivisions, each capable of yielding a plant. The Pun Peyaj grows in the same manner.

8. Garlic (Rasun) is not so much used here as in Ronggopur. This is the same with the garlic of Europe.

9. Methi or fenugreek is not more used than in Ronggopur.

10—13. I have only seen four carminative seeds that are used here, and they are less employed than in the east. In the dialect of Mithila these are called Dhaniya (*Coriandrum sativum*), Suya (*Anethum foeniculum*), Songp (*Anethum graveolens*) and



Ajoyan (*Ammi indicum*, Rumph). The last is not known in Europe; the three first are our Coriander, Fennel and Anise.

(b) *Plants cultivated for what the natives call Tarkari.*

In this district these are not so much used as in Dinajpur, the people preferring the more leafy plants. Still however they are of considerable importance.

The Baygan is the most common plant of this kind, and is found of three species or varieties. The first and most common has no prickles on its leaves or flower, and the fruit is of an oval shape. At Bholahat this was called Kala Baygan, but it must be observed that even of the most common plants the native nomenclature is extremely confused. At Bholahat also they had another Baygan which had prickles on the leaves and flower, and its fruit was round like a large apple, and was called Ram Baygan. In Dinajpur this name was given to a plant growing wild, which I take to be the *Solanum Zeylonicum*; but the Ram Baygan of Bholahat is cultivated, and is the *Solanum insanum* of Willdenow. In the western parts this prickly kind grows much larger, and is called Golta. The third kind, on account of producing fruit at all seasons, is called the Bara Masiya Baygan. It is prickly all over, and has a cylindrical fruit. It is not common, I indeed observed it only in the division of Bahadurgunj, and it seems to have escaped the notice of the two great Dutch botanists of India. In the western parts, I am told that they have a cylindrical kind, but it has few prickles, and is called Chenguya.

The European potatoe near Puraniya, and also near Nathpur, has by the exertions of Mr. Smith come into very general use, not as common food but as a Tarkari. In other parts it is totally neglected.

The *Convolvulus Batatas* is much cultivated. In the dialect of Mithila it is called Aluya. In the east part of the district it is called Shukurkund. In the north it is more usually called Lal Alu or red potatoe.

In most parts of this district the Arums or *Caladiums* are much neglected, in others they are



very much cultivated. At the capital, and all towards the north of it, a small kind is in very common use, and I observed many fields planted with it alone. It is simply called Kachu, being the only kind used there, but it seems to be the same with the Mukhi of Dinajpur. West from the Kosi the gardeners rear much of a kind called Arbi, which some allege to be the same with the above; but owing to manure it grows more luxuriantly. Without seeing both in flower, which I have not done, it would be impossible to say whether or not they are of the same species. Their appearance however, is different, and they require a different treatment. The roots of the Arbi when ripe weigh from  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. to 1 lb., and many adhere to one cluster of stems, which proceed from a common origin. In the beginning of spring a cutting of a root, containing a young shoot, is planted. In the rainy season many thick fibres grow from the bottom of the shoot, which is elongated into stems bearing leaves. From among these proceed several new shoots, each producing a cluster of these stems, contiguous and adhering to the first. Towards the end of the rainy season, many roundish bulbs form underground, adhering to this collection of clusters of stems, and are in full maturity from the middle of December to the middle of January, when they are taken up and kept in a pot for use. They do not preserve longer than a month, as when they begin to shoot the bulb withers. Not only the bulbs but the stems which support the leaves (*petioli*), and the young leaves when about to shoot, and while still rolled up, are eaten.

In the same parts the people raise an *Arum*, called Aruya or Moranggi Kachu, which has a round root weighing eight to ten pounds. The people have never observed the flower. It is ripe in October and November, when the stems die, and the roots are dug up as wanted for three or four months. The roots are cut for seed, and in May and June are planted out in considerable fields, about a cubit distant from each other. If they get manure, a bigah of six cubits a Katha will produce 30 *mans*, which sell at about six annas for the *man* ( $82\frac{1}{8}$  s. w. the ser). If the manure is neglected, as is usually the case, the produce is a



third less. At this rate a Calcutta bigah or one-third of an acre, if manured, would give  $13\frac{1}{2}$  *mans*, worth very nearly five rupees. The weight will be about  $13\frac{3}{4}$  Calcutta *mans*, or 1131 lbs. The soil suited for this root is poor sandy land, which is very low rented; but the cultivation is rather troublesome, as it is mostly done with the hoe. The root is often used as a Tarkari; but many breakfast entirely on it boiled, sometimes adding a little salt or oil, and often without any seasoning. The younger leaves and stems (*petioli*) are also used as green vegetables (Sak Tarkari). From its appearance it comes nearer the *Caladium sativum* of Rumphius than any other species that I have observed; but if it is of the same species, it does not grow nearly so luxuriantly as that plant does at Goyalpara.

In the eastern parts of the division the Man and Sola Kachus, as described in Dinajpur and Ronggopur, are also found; but I did not observe nor hear of them in the parts of the district that are reckoned in Mithila.

The Ol or *Tacca sativa* of Rumphius is an Arum used in every part of the district, but nowhere in any considerable quantity.

Yams or *Dioscoreas*, called Alu by the natives, are here very much used, not only as Tarkari but many people make an entire meal on these roots, as is done on potatoes by some nations of Europe. They are boiled and eaten with a little salt or oil, if the people like these seasonings. It is very possible that several species may have escaped my notice, and that those which I have seen may be called by very different names in different parts; for except in such great articles as wheat and barley, the native nomenclature of the productions of nature, even of those in very common use, is extremely confused.

The most common, and that which is cultivated on the greatest scale, is the Suthni. This approaches very near to the *Dioscorea aculeata* of the Encyclopedie, or to the *Combilium* of Rumphius, which in the account of Ronggopur has been mentioned under the name of Kangta Alu; but this wants the thorny branches by which the root of that kind is defended.



Cuttings are planted in large fields of a sandy soil between the middle of April and the middle of June, sometimes by itself, sometimes mixed with the *Cytisus Cajan*, to which are sometimes added cotton, sometimes the *Corchorus* that is used for greens, or the *Hibiscus* which is used for making ropes. The plant is allowed to lie on the ground, although were it supported it would climb like the others of the same tribe. The roots are oval and about the size of a potatoe, a great many being suspended from the bottom of one stem. The inside is of a pale yellow colour. The produce is said to be very great, as may be seen by the Tables. This cultivation seems to be confined to the western parts of the district.

The other yams are cultivated in gardens alone, on a small scale, and their stems are allowed to climb upon the trees or on posts. Very nearly related to the above is a yam, here called Mau Alu. The root of this is surrounded by many prickly branches, like the Kangta Alu of Ronggopur; but it differs in a few particulars from that plant, and it has no resemblance to the Mau Alu of Goyalpara or the *Ubiwm palmatum* of Rumphius. It is confined to the eastern parts. In this district the Mau Alu of Goyalpara is called Ratuya, and is distinguished from that which follows by having six or eight longitudinal membranes running along its stem. The root within is a pale yellowish or red.

The best and most common garden yam in this district is the Khamba Alu, which is the *Dioscorea alata* of modern botanists. This has a green stem with four longitudinal membranous wings, and is the *Ubiwm vulgare album* of Rumphius, but this red variety, or the Katsjil Kalengu of Rheede, has been introduced from the west of India, and is the finest yam that I have ever tasted. The root is perfectly white and free from strings, and I think is far superior to such potatoes as grow in India. It differs as a botanical species very little from the Devipat of Ronggopur, but has no prickles.

There is another yam called Karchuki, which is occasionally planted in the western parts of the district. The bulbs, which grow on the stem above



ground, are alone eaten. These do not exceed half a pound in weight and are usually smaller, from one ounce upwards. When the stems fall on the ground, so that these bulbs receive nourishment from thence, they grow larger, but acquire a bad taste and are unfit for use. A bulb is put in the ground about the 1st of March. The plant rises about the 1st of June, and is allowed to spread over huts, hedges or trees. The bulbs are ripe for eating from the middle of September to the middle of November, and then if not collected for use drop to the ground, where they take root. The bulbs do not keep, and must be used as they ripen.

The common radish is very plentiful in the eastern parts of the district, but in the western is less used. There are two kinds, one white and one red, which is most common. Both have long roots and only differ in colour. In the dialect of Mithila they are called Muri. The red kind is called Makar from the season in which it ripens, and Dhengri from the hardness which it acquires when it is old. The white is called Newari, probably from having been introduced from Nepal, which is inhabited by Newars. This kind is a month later.

Carrots are only used by people to eat raw, or as a medicine for cattle that are valuable. Those who have large herds, on this account, cultivate this valuable root in considerable plots.

Plantains in many places of the district, especially near the Kosi and Ganges, are exceedingly scarce and almost everywhere are extremely bad, and fit only for being used as Tarkari. This I am told proceeds entirely from want of care. Mr. Smith brought some of the fine kinds from Calcutta and planted them near Gondwara, where they succeeded very well and the fruit was much admired by the neighbours: but no one has thought of propagating the kind, although it may be said to require almost no trouble. The kind called Kangcha Kala in Dinajpur is known here by the same name, and is the most common.

In the western parts no one uses the stems for eating. The leaves of all kinds are used as platters,

but the supply is very scanty. All the kinds are used in cookery, and all are occasionally allowed to ripen, and are eaten as fruit. The kind of which the stems in Dinajpur are eaten, and the leaves reserved for platters, is in Mithila called Athiya, and is used in the same manner as the others. The most common kind for eating in Mithila is called Karkaliya and is the same with the Kangthali of Dinajpur, a name that is used in the eastern parts of the district. The Malbhog of Ronggopur is known here also by the same name. It is very bad. In the western parts they have another kind called Pechiya. In the same parts is also another kind called Bagner. The Palal of Dinajpur and the eastern parts of the district towards the west is called Palwal, and is very scarce and dear.

The Dhandhul of Ronggopur in the eastern parts of the district is known by the same name and is very common. In the western parts it is called Jhingga. The Jhingga of Ronggopur is known by the same name in the eastern part of this district; but in the western it is called Jhingni, and in the rainy season is one of the most common vegetables. In this district is also another species of *Luffa*, of which I find no account in the botanical works that I possess. It is called Satpatiya Jhingni, and may be readily distinguished from the former in having its fruit disposed in clusters (*racemus*), instead of there being only one fruit to each leaf. It grows at the same season with the common Jhingni. It is usually reared on the roofs of the huts, or on the dry hedges by which these are surrounded; while the common Jhingni is most usually sown in the fields. Still more related to the Dhandhul is another species of *Luffa*, which is common in all parts of this district, and is called in various parts Ghi Tarai, Ghira, and Ghiura. A few seeds are dropped, in the beginning of the rainy season, near the hut, and the plant is allowed to climb on the roof or along the fence. The fruit is fit for use in the beginning of the cold season, while it is green.

The Karla of Dinajpur and Ronggopur in the western parts of this district is called Karela, and is very much cultivated on sandy lands.



The Kumra of Ronggopur is here not so common. In the dialect of Mithila it is called Konghara.

In the south-east of the district the Mitha Kumra of Dinajpur and Ronggopur, or the common pumpkin, is called Vilati Kumra, as supposed to have been introduced from Europe. In the western parts it is called Kadima, and is everywhere common.

The gourd which in Dinajpur and other parts of Bengal is called Layu is known by that name in the eastern parts of the district, but is more commonly called Kaddu, I am told, a Persian name. In the dialect of Mithila it is called Sajuyal. It is exceedingly common, and next to the Baygan is the Tarkari most used. It always is reared on the roofs of the huts.

The Chichingga of Dinajpur and Ronggopur is here also in no great request, and in the dialect of Mithali is called Kaita, but under this name is also included the Dudkusi of Ronggopur.

The Sim of Dinajpur and Ronggopur is everywhere known by the same name, and in this district is a good deal used. The varieties are very numerous. Towards the northern frontier is found a Sim which constitutes a very distinct species. It is called the Parbatiya Sim, probably from having been introduced from the hills, and is the *Dolichos gladiatus* of Willdenow.

The Labiyah of Ronggopur is here called Barbati, and though a fine vegetable is little used. A good deal is reared in the fields for its grain.

The *Hibiscus esculentus* is rather more used by the natives of this district than by those towards the east. In the eastern parts it is known by the name Dhengra, but is also called Meru, and from a far fetched resemblance to the *Luffas*, it is often called Ram Palwal and Ram Tarai.

The stems of several *Amaranthi* are used as a Tarkari, as in Dinajpur and Ronggopur. They shall be mentioned among the leafy greens.

(c) *Plants cultivated as Greens.*

These plants, which in the dialect of Bengal are called Sak, in that of Mithila are known by the name

Bhaji, or plants fit for being fried. They are much more used than in Dinajpur and Ronggopur. Among these I shall first take notice of the species of *Amaranthus*, the leaves of which are used as a green, and the stems as Tarkari, and begin with the *Blitum indicum album* of Rumphius, which Willdenow says is his *Amaranthus polygamus*. There are in this district three varieties which have obtained different names, and by the natives are considered as distinct species, although I cannot discover any mark by which a botanist would allow that they can be distinguished. They all are in season at the same times and possess the same qualities; so that distinguishing them, were it even possible by any clearly marked characters, would be of little utility. I suspect, however, that among them may be found the different species of *Amaranthus* called *polygamus*, *gangeticus* and *oleraceus* by Willdenow, as I cannot with any certainty refer them more to the descriptions of one than to those of the others. In the dialect of Mithila these plants are called Chhuriya, Thariya and Bhola, and there is another called Marsa, which I have not seen in all its stages; but so far as I have seen, I can perceive no essential difference. These are the Dengguya of Ronggopur, and are a good deal used.

In the south-east corner of the district I found a kind resembling the above, but abundantly distinguished by wanting the bristly ends that the flowers of the others have. It is perhaps the *Amaranthus oleraceus* of the Encyclopédie. In Gaur it is called Rarhi Ponka.

One of the most common greens of this country is the Gendhari of the Mithila dialect, called Notiya or Khuriya in Dinajpur and in the adjacent parts of this district. It is almost everywhere cultivated, although in many parts it grows wild. Although this is the *Blitum terrestre* of Rumphius, which by modern botanists is called the *Amaranthus tristis*, I can find nothing in the plant by which it can be distinguished from their descriptions of the common European plant that they call *Amaranthus Blitum*. It differs from the above-mentioned kinds in lying flat on the ground, while they grow erect. In some places



different names are given according as the stems are red or green, but these differences seem to be owing to mere accidental circumstances.

The Konka Notiya of Ronggopur is in some places known by the same name (Kankanatiya) in others it is called Lal Sak and Kankakhuriya. In the dialect of Mithila its proper name would appear to be Rota. In the cold season this vegetable is a great deal used, especially towards the western parts of the district.

In the central and northern parts of the district, a great many sow *Chenopodiums*, of which they reckon many different kinds, but they were so confused in their nomenclature that I can say nothing positive on the subject. The only one which I can refer with tolerable certainty to the descriptions of European botanists is the *C. Botrys*, which was called Jhali Dulali, and has leaves divided into many narrow lobes. The others have entire leaves. The wild kinds are here called simply Bathuya, and are low crooked plants, whereas the cultivated kinds are tall and straight, and their foliage being thick and long is very ornamental. Both wild and cultivated kinds differ in colour, some having green stems and leaves while others have these parts beautifully stained with red. I perceive no other differences on which any dependance can be placed, and in the eyes of a botanist these are of very little or no importance.

A good deal of spinach is used in the eastern part of this district, and the European kind is beginning to spread about the capital. In the western parts spinach is not known. The seed is always made to sprout by steeping it in water before it is sown.

The Mallow or Lapha (*Malva verticillata*) is much used in the cold season, and entire fields are covered with it. The *Trigonella corniculata* is a little used about the capital, where it is called Piring. The Fenugreek is more used, especially with fish.

In some parts of the district, I am assured, the *Corchorus* which is used for cordage is the species called by botanists *Olitorius*, while that used as a green is the *Capsularis*, just the reverse of what is the case in some other places; but whether or not this is

universally the case, I cannot say; not having been prepared for such a difference in the application of two very distinct plants to use, I have not everywhere been able to ascertain the point. The *Corchorus* that is used for the pot is, however, everywhere of a distinct species from that used for ropes, and in the dialect of Mithila is called simply Patuya, while the other species is called San Patuya, and near the Ganges, Meghnal or San. In Ronggopur both the *Capsularis* and *Olitorius* were used for making ropes and paper, and the latter was reckoned to be the best material; while another species which I have seen nowhere else was reserved for the pot. This kind of pot-herb is much used.

The *Basella lucida* is very little used. In the dialect of Mithila it is called Pore.

The *Phlomis biflora*, or perhaps *decemdentata*, which in Ronggopur is called Munijholok, in Gaur is called Ratan, and there a little is cultivated.

The *Carthamus* or Kusum is a very common green and is sown in fields to a considerable extent. It gives the flowers as a dye, the leaves as a pot-herb, and the seed for oil, without its growth being in any manner affected; so that it is a valuable plant.

At Puraniya, I found a species of *Brassica* called Karim, which is cultivated as a pot-herb but seems little to deserve notice. I have not been able to trace it in such botanical works as I possess.

The natives here reject our cabbage, and indeed almost all our vegetables, whether from motives of religion or from a difference of taste I cannot say, a satisfactory answer on such points being seldom procurable. I heard of a green called Popa, which is used in a few places, but I did not see it.

(d) *Plants used as an acid seasoning.*

In this district these are not much used, and are called Khatta. The most common by far is the mango, and near Gaur the tamarind. In every part a little of the sorrel (*Rumex*) called by the natives Chuka is cultivated, and is the only herb of an acid kind that can be said to belong to this class. The



*Hibiscus cannabinus* is indeed in universal use, but it is reared chiefly on account of the ropes which are made from its bark, as will be afterwards mentioned.

In the western parts of the district they reckon two species of lime, the Jamir and Kagji. The Jamir is the *Citrus* which in Ronggopur is called Gongra. This seems to be represented by Rumphius in the 2nd figure 26th plate, 2nd volume of the *Flora Amboinensis*; but cannot be reconciled with the description which refers to that engraving. In this valuable work, it must be observed that owing to the carelessness of Burman the editor, such transpositions are common. The Kagji of this district includes both the Kagji and Pati of Ronggopur. The latter is the *Limonellas* of Rumphius, 2nd volume, plate 29.

In the south-east part of the district I found a lime called the Kuruna, which is probably different from that so named in Ronggopur, because its fruit is strongly though agreeably acid, and highly odorous. It is oval, ends in a point like a nipple, is smooth, juicy, and about four inches in the length of its longer diameter, and is one of the finest kinds that I know, but seems very rare.

The *Carissa Carandas* is here sometimes but rarely used, as an acid seasoning in cookery, and is to be found in some native gardens. In the dialect of Mithila it is called Karonda. In Gaur it is called Karamja, which is the Bengalese name (Koromja).

(e) *Fruit and gardens.*

The Europeans in this district seem to have paid less attention to gardening than in Ronggopur, and their fruit and vegetables are in general very inferior. The only thing among them which I saw that could deserve the name of a garden was that belonging to the Commercial Resident at English Bazar. About Gaur, indeed, the soil and climate are probably favourable, but in the other parts, I suspect these are little adapted to at least the Chinese fruits.

At Nathpur in the year 1810, the peach, leechee, and lauquat entirely failed, and the wampee did not ripen until very late. There were some bad apples,



but no plums nor pears. The Avocado pear has not, so far as I observed, been introduced. It is probable that owing to the dryness of the climate the vine would thrive, but this has not been attempted. Pease, cabbage, and other common vegetables succeed well enough; but the artichoke, which thrives so well at Patna, and which would probably answer in the north-western parts of the district, has been neglected. Mr. Smith has introduced the Jerusalem artichoke at Nathpur, where it grows most luxuriantly. The natives seems to look at it with total indifference, although I should have imagined that it would have suited their taste remarkably, being well fitted for curries; but they have an aversion to taste anything that was not known to their fathers.

The fruit of the natives is altogether execrable, except just in the south-east corner, where there are fine mangoes, of which and of the other fruit-bearing trees I have already given an account when treating of the natural productions. In many parts there is scarcely even a pine-apple, which here requires less trouble than a cabbage does in Europe; yet this and the mango are the only fruits which the natives possess, that Europeans would consider as entitled to the name, the plantains, as I have said, being altogether execrable.

In the dialect of Mithila the Goyava (*Psidium*) is called Amrud. It is not common and is execrable. The Papiya is common, and is called Papita. The *Eugenia Jambos* is pretty common, and as in Bengal is called Golab Jam. The *Citrus decumanus* is called Batabi. It is just beginning to be introduced, and so little pains is bestowed on it that it is scarcely eatable. The mulberry as a fruit is deservedly neglected, being of a very poor quality. The pomegranate (Dalim) is very common, and very bad. The peach is called Aru and Satalu. Some natives have it in their gardens, but the fruit is wretched. The *Anona reticulata* in Mithila is called simply Ata, and in all situations is totally abominable. The *Anona squamosa* is here very bad, and is called Sarifah, which is a Persian word. At Bholahat some of the natives had trees of the *Eugenia Mallaccensis*, which they



called Saphriam, the name which in other parts of Bengal is given to the *Psidium*: but concerning all these trees, being exotics, the natives speak with no certainty.

The musk melon is totally unknown, but they have two kinds of the common melon (*Cucumis Melo* L.) both very insipid, although they have a fine scent. The one which on the outside is finely variegated with green and yellow, is called Phut when ripe and Kangkri when green. The other, which is straw-coloured without variegation, is called Madhu Phuti or Madhu Kangkri, that is, the honey melon. They are both ripe in the rainy season. On the sides of the Ganges water melons (Tarbuj) are much cultivated, but in other parts they are very scarce.

They have three kinds of the *Cucumis sativus*, the Bhadai and Vaisakhi Khiras, and the Songyas. The two former are said to be merely the same plant cultivated at two seasons, and seem to be the same with the Khira Sosa of Ronggopur. The first crop is ripe from the middle of August to the middle of September, the second crop lasts from the middle of April to the middle of May. The Songyas seem to be the same with the Pala Sosa of Ronggopur.

Flower gardens are almost entirely neglected. Those who sell garlands pick the flowers from a few bushes or trees that grow half wild about the villages. In the whole district I observed just four gardens belonging to natives, that could be considered as intended for ornament, and these were of no great size and far from neat. The largest and neatest is at Nathpur, and belongs to a Hindu merchant. Next to that is the one at Bahadurgunj, belonging to the Munsuf, a Brahman. At Arariya are two, one belonging to the Jumadar of the Thanah, a Moslem, and the other to a prostitute.

In this district a few plants are cultivated as medicines, or sometimes as perfumes. The Kalajiri or *Nigella sativa* is reared in the fields, as will be seen by the Tables of produce. The Kashni is a species of *Chicoreum*, the seed of which is much used in medicine. I have seen it in Nepal, and it is sown in this district, in quantities sufficient for the demand.

The seed has little or no taste nor smell and probably little efficacy; but it is used in hæmorrhoids. On sicca weight (Zuj) washed, rubbed in a mortar into a paste, and mixed with a little sugar and water, is a dose given internally.

In gardens they rear the following plants:—

The common cress (Halim) which is used only as medicine.

The Isabgol is probably the *Plantago Asiatica* of European botanists. Like the *Psyllium*, a plant of the same family, its seeds when thrown into water become mucilaginous like sago, and afford a fine nourishment for those who have febrile complaints. In this country they are also used as an external application in hæmorrhoids.

In this district two species of *Ocymum* are reared in gardens, and possess seeds with nearly similar qualities. The history of the Indian *Ocymums* given by the systematic botanists of Europe is attended with considerable difficulty, so that I cannot refer these plants with much certainty to the systematic names; but so far as I can judge, the finest plant by far of the tribe, which here is called Ban Tulosi, is the *Ocymum gratissimum* of the Encyclopædie: it is no doubt the *Ocimum citronatum* of Rumphius (volume 5, plate 93, fig. 1.) and is probably the Kattu Tirtava of the Hortus Malabaricus (vol. 10, plate 86), although the anthers of that plant are white, and those of our plant are yellow, but in every other point except this trifle the description given in that work is applicable to our plant. Both the Hindi and Malabar names signify the wild *Ocymum* or Basil, but the plant is usually cultivated near the houses.

The other species, I think, agrees with the description given in the Encyclopédie of the *Ocymum hirsutum*. In Bengal it is called Babuyi Tulosi, and in the dialect of Mithila the plant is called Najbo. It seems to me to be *Ocymum Indicum album* of Rumphius (vol. 5, p. 263), and the Soladi Tirtava of the Hortus Malabaricus (vol. 19, page 87). In Malabar the Hindus consider this plant as sacred to Vishnu; but that is not the case in Bengal, where the Muhammedans have selected it as an emblem of their faith.



The seeds of both plants seem to possess nearly the same qualities, are considered by the natives as cooling, are called by the same name Tokhmaraingya, and certainly, like sago, are a fine nourishment for weak stomachs in febrile disorders.

Near the huts I did not observe the *Acorus verus*, but in many places they rear other plants, which are often sold. The *Hibiscus Abelmoschus* or Kasturi is reared in some places for its seeds, that have a smell like musk, which is called by the same name. The natives dry the seed over the fire, grind it with a little water, and rub the paste on the skin and among the hair, in order to give them a perfume. It would not answer with our European ladies, who imagine that their colour adds to their beauty, but the Indian girls do not think that they suffer a loss by a trifling change of hue.

Many people rear near their houses a plant called Beada, although it is also found wild; but it requires little or no trouble, and it is convenient to have it at hand. The root is always used fresh, when it is almost as yellow as turmeric, and has little smell. Its taste is a mixture of bitter and sweet, with little or no pungency. It is rubbed between two stones, and the paste is applied to any part that is in pain, when the cause of the disease is supposed to arise from cold, or is accompanied by swelling. It is also toasted, and given internally to people whose bellies are supposed to be swelled from heat.

The name Beada is said merely to signify that the plant is not ginger, but implies that, although not the true ginger, it has a very strong affinity to that plant, which is in some measure true. It is the *Zinziber Zerumbet* of Dr. Roxburgh, mentioned in his valuable paper in the 11th volume of the Asiatic Researches. Notwithstanding his authority, in general, is uncommonly good, I think that this is the *Lampujum minus* of Rumphius (vol. 5, p. 148). His *Lampujum* is, I have no doubt, the *Zinziber Cassumanar* of Dr. Roxburgh, for he says that the root has a strong aromatic smell, which is the case with the *Cassumanar* but by no means with the Beada. The name Zerumbet given to this plant by



Linnaeus and others had probably be better changed, if I am right in supposing that it has arisen from a wrong quotation of Rumphius. Nor should it follow the synonym of Rumphius to be given to the Cassumunar. Rumphius nowhere says that his *Lampujum* is the *Zerumbet*; he allows, indeed, that it may be called a wild species of that root, or rather of Zedoary, but he appropriates another chapter for the description of the true *Zerumbet* (vol. 5, p. 168). Particular attention ought to be paid in quoting Rumphius, as he is the author who gives by far the best account of the uses and qualities of Indian plants.

In the same manner is raised a plant called Kachur, which is evidently the same name with Cachur, said to be the Hindi appellation of the *Curcuma Zerumbet* of Dr. Roxburgh; but the Kachur of this district has not the stain on the leaves by which Dr. Roxburgh distinguishes his species. I have not seen the flower, and therefore shall not pretend to say whether it is the *Zirumbed* of Rumphius; but like that its leaves are supported by long stems (*petiolî*). Its root when fresh is pale yellow, deepest in the centre, and has a strong smell which the natives consider as agreeable; but I cannot say that it strikes me as such, although it is not at all offensive. Its taste has a strong warmth like ginger. It is cut in thin slices and dried, and is then rubbed with water to a paste, which is applied to the skin as a perfume. The dry root retains its smell and colour, but loses a considerable part of its pungency. In the western parts it is reared in almost every garden, and is sold by the druggists at almost every market. The powdered root is also given internally as a carminative.

Another kind of turmeric, called Kari Haldi, is reared in the same manner. The root is cut in pieces and dried, and the powder is given with warm water in case of costiveness, which it is said to remove. About two or three drams form a dose. The dried root has a warm, bitterish, but not disagreeable taste, and its smell, in my opinion, is more agreeable than that which the natives use for a perfume. Its colour is not black as from its name one might expect, when dry it is pale, approaching to white, but when fresh



it is a pale yellow, rather darker, however, than that of the former, and it has then less smell. The name, Kari, seems to be owing to the stains on the leaves, which mark this clearly as the *Curcuma Zerumbet* of Dr. Roxburgh. The name Kachur or Cachura seems, therefore, even in the Hindi dialect to be given to two distinct species described by this able botanist; and concerning these there are considerable difficulties. This plant with the stained leaves, from that circumstance is evidently the *Kua* of Rheede, who particularly mentions it; and the *Kua* of Rheede is no doubt the *Amomum Zedoaria* of Willdenow, who quotes the figure of Rheede as being a good representation of the plant which he means; yet Dr. Roxburgh considers his Zerumbet as different from the *Zedoaria* of Willdenow, although he admits that the root of the latter is the Zedoary of the shops. I cannot either agree with Dr. Roxburgh in supposing that the *Kua* of Rheede and the Zirumbed of Rumphius are the same. One has flowers proceeding from among the centre of the leaves, and may be the Kachur of this district; the flowers and leaves of the other grow quite separate, and spring at different seasons. It is true that a native of Malabar called the plant of Rumphius *Kua*; but whoever trusts to the confused nomenclature of such people will be miserably deceived. Rumphius in describing the Zirumbed says that he has never seen the plant which produces the genuine Zedoary.

#### 6. PLANTS REARED FOR MAKING THREAD OR ROPES.

The *Corchorus* is by far the most common. It is probable that, as in Ronggopur, both the *capsularis* and *olitorius* are cultivated for the fibres, but it was the *olitorius* alone that I saw cultivated for this purpose. This plant and its fibres in the dialect of Mithila is most usually called San, to which particular attention ought to be paid, as this is the name which in Bengal is given to the *Crotolaria juncea*, that here is called Gor San. The *Corchorus*, however, in various parts of this district is also known by the names Pata, Patua San, and Meghnal.

Next in the extent which it occupies is the *Hibiscus cannabinus*, from the bark of which, in the southern parts of the district, the common cordage of the country is almost entirely made. In these parts it is said to be sown in fields which produce nothing else, a practice that I have observed nowhere else in India; and in the northern parts I know that it is always intermixed with other things; especially a few seeds of it are dropped among turmeric and ginger, but in such small quantities as to deserve no notice, and it is chiefly used there as an acid seasoning, as I have before said. In the Tables I omit altogether this, and consider only what is reared for cordage. It seems to me a very coarse material, far inferior to the *Corchorus*, but it sells for about the same price and its produce is not greater, nor have I had any opportunity of trying any experiments on their respective qualities. In most parts of the district it is called Amliya Pata, on account of the acidity of its leaves; but in others it is called Chandana.

In most parts of the district no more *Crotolaria juncea* is raised than serves the fishermen to construct their nets; but the Commercial Resident at Maldeh has at Jagannathpur a subordinate factory for procuring this material. The neighbouring country on the Mahananda and Nagar seems to be well fitted for the purpose, as much of the soil is rich, and as at all seasons the rivers facilitate the conveyance to the chief factory.

Cotton in this district is but a trifling article. There are several kinds mentioned, namely, Kukti, Phaguni Bao, Bhadai, Tibki, Bara, and Bhujaru, but I suspect that one kind is often called by several names, and that in different places the same name is given to different kinds. The only kind that I saw growing was by the people called Bhoga or false cotton, and it is not mentioned as being cultivated for its wool.

The Kukti is the most remarkable, its wool having the colour of nankeen cloth, and it seems in fact to be the same material with what the Chinese use in that manufacture; for the greater part of what is used in this district is brought from the hills subject to



Nepal. I have not seen the plant growing, and cannot therefore speak of its botanical appellation. I am told that what is called Bhadai, at least in some places, is of the same kind, that is, it has wool of the same colour; but it ripens at a different season. Some people allege that the Phaguni has also a red wool, but that the season at which it ripens is different. It would seem to be an object worth the attention of government to send annually a bale of this red cotton to Europe, until it was ascertained whether or not it would answer as a material for our own manufacturers. Should this be found to be the case, any quantity might in the course of a few years be procured by making advances, and without these it would be difficult even to procure one bale. The greatest quantity now reared in the district is immediately south from Puraniya, and it might be procured there by the agent of the Commercial Resident, who superintends the manufacture of saltpetre. From the season in which it is sown and reaped, I presume that the Tibki is the same with what grows in Dinajpur and Ronggopur in the rainy season, and which appears to me to be the *Gossipium Javanicum* of Rumphius, vol. 4, p. 34.

The Bhujaru grows in the dry season, and its wool is of a good quality. It is probably of the same kind with the fine cotton that is raised in Serkar Ghoraghat, being cultivated nearly at the same time and in the same manner. The cotton called Bara is the finest kind raised in this district. At present its cultivation is confined almost entirely to the vicinity of Gaur, but in the north-west of the district there is much land that would appear to be fit for its production. This is a valuable plant requiring little trouble in cultivation, for watering is unnecessary, one sowing lasts two years, and with only one hoeing on the second year gives two crops. In order to give an idea of the manner in which the people here swell out their accounts of the expense of cultivation, I shall detail what was stated to me on this subject.

To 30 ploughings (in reality 8 or 10) 2 rs. 8 annas. To sowing (really 1 anna, or 1 man for a day) 1 r. To hoeing to cover the seed, 8 annas. To seed (it could not be sold) 2 annas. To a hoeing in the second year, 10 annas. To two years' rent, 1 r. 4 annas. To gathering



six-sixteenths of the crop, 4 rs. 8 annas. Total 10 rs. 8 annas. Produce, 4 *mans* at 3 rs., 12 rs. Nett profit 1 r. 8 annas.

The real price is 4 rs. a *man*, and the gathering at six-sixteenths of the crop would be 6 rs., making the total expense 12 rs., and the nett profit 4 rs. The actual expense, so far as I can learn, may be about 8 rs.

It may seem extraordinary that this cotton should sell only at 4 rs. a *man* (40 sers of 75 s. w.) even by retail, for almost the whole is sold by the farmers in that manner; while at the places of Ronggopur where the coarse cotton of the Garo hills is spun, this money would only purchase 23 sers of the same weight; yet there is no reason to suppose that I have been deceived in this point; many indeed alleged that the price of the cotton of this district is not so high as I have stated. This being mentioned to the people, who on such occasions are always provided with an answer, they said that the cotton of this district contained so much seed that it yielded no thread; yet on inquiry at the spinners of the two places, I found that directly the contrary is the case. I found at Borovari in Ronggopur that 144 pounds of Garo cotton gave only 30 pounds of thread, while at Bholahat in Puraniya 100 pounds of cotton give 35 pounds of thread. In all these calculations, however, we can place no great reliance. The operations are performed with such different degrees of care, and the people are so totally ignorant of accounts, that it would be rash to rely upon results drawn from their reports.

#### 7. PLANTS CULTIVATED FOR THEIR SACCHARINE JUICE.

Exclusive of the palms, mentioned among the plantations, the only plant of this description is the sugar-cane. The cultivation of this valuable article is chiefly confined to the banks of the Kankayi and their vicinity, where it is carried to a great extent, but is performed in a most careless and unskilful manner, so that the produce is truly wretched. A want of attention to manure and to weeding are the grand features of neglect, although a good deal of injury arises from a want of proper selection in the



kind. A very little of a most wretched kind called Nargori, from its resemblance to a common reed, is used, and gives almost no juice. The greatest quantity is of the very poor kind called Khagri, from its resemblance to a large reed of that name. It does not grow thicker than the finger, and in my account of Dinajpur has been already mentioned. A larger kind is called Bangsa from its being thick like a bamboo, but the magnitude of this is only thought great from its being compared with the others. It differs from the Kajali of Dinajpur in its stems being entirely yellow. Towards the frontier a very little of this Kajali also is raised. In the whole district I did not see a field of good growth. This could not be attributed to the soil, which in that vicinity is remarkably rich; but is entirely owing to the want of care, which is so great that I scarcely saw one field, of which the cattle had not been allowed to eat a considerable portion.

Little or none of the extract that is prepared in this district is made into sugar, the few manufacturers, that are, being chiefly supplied from Dinajpur. The quantity reared is not quite adequate to the consumption, and some is imported; but the difference is not considerable, as some is again exported. The farmers reduce the produce still lower than I have stated, but I do not think that dependence can be placed on what they said; and they reduced it by deducting all the expense of labour that is paid in kind, which is a considerable proportion. The amount of the produce stated in the Tables is supposed to be the whole extract procured from the canes growing in the district. About equal quantities of the pot and cake extracts are prepared.

It must be observed that the whole produce stated here would not pay for the expense which in Ghoraghat is bestowed on the cultivation; but the expense here is a trifle, and the farmer has a considerable profit. The reason of so little trouble being bestowed, probably, is that little or no additional rent either direct or indirect is laid on the land producing sugar. In my account of Ronggopur I have stated that in the parts of the same estate which belonged to the



Bordhonkuthi family, and were low rented, no one would take the trouble to cultivate sugar-cane, while on the share that belonged to Dinajpur and paid a high rent, this valuable plant was cultivated with the utmost care. The low rent of most parts of this district, and the total disregard paid to the quality of the soil in the rate of assessment, seem to have prevented the people from any attention to rich crops, and where the sugar-cane has been introduced it receives very little care or expenditure, and its returns are scanty in proportion. In some places they do not bestow even the smallest quantity of manure.

#### 8. PLANTS CULTIVATED FOR CHEWING AND SMOKING.

Tobacco, as usual, is by far the most important, and about a half of the whole is reared in the vicinity of the capital. All the parts to the north and east of that town are equally favourable, and why it has been there neglected I cannot say. The supply is however rather more than sufficient for the consumption. It is of a quality inferior to that reared near Ronggopur. There are said to be three kinds named Mandhata, Arena, and Bhangira. The first is thought to be the best and largest leaf: the last is very small, and has more powerful narcotic effects.

Betel leaf is the next most important article, although much less in use than even in Dinajpur. It is raised exactly in the same manner as in that district.

Hemp (*Cannabis sativa*) is raised in the rich clay land of Gondwara. The quantity of land employed is very trifling, being stated at 25 Calcutta bigahs. The produce is stated much higher than I allowed in Dinajpur, and I believe accurately, for the produce stated there appeared so extravagant that I was unwilling to allow it. The average produce stated here, reducing weights and measures to the Calcutta scale, was six *mans* a bigah, double of what I allowed in Dinajpur, but not more in probability than what actually grows. The small extent of ground adequate to supply the whole market with this drug, and the consequent ease with which the cultivation could be



superintended, is an additional reason for adopting the plan I have proposed for raising a tax on this substance. Even now however there is great reason to suspect that much is privately reared in hidden corners: as is also the case with the poppy, none of which is avowed. The quantity of this however is so small that I have not entered it in the Tables, although some perhaps is raised in almost every village, at least in the western parts of this district.

Catechu, Ajoyan, Mauri, and Dhaniya are also chewed, and are the produce of the country, but I have already mentioned them. Among the plantations are a few betel-nut trees; but so insignificant that their produce need not be taken into the account.

#### 9. PLANTS CULTIVATED FOR DYEING.

On this subject in particular I am very much indebted to Mr. Ellerton for the communications with which that gentleman has favoured me; and wherever there are a soil and situation similar to those in his vicinity, I can advance with a great certainty of my account being tolerably accurate.

The factories under the management of this gentleman are all in the south-east part of the district, including the divisions of Bholahat, Sibgunj, Kaliyachak, Gorguribah, and Manihari. In these there are in all 17 factories. Of these I know that 15 contain 101 pair of vats. The other two probably may contain 10 pair, so that on an average each factory contains between 5 or 6 pair of vats. The vats are in general from 20 to 22 feet square. Now five of the factories under the management of Mr. Ellerton contain 30 pairs of vats, rather more than the medium, are scattered through the above space at considerable distances, and may therefore be considered as a fair example of the whole, only that every thing in their establishment is on a better but more expensive footing than I have seen anywhere else in Bengal; and in few have I seen such attention paid to gain and deserve the esteem of the natives. This care indeed, so far as I could learn, could not well be carried to greater lengths.

Having premised so much, I shall mention a statement of the produce, on an average of seven years, of the factories under charge of Mr. Ellerton, and then extend it to the other factories in this part of the district :—

Bigahs of ground for which advances were made	... ..	26,000	96,200
Bigahs of ground supposed to have been actually sown	... ..	20,000	74,000
Bundles of plant actually received	... ..	2,40,000	8,88,000
<i>Mans</i> (74½ lbs. nearly) of indigo procured	...	680	2,516

It must be observed that the bigah by which Mr. Ellerton reckons is only 76 cubits square, so that each vat on an average requires very nearly 600 Calcutta bigahs to be actually sown, and that every ten bigahs Calcutta measure actually sown produce nearly 133 bundles of weed, a little more than was stated as the average produce of Ronggopur; but if we consider that for every 20 bigahs sown, Mr. Ellerton supposes that the farmers undertake to cultivate 26, and that the gentlemen of Ronggopur calculated by the land for which they made advances, the difference will not be very material. Had Mr. Ellerton calculated by the lands for which he made advances, ten Calcutta bigahs would produce 117 bundles, in place of 100 which the Ronggopur gentlemen allow; but I suspect that Mr. Ellerton's bundle is only 3½ cubits in circumference, such at least I know is the custom in the other parts of the district, and Mr. Ellerton mentioned no difference. In Ronggopur the bundle is usually 4 cubits round; the difference therefore will be next to nothing. The price given here to the farmer being  $\frac{1}{12}$  of a rupee for the bundle, will make the actual produce to the farmer from what he really sows worth 1 rupee 1 anna 7 pice. It must be farther observed that on an average it requires 350 bundles to make one factory *man* of indigo, weighing nearly 74½ lbs.

I now proceed to detail the different soils and methods of cultivating indigo in these parts, as described by Mr. Ellerton. The greater part of the indigo is raised on land which gives a



winter crop of pulse or rape seed, and occupies the place of a crop of rice or millet, which were it not for the indigo would be sown on the same ground. In some few high places the indigo is preserved for seed, in which case no other crop can follow; but in the part of the district of which I am now treating, the quantity of this is small. In this land the indigo is usually sown in February, and when the season is favourable, is reaped before the inundation rises. If this is late, and there are many showers in spring, there are sometimes two cuttings from the same field; but on an average of years the quantity thus procured is altogether inconsiderable. When the inundations rise early the crop is often entirely lost, and in general it suffers more or less. In moderate seasons this falls heavier on the manufacturer than the farmers, at least where those are treated with that indulgence which is shown at the factories under the management of Mr. Ellerton; for the farmers know that their weed expands exceedingly by being under water, and if they think that they can secure it, they allow it to soak two or three days, in which time it is not absolutely rotten, and is taken by Mr. Ellerton, but produces a mere trifle of indigo, to which may be attributed the small quantity of dye which that gentleman procures from a given number of bundles.

Another description of land is very low, on which the only crop that could be sown instead of indigo is summer rice or millet, and the farmers seldom part with any of this description, called Jaliya, that is not of a very poor soil or that is not overrun with weeds, so as to be almost unfit for grain, and that is not very low rented. These lands are sown at the same season with the others, are liable to the same accidents, and never produce any seed; but as the land is low and moist, it is less dependent on the early showers of spring, without which the others fail, or cannot indeed be sown.

There is another manner of cultivating indigo, in which the seed is sown in October, and this also is done on two different kinds of land. The first is on the banks of the great rivers, where there are spaces covered with sand that produce a very scanty vegeta-



tion in spring, and are never regularly rented, but in a few parts are sometimes cultivated with water melons and other cucurbitaceous plants. If the sand does not exceed one foot in thickness, and rests on a tolerable soil, this kind of land has been found highly favourable for indigo, and it is almost the only kind which the farmers would with satisfaction cultivate. The seed is sown in October as the floods retire, and with little or no previous culture, and the plant afterwards requires little or no care nor expense. The moisture then in the sand enables the seed to germinate and send a sap root down towards the richer soil. Until the root reaches this, the plant almost resembles a fibre; but no sooner does it reach the soil, which is preserved moist by the sand, than it acquires vigour, and the driest seasons and most scorching winds produce little or no effect on its subsequent growth; for no soil seems to prevent evaporation so powerfully as sand. This indigo is less liable to accidents than the other, not only during its growth but during the crop season, as such land is generally pretty high, and is late of being flooded.

The other land fitted for sowing indigo in October is that which produces a winter crop, either as the only harvest of the year or as succeeding rice or other grain that is reaped in summer. This indigo is most usually sown along with rape-seed, which is plucked in January and leaves the indigo to ripen in spring. Sometimes the indigo is sown along with wheat or barley, but as these are sown in November, and ripen later than the rape-seed, they are less fit for the purpose.

One great advantage has been found to attend the October cultivation of indigo, as fitting it for the lower parts of the district. In favourable seasons it comes early to maturity, and towards the bottom of the stems ripens its seed before the season for cutting the plant arrives. When this happens, the seed may be picked from the growing plant without material injury, and in one year Mr. Ellerton procured from one small factory between 300 and 400 *mans*. He paid for this at the rate of 5 rs. a *man*, and had he not used it, he might have sold it for 12 rs. It must be observed



that Mr. Ellerton furnishes the farmers with seed at 3 rs. a *man*, and that it often, as I have said, costs 12. Where seed is scarce, as in this part of the district, this plan of giving the farmers a higher price for it than is charged to them seems judicious; and if followed in Ronggopur, would soon no doubt procure abundance, and on the whole cost the planter less than he at present pays.

It must be observed that both October crops, so far as I learned, are unknown in Ronggopur; and that here they never sow indigo on the land that is to be cultivated with transplanted rice, a practice that generally occasions disputes between the farmer and manufacturer.

The price given here, even making an allowance for the difference of the size in the bundles, is much lower than that given in Ronggopur, and seems totally inadequate to induce the farmers to cultivate the plant. This will be evident from comparing the produce and expense of indigo and summer rice, the place of which the former almost always occupies. The average produce of summer rice Mr. Ellerton takes at seven *mans* the bigah of 76 cubits, and states that it is worth 6 annas 8 gandas a *man*; that is, the produce is worth rather more than 2 $\frac{3}{4}$  rs., while he states that the produce of the same bigah in indigo is on an average only 1 re. or 12 bundles. But this statement of the rice is too high. Mr. Ellerton proceeds on his estimate by calculating the produce of a given number of bigahs of rice that have been reaped; but in the vicinity of the Ganges this would not give a fair average of the produce; for much of these crops that are sown in spring are totally lost, and never at all reaped, and in such situations rice is still more uncertain than indigo. Mr. Ellerton indeed calculates that of ten bigahs sown, even in good years, not above eight are reaped, which will reduce his average to nearly what I was informed by the natives, who allowed from four to six *mans* of rice as the average produce, besides the expense of harvest, making the average produce probably about 5 *mans*, worth rather more than 2 rs., or double the value of the indigo. It is true that the whole expense



of the cultivation of summer rice, in ploughing, weeding, watching, and reaping, may be nearly double that of indigo; for in the three first operations very little pains is bestowed on this plant, and unless it is near the factory, the manufacturer pays the expense of carriage, while, as I have said, the charge for reaping corn is enormous. The land also on which indigo is raised is in general poor and low rented, and where it is the only crop, does not pay more than four annas a bigah, or one-quarter of the produce. Still, however, the rice is no doubt a more profitable cultivation; and in fact, the farmers (except on the poor sandy land that will not produce rice) are exceedingly backward to undertake or continue the cultivation; and many of the landlords discourage their tenantry from engaging in it, by every means in their power.

I have already, in Ronggopur and Dinajpur, had occasion to dwell on the discontent of both tenants and landlords, and the causes which the different parties assign. Mr. Ellerton's opinion deserves the highest regard, not only from his long experience and thorough knowledge of the natives, and from the nature of his temper, which is said to be uncommonly mild, for I have not the honour of being his personal acquaintance, but [also] from his being merely employed to manage the affairs of gentlemen who in the whole concern have shown a liberality to which I know none superior. He is decidedly of opinion that the dislike, on the part of the landlords, proceeds entirely from the fear which they have of their oppressive conduct towards their tenantry being brought to light by the Europeans. This may be extended to almost all the higher rank of natives who enjoy high privileges, who, I am afraid, are often very unjust towards their poor neighbours, and most of them, I am pretty well assured, wish never to see the face of an European. They hold out indeed as an excuse the difference of manners, such as our eating beef and pork, which they cannot behold without abhorrence and contempt, and the whole conduct of our women, which they consider as totally destitute



of decency; but I am inclined to believe that the reason assigned by Mr. Ellerton has too much foundation in truth.

As I have before said, however, it does not appear to me that an indigo planter is bound to become a knight-errant to redress grievances; and his conduct, in that respect, ought if practicable to be such as to set at ease the minds of the landlords and other powerful natives. It so however happens that some planters gain the farmers to their side by giving them advice and assistance as to procuring redress, and no doubt such people often have found the farmers willing, on account of this protection, to supply them with indigo; but this seems a very difficult and delicate plan of conduct. Others again induce natives to farm the rents of large tracts of land, supply them with money to discharge their engagements, and employ the influence which these men acquire as agents for the landlords, to ensure an extensive cultivation. This is a still more delicate plan, bordering on oppression, and seems to me very dangerous, considering the trust and credit that must be given to the native agents, very few of whom in this district are deserving of either.

The most usual inducement, however, besides kindness of treatment, such as Mr. Ellerton and many others on all cases show, is the advance of money without interest. For every 20 bigahs which the farmer sows, according to Mr. Ellerton, this gentleman, before the cultivation begins, advances at least to the value of the average produce of 26 bigahs, and I am persuaded that the common rate of advance is still much higher. Had the farmer borrowed the money from a native merchant, and no one cultivates indigo that would not have been under the necessity of borrowing, he would have in the first place been obliged to repay the amount of the loan, in grain or other produce, at the low price given when the markets are glutted at harvest, by which he would lose from 15 to 20 per cent. Secondly, in place of giving 40 sers for the *man*, he must have given 50, which is an addition of 25 per cent. not only on the capital but on the interest; and if he fails in the delivery of any part, he takes the deficiency, in part of a loan for the next

year, at double its amount. Such a ruinous manner of raising money the poor farmer avoids by dealing with the manufacturers of indigo, none of whom charge any interest for what is repaid with produce. Some indeed charge the legal interest of 1 per cent a month for what is not repaid, although others, as the employers of Mr. Ellerton, charge nothing. I am persuaded, however, that this last indulgence is a mistaken liberality, and in many parts of the district would be attended with ruinous consequences. In every part the farmers undertake to cultivate much more than they intend to perform, and in many, were they not charged with interest, they would cultivate none. As it is, in some parts of the district, as near Nathpur, they are so extraordinarily dishonest that it seems scarcely possible to induce them to cultivate a half of what they undertake, and for which they receive advances. I am persuaded that a greater price given for the weed, and more strictness in making advances and recovering balances, would be found more advantageous for both parties.

In Gondwara, where the land is higher and the soil stiffer, there are ten factories. I have been favoured with the produce of four of these, for a space of eight years from 1800 to 1807, while they belonged to Mr. Smith, and this is as follows:—

Year			Bundles of plants.	Indigo.		
				Fy.	M. sers.	chhat.
1800	...	..	41,784	131	20	...
1801	...	..	48,834	162	...	...
1802	...	...	46,083	100	17	4
1803	...	..	74,525	279	12	...
1804	...	...	93,945	881	...	...
1805	...	...	188,798	536	28	8
1806	...	...	92,770	310	...	...
1807	...	...	166,106	754	...	...
			682,825	2,662	87	12

From this it will appear that nearly 257 bundles of weed produced 1 *man* of dye, whereas with Mr. Ellerton 350 bundles were required, in a great measure



probably owing to the country being lower, and more of the weed being spoiled; but in part also, I am persuaded, owing to the soil. Mr. Smith looked upon any attempt to ascertain the quantity of ground actually cultivated as totally impossible, the frauds being so numerous and irregular as to preclude calculation. The land, however, is probably not more productive than in the south-east parts of the district; the natives reported that it was nearly the same.

There is however a most essential difference between these two vicinities. The quantity of seed reared here is very great, and Mr. Smith states that for every 100 rs. which he advanced, he received back on an average 50 rs. worth of plants, and 25 rs. worth of seed, on which he had a very considerable profit; the remainder was repaid in money or went to the advances of next year, the use of it having been a bonus to induce the farmer to undertake the culture. Without some such inducement, indeed, no one in his senses would cultivate indigo for these factories, where the price allowed is only 1 anna a bundle. It is by no means the whole land sown that is kept for seed. The greater part, as usual, gives a winter crop, and the crop of seed, where preserved, is usually of fully equal value. No October indigo, so far as I heard, is sown in that part of the country. These factories contained 21 pair of vats, and the whole of the others in that vicinity contain nearly as many, not above one less or more. The annual produce of the whole may therefore be 170,000 bundles of weed, of which about one-half is delivered at 16 bundles and the remainder at 12 bundles the rupee. The seed in the former amounts to about one-half of the value of the plant, or to about 800 *mans* at 3 rs. a *man*, on the latter there may be about the same quantity. The average quantity of indigo will be about 670 *mans*.

With regard to the other parts of the district, including no less than 50 factories, I am not prepared to enter so fully into a discussion. Several of the factories I know are small and in a bad state, and on the whole I do not think that they can yield more in proportion to their number than three-fourths of the



four larger in Gondwara; and the land may on the whole be nearly equally productive. I have indeed been favoured with an estimate which apparently makes the produce greater, as it states the average produce of a Calcutta bigah to be 18 bundles of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  cubits. The gentleman who gave this estimate, however, employs people to measure the land just before it is cut, and his estimate is similar to that of the natives, who when they speak of the produce only estimate the land which they reap. What is totally lost they do not introduce into the account; nor in stating their profit and loss is there any necessity for so doing, as the field is sown with something else, and the culture given to the indigo serves, in part, for what would be necessary for the crop that comes in its stead. Allowing for this, there will be found no material difference in the produce, as estimated at Gaur on the land actually sown, at Ronggopur on the land for which advances are made, and at Puraniya on the land actually reaped. The whole indigo reared by these 50 factories may therefore, on an average of years, be about 3,000 *mans*, and the land in actual cultivation may be 60,000 bigahs. In this part of the country also, much seed is preserved, nor is there any seed sown in October. The land being higher, a larger proportion gives two cuttings of plant. In some places a good deal is sown among the broadcast winter rice, which would otherwise have been intermixed with summer rice. The indigo is cut early, and the winter rice is then allowed to grow alone.

The manufacturers seem to incur a greater expense than they do in Ronggopur. Their buildings are more expensive, and they keep an enormous establishment of oxen and carts for carrying home the plant. They almost all cultivate more or less, these cattle being idle at the ploughing season. The land which they cultivate, being carefully ploughed and weeded, is vastly more productive than what is neglected by the natives, and were the indigo planters more generally men who could attend to the details of agriculture, and were they allowed to rent land contiguous to their works in a quantity sufficient



to supply them entirely with weed, I have no doubt that the land would be vastly more productive, and failures from the seasons less common. The habits and experience, however, of the greater part would render any undertaking of that kind ruinous; and there are strong reasons for the prohibition that exists against their acquiring such property. Except in the south-east corner of the district, the planters usually take all the seed at 3 rs. a *man*, and charge the farmers for what they require at the market price, which is a heavy loss to the cultivator; but the planters are at the whole expense of cultivating and carrying home the weed, which no doubt saves them from some fraud, and preserves much plant that the listlessness of the people would allow to perish; but it is attended with an enormous expense.

Two Hindus and one native Portuguese have seven factories, and these ought by all means to be encouraged, especially the Portuguese. No objection can arise to his holding lands by any tenure; and I doubt much if ever the natives will pay sufficient attention to the quality of the manufacture; while in the hands of the landholders, by whom chiefly it will be undertaken, it will be made an additional means of oppression.

About 1000 bigahs of indigo are cultivated for the original native manufacture, which is now entirely confined to the eastern skirts of the district near the Nagar, where no European manufacturer has settled. The produce was stated on an average at 20 sers worth from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 rs. the bigah, and the whole being made by the farmer, is looked upon as the net proceeds of the land. One man indeed informed me that the produce was just double of what the people who made the above statement allowed; and I suppose, as his account agrees with what was stated in Ronggopur, that it is accurate.

In this district Safflower (Kusum) is an object of some little more importance than towards the east. It is never sown by itself, so that no estimate can well be formed of the expense attending its cultivation; but in the Tables will be seen an estimate of the quantity of land that it in part occupies, and of the value of its



produce. The great difference in the produce, as stated in the Tables, depends on the various proportions of the Kusum that enter into the mixture of crops with which it is sown, and to the various soils that are adapted for each mixture. In this I have only included the flower and oil, although the leaves are also used as a vegetable in cookery; but as this in general is done by the cultivator, and does not become an object of sale, it is too trifling to deserve particular notice. The collecting the flowers does no injury to the seed, as they are pulled off while naturally separating from the young fruit. The oil is always extracted by the farmer, and the seed does not therefore come to market, so that in the Tables I have calculated the produce by the value of the oil. The seed is put into an earthen pot which has a hole in the bottom, and is placed over another that is sunk in the ground. A cover is then put over the mouth of the pot containing the seed, and a fire is kindled over and around it. As this burns, the oil falls into the pot below. It is therefore an empyreumatic oil, and is fit only for the lamp of the poor. The seed here is never eaten.

#### 10. PLANTS CULTIVATED FOR REARING INSECTS.

In the divisions towards the north-west is reared a little *ricinus* for feeding the worm that spins a coarse silk. I have nothing to add to what I have already said concerning this subject.

In the ruins of the suburbs of Gaur, about 1000 Jujub trees (Bayer) are employed to rear the lac insect. I have not given these a place in the Table, partly on account of their being of a very trifling consideration, and partly because they are so much intermixed with other articles that for a very insignificant article I should have added much to the size of Tables, already too voluminous. These trees are scattered through the fields, and the shade which they produce from frequent pruning is so trifling that they seem to do no injury to the crops by which they are surrounded. The trees are allowed to be eight years old before the insect is applied, and afterwards each tree is pruned



once a year, an operation by which in ten or twelve years it is killed. About the 1st of November from 5 to 20 small twigs impregnated with the insects are applied to each of one-half of the trees, according to its respective size. The insects soon extend all over the tender branches, and cover them with lac. The branches are pruned about the 1st of June, and the trees are allowed until the beginning of next November to recover. About the 1st of June twigs impregnated with the insect are applied to the other half of the trees, which by the beginning of November are covered with the lac, and are then pruned. Thus one-half of the trees is always breeding, while the other half is recovering vigour, and each tree annually produces a brood of insects. A tree gives from 2 to 25 sers (4 lbs. to 50 lbs.) and it sells at from 4 to 6 rs. for 40 sers of 72 s. w., that is, from 6 to 9 rs. a cwt. but it is ungarnbled, and quite unfit for a foreign market. It is considered as of a quality very inferior to what comes from Asam, and the consumption here does not exceed 200 *mans*, which may now grow. Formerly, it is said, the produce considerably exceeded that quantity and the overplus was sent to Murshe-dabad; but for the three last years the southerly winds, which are highly injurious to the insect, have been uncommonly prevalent. The tree grows so well everywhere, and even in the most wretched soils, that the insect not having been carried to places exempt from southerly winds, is a proof of the slow progress of any improvement in this country, and of the want of enterprise among its inhabitants.

The only cultivation of this class that is of the smallest importance in this district is the mulberry, and this is entirely confined to three small divisions in the south-east corner. The quantity reared there is however exceedingly great, and some of the lands are remarkably favourable for the production. In treating this subject also I feel myself much indebted to Mr. Ellerton.

The extreme uncertainty which attends the profession of rearing silkworms renders it difficult to form any general estimates concerning the value of the produce. In the account which I gave of this



employment, when treating of it at Maldeh in Dinajpur, I have mentioned that the price of the basket of leaves varied at different times from 1 to 30 rs. I then attributed this to variations in the quantity of leaves produced, and in the demand for silk; but from Mr. Ellerton I have learned that there is another cause which operates to a much greater extent, and which no doubt prevails in the adjacent parts of Dinajpur, and although I did not hear of the circumstance, in all probability operates also in Ghoraghat. He says that, without any obvious difference of management, the worms of a whole vicinity almost entirely perish in certain seasons, and almost all again succeed in others. The extent in which such failures happen often reaches over a whole Pergunah or estate, but seldom to such a large measure as to affect the whole lands dependent on a factory, which is probably the reason why I did not hear of the circumstance, the merchant by means of his agents procuring the cocoons that he wants from one place or other; and if one brood fails with a breeder, his engagements are completed by the next. It thus however often happens that all the breeders of a vicinity have a most abundant crop of leaves, where there are no worms to feed; so that the leaves must be sold for a mere trifle, the expense of carrying them to a distance being very great. Again, it also often happens that there is a vast number of worms and a bad crop of leaves, in which case, as the breeders never kill any worms, the leaves rise to an enormous price, having to be brought from a considerable distance. Again, sometimes both plants and worms fail, and the cultivator cannot compensate for the scantiness of the crop by its high price, as happens with most other productions.

All these circumstances render the value of the leaves totally uncertain; and this seems to be a strong reason why the breeders should never cultivate: for when a breeder cultivates, he seldom has any other means of subsistence, so that one year he may starve and next year be wallowing in abundance: whereas a man may raise one or two bigahs of leaves, and may, besides cultivate a farm with grain, which will ensure him in a subsistence; while the average produce of his



mulberry for three or four years would enable him to clear any arrears of rent that he might incur, and yield him a handsome profit. The breeder might also no doubt avoid in a great part his uncertainty, by never attempting to rear more insects than those for which he could procure leaves at a reasonable price. He might indeed thus raise less silk, but his returns would be more regular, which in the economy of life is the object of principal importance.

On this account it would seem to be highly desirable that both cultivators and breeders should chiefly occupy the immediate vicinity of navigable rivers, so that the leaves might be transported in canoes, at a moderate expense, to the villages in which the worms happen to thrive. On this account, as I have said before, the banks of the Mahananda are peculiarly favourable, and were they cultivated with care, from the Kalindi to the Punabhaha, might probably supply all Bengal. There are no doubt many other situations equally favourable, but by far the greater part of the silk belonging to the Company's factories is reared in situations that are far less advantageous.

The cultivation is managed exactly on the same plan that I have mentioned in my account of Dinajpur, at least near the Mahananda, and where attention is bestowed; but near the Ganges, especially in the division of Sibgunj, the people seldom enclose their gardens, many of which in most seasons are flooded for two months, and although this does not altogether destroy the plantation, one or often two of the cuttings are lost. Neither do the people in that vicinity bestow so much pains on weeding their mulberry, and many seemed contented with merely ploughing the field after the plant had been cut, which is done twice a year down to the ground.

On the left of the Mahananda it was estimated that four bigahs were sufficient to supply a breeder with the usual quantity of leaves that he required. In this district I heard it stated that five bigahs were necessary for the purpose, which difference may be explained by attending to the want of care and uncertainty just now mentioned. Notwithstanding



this want of care, Mr. Ellerton states the expense of forming a new plantation at more than double of what I was informed at Maldeh. The expense was estimated to me at 9 rs. a bigah, while Mr. Ellerton allows 19 rs. The subsequent charges are nearly the same, amounting to between 7 and 8 rs., but then on the total a vast difference arises. Mr. Ellerton allows that the mulberry lasts only three or four years; so that even in the latter case the whole charge will be as follows:—

First expense, 19 rs.; four years' annual expense, 30, total 49; which divided by four years, makes the annual expense,  $12\frac{1}{4}$  rs. Whereas the people of Maldeh allowed that their garden, with the care which they bestow, lasts twenty years, which will reduce the annual expense to 8 or 9 rs. a bigah.

Perhaps the people here act judiciously in often rooting up the mulberry, and planting it again in fresh earth, by which the crops are probably more luxuriant: but I am at a loss to account for the enormous expense which Mr. Ellerton states for the first planting an acre. In no part that I saw in this district does there seem to be so much pains bestowed as in Dinajpur: and in many parts the field is neither enclosed nor hoed. I must however admit that in this district every operation of husbandry is performed at a more than usual expense, the people getting such low wages that they have no inducement to exertion. Whatever difference in the expense of cultivation there may be, would appear to be amply compensated by the produce stated by Mr. Ellerton as the average of one bigah of land, which is as follows:—

Cuttings, or Seasons. 15th Oct. to 15th Nov.—Leaves, 12 Bundles, value 6 rs. Cocoons, 32 sers, value 16 rs. Amount, 12 rs. 12 annas 9 pice.

15th Nov. to 15th Dec.—Leaves, 6 Bundles, value 4 rs. Cocoons, 20 sers, value  $16\frac{1}{2}$  rs. Amount, 8 rs. 6 annas.

15th March to 15th April—Leaves, 8 Bundles, value 4 rs. Cocoons, 32 sers, value 13 rs. Amount, 10 rs. 6 annas 5 pice.

15th April to 15th May—Leaves, 6 Bundles, value 2 rs. Cocoons, 21 sers, value  $10\frac{1}{2}$  rs. Amount, 5 rs. 8 annas 2 pice.



15th June to 15th July.—Leaves, 12 Bundles, value 3 rs. Cocoons, 30 sers, value 10 rs. Amount, 7 rs. 8 annas.

15th July to 15th Aug.—Leaves, 12 Bundles, value 4 rs. Cocoons, 36 sers, value 9G rs. Amount, 8 rs. 8 annas 9 pies.

Total—Leaves, 56 Bundles, value 23 rs. Cocoons, 171 sers. Amount, 53 rs. 2 annas 1 pie. Average cost, Leaves, value 12 rs.; Cocoons, average amount 34 rs. Gain, Leaves, 11 rs. Cocoons, 19 rs. 2 annas 1 pie.

The produce of leaves at Maldeh was stated to be 60 loads, not very different from the 56 here allowed, as the rope there was 80 cubits, while here it is only 75; so that one-seventh nearly must be added to Mr. Ellerton's calculation to bring it up to the produce, expense, and gain of a bigah Calcutta measure. At Maldeh these leaves were only valued at 15 rs. while here they are valued at 23, leaving an enormous net gain of 11 rs. a bigah, supposing the farmer to hire men to perform every part of the labour; so that a person who rented 5 bigahs (about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  acre), without any farther labour than superintendence might live like a very easy farmer.

In Maldeh it was allowed that one bigah produced on an average  $82\frac{1}{2}$  sers Calcutta weight of cocoons, which, to say the truth, I was almost then afraid to mention, but here the produce amounts to 171 sers. I allowed a man who reared worms, in addition to the value of the plant, 4 rs. a bigah for extra charges, besides his own labour and that of his family. Mr. Ellerton allows 11 rs. a bigah for this head, probably charging the wages of the family, and yet leaves a net gain on every bigah of 19 rs. on the cocoons and 11 on the leaves, or in all 30 rs. on the bigah. I confess that this far exceeds any estimate that I procured from the natives, or any that, until I was informed by Mr. Ellerton, I considered as probable. The highest account that I received in this district was from a chief breeder (Mandal Basaniya) at Bholahat, and will be afterwards detailed. He allowed 21 rs. for the produce of leaves from one bigah; and  $134\frac{1}{2}$  sers (75 s. w.) of silk worth  $40\frac{1}{2}$  rs. and equal to 126 sers Calcutta weight; but were I to take the average of the accounts that I received, it would not differ much from what I have stated at Maldeh as the produce of



cocoons. These here would amount to 85 Calcutta sers a bigah, in place of 82½ which were there allowed.

The opportunities of being informed, that Mr. Ellerton had, were so much better than those which were offered to me, that I would willingly adopt his opinion in preference to that which I had previously formed, were it not for one circumstance. Mr. Ellerton in forming his estimate seems to have proceeded merely upon the number of bigahs of leaves that were actually cut for feeding worms, and does not include what was totally lost by being flooded, or by want of demand owing to the failure of the worms, in which case the leaves are often not saleable, and are given to the cattle. Making a deduction for these, I do not think, even allowing for the difference occasioned by a more frequent renewal of the plant, that we can allow more in Bholahat and Kaliyachak for the produce of a bigah than 20 rs. worth of leaves and 4 *mans* of cocoons worth 50 rs.; and in Sibgunj, where the land is low and badly cultivated, one-fifth less may be fairly presumed to be reasonable.

The Company's factories at English Bazar and Junggipur are said by the natives to make advances to about one half of the breeders in this district, who are stated to amount to 4700. At the former factory, I believe, none but the best cocoons are at present taken, because the Resident deals only on the Company's account. Whether or not the Resident at Junggipur deals in silk on his own account, I did not learn; nor had I any opportunity of knowing whether or not he took any cocoons of an inferior quality. As the Company takes none but the best cocoons, it pays 16 rupees for the *man* of cocoons; but the native merchants of Bholahat say, on an average of good and bad, that they give 12 rupees, exactly as was stated at Maldeh; but the weight there was 85 s. w. the ser, here it is 75.

All the cocoons that are rejected at the factories, and the whole of that is reared by those who take no advances, are spun by the natives after the manner which I have described in giving an account of Maldeh. Their filature machine (*Gayi*) wants the improvement for twisting the fibres as they are wound



from the cocoon, which has been introduced in the Company's factories; but in other respects is on the same plan, and the old Bengalese fashion of small hand-reels (Layi) has been totally abandoned. The cocoons wound by the natives, as in Maldeh, are most usually, if not always, killed by exposing them to the heat of the sun, a practice that is condemned by the Company's instructions. In order to shew the various produce and value of cocoons, managed according to the native manner of filature, I give the following table procured at Bholahat from a principal breeder, who rears plants, feeds worms, and spins the silk. This he gives as the produce of a bigah less than that of Calcutta, so that to procure the produce of one of these we must add one-seventh part to what is here stated.

Cutting season, 15th Oct. to 15th Nov.—Leaves, 10 bundles, value 5 rs. Cocoons, 18½ sers. 75 s. w., value 7 r. 8 a. Silk, 1 ser 80 s. w. 4 chht., value 9 rs.

15th Nov. to 15th Dec.—Leaves, 10 bundles, value 5 rs. Cocoons, 18½ sers 75 s. w., value 7 r. 8 a. Silk, 1 ser 80 s. w. 4 chht., value 9 rs.

15th March to 15th April.—Leaves, 12 bundles, value 2 r. 4 a. Silk, 25 sers 75 s. w., value 7 r. 14 a. Silk, 1 ser 80 s. w. 8 chht., value 11 rs.

15th April to 15th May.—Leaves, 6 bundles, value 1 r. Cocoons, 12 sers 75 s. w., value 2 r. 6 a. Silk, 9 chht., value 3 r. 8 a.

15th June to 15th July.—Leaves, 20 bundles, value 5 r. Cocoons, 40 sers 75 s. w., value 10 r. Silk, 1 ser 80 s. w. 12 chht., value 14 rs.

15th July to 15th August.—Leaves, 10 bundles, 2 r. 12 a. Cocoons, 20 sers 75 s. w., value 5 r. Silk, 14 chht., value 7 rs.

Total, Leaves, 68 bundles, value 21 rs. Cocoons, 194½ sers 75 s. w., value 40 r. 4 a. Silk, 7 sers, 3 chht.: value 53 r. 8 a.

In the amount of the different cuttings there is an apparent contradiction between this and Mr. Ellerton's table; but this arises from that gentleman's table being constructed from the books of a factory dealing only in the better kinds; so that his produce in the October and November cuttings is greatest, while, the Company taking a large proportion of the fine cocoons, very few of these go to the native traders. It must farther be observed that there it is alleged that about 17½ sers of cocoons give only 1 ser of silk,

while at Maldeh about 15 were reckoned sufficient, which will of course make the profits of winding less than was there stated. The wound silk was there also valued higher and the cocoons lower, which will make a still greater reduction on these profits.

I shall suppose that one-half is wound in this manner, and partly manufactured and partly exported. A considerable part of the cocoons go from this district to Junggipur; and as I am not acquainted with the charges incurred at the factory in English Bazar in preparing the silk spun there, I shall consider one-half of the cocoons as exported from hence to the Company's factories. This being premised, the value of the leaves at 20 rs. a bigah for Bholahat and Kaliyachak, and at 16 for Sibgunj, will be 4,40,000 rs. The whole quantity of cocoons will be 88,000 *mans*, worth 11,00,000 rs. Of these I allow one-half to go to the Company's factories. The remainder is spun by the native filature, and according to the estimate given at Bholahat, rejecting small numbers, will produce about 79,660 sers of silk, worth 5,93,000 rs.

#### 11. PLANTS CULTIVATED FOR MATS.

In this district I have not included under this head the grass reserved for thatch, as I did in Ronggopur, because strictly speaking it is not cultivated, and because in many parts it pays no rent. In others indeed, it pays a high rent, and is usually called Char Ramna.

The only thing under this head is the species of *Cyperus* called Motha, which is reared as in Ronggopur, as will appear from the Tables of produce.

#### 12. PLANTS CULTIVATED FOR FATTENING CATTLE.

Under this head I might no doubt have included several of the grains, the straw of almost all [of] which, in some parts of the district, is given to cattle, and some few are fed with pulse or the cake from which oil has been expressed; but as these grains are chiefly reared for the use of man I shall here confine myself to the carrot. In a few places, and to a trifling



extent as will appear from the Tables, this is reared almost entirely for the use of the milch cows or carriage oxen that are kept by the wealthy. The custom might become highly advantageous, were the natives sensible of the importance of manure, and were the cattle fed entirely in the house, so that all the manure might be preserved. The carrot is well known to be an excellent food for cattle, but it does not seem to thrive so well here as in Europe.

Turnip I have no doubt would thrive much better; but whether or not the natives would like the taste which it communicates to milk, I cannot say. It is probable that it would not be perceived, as the people here never use milk but what has been boiled, and kept in such dirty vessels that it has acquired a flavour strong enough to overcome that communicated by the turnip.

While on this head I may observe that two plants grow spontaneously on the fields of this district, and flourish in the early part of spring and end of winter, when the pasture is most scarce. Both seem admirably fitted for making artificial meadows or pastures, and might supply the wants of the cattle, which are to the utmost degree urgent. One of these plants is the *Medicago lupulina*, well known to the farmers of Europe, but for which the natives have no name. The other is the *Melilotus alba* of the Encyclopédie, which the natives call Ban Methi.

## CHAPTER II.

### IMPLEMENTS OF AGRICULTURE—MANURE—IRRIGATION— FLOODS AND EMBANKMENTS.

The plough does not differ materially from that of Dinajpur, and nearly about the same proportion have no iron. A small number is wrought by cows, and a great many have for each four or even six cattle, and the cattle are somewhat better. The ploughmen are here exceedingly slothful, and I believe all the operations of husbandry are more expensive than in Dinajpur or Ronggopur. If there are two cattle only for the plough, the cattle labour only until noon, usually beginning at nine o'clock. In the afternoon, in the rainy season the ploughmen cut grass for the cattle, at other seasons they repair the houses and do small jobs; and when there is no work for the cattle, they occasionally weed or sow. If there are four cattle, the ploughmen in common only work these, and assist to procure grass. If there are six oxen, they give no assistance to the farm except on days when the cattle do not work, and a person must be kept to cut grass and tend the cattle. The usual rate of labour for each pair of oxen is three hours a day, and nine hours ploughing a day is considered as exceeding hard work, without any additional labour.

In the eastern parts of the district the implement like a ladder, called Mayi, is used to smooth the field; but in the western parts a thick narrow plank, eight or nine feet long, is used in its stead, and is the most awkward machine that I have ever beheld. There is no handle to it, as there is to the planks used for a similar purpose in the south of India; nor have the



natives had the ingenuity to fasten a beam to it by which it might be drawn. They tie ropes to the necks of the cattle, usually two pair to each plank, while two men stand on this to give it weight, and to save themselves the trouble of walking; and they secure themselves from falling by holding an ox's tail in each hand; and by twisting this they can guide and accelerate the motions of the cattle. So totally devoid of ingenuity have they been, that they have not fallen upon any contrivance to fasten the rope to the upper side of the beam, so as to prevent it from rubbing on the earth; but fairly tie it round the plank, so that owing to the friction an ordinary rope would not last a moment. They therefore have been under the necessity of employing the tanners to make ropes of hide, which resist the friction, but come high. The tanner is usually paid in grain, and the making these ropes is the chief employment that they have. This plank is called a Chauki.

The Bida or rake drawn by oxen, in this district also, is in universal employ, and in some stiff soils the natives have given it iron teeth. These are a great deal too slight, and one of the greatest improvements that could be made on their manner of tillage would be to add strong teeth to this instrument. The implement, however, with iron teeth costs  $1\frac{1}{2}$  r., which is a very serious expense where stock is at so low an ebb.

The reaping hook (Kachiya), the weeding iron (Pasan), hoe (Kodali), hatchet (Kurhali), and bill (Dao) are much the same as in Dinajpur. A large wooden pestle and mortar (Ukhali) is the implement most commonly used in families for separating the husks from rice, and it is chiefly those who clean rice for exportation that use the mortar (Dhengki), the pestle of which is raised by a lever. The latter performs the operation with less labour, but is more apt to break the grain. The sugar mill and boilers are of the same kind as in Dinajpur.

Although there are many carts, they are never employed in agriculture, either to carry out manure or to bring home the crop. The oxen, as in Dinajpur and Ronggopur, everywhere draw by a yoke passing



over their neck. There is no contrivance to prevent it from galling them, and they usually suffer much.

This most valuable branch of agriculture is almost as totally neglected as in the eastern parts of Ronggopur. Cowdung is the most common fuel, nor is its quantity for manure ever augmented by

#### MANURE.

litter. In most places, therefore, the greater part and in some places the whole of what can be collected is reserved for burning, and the usual manner of manuring the few fields where any such thing is attempted, is for two or three successive nights to gather a herd of cattle on a narrow space. This is continued in turns, until the whole field receives a scanty supply. Tobacco, kitchen gardens, mulberry, and sugar-cane, are generally allowed a little cowdung and ashes, but not in every place, and everywhere in so scanty a proportion as to produce very little good. Oilcake and fresh earth are given to betel-leaf, and the latter to mulberry. The ashes are given to the crops of grain that grow in winter, but in some places are totally neglected.

The spring rice is watered by the rude machine called Jangt, which I described in the account of

Dinajpur, and gardens are watered by the lever called here

#### IRRIGATION.

Dab, constructed on the same

principle with the Pacota or Yatam of Madras, but infinitely more rude and less powerful. No other kind of artificial watering is used. It appears to me very practicable, in seasons when the rains were scanty or failed, to effect much good by throwing dams across the smaller rivers which come from Morang, and spreading their water over the fields by means of canals. In ordinary years even, this might be applied to great purpose in rearing winter crops of high value such as cotton, which would then be in a great measure independent of season. A work of such extent, however, could only be raised by the zemindars, and those of this district must acquire habits very different from what they now follow before any such laudable exertions could be reasonably proposed.



In this district there are no embankments made on a large scale with a view to exclude floods from the fields, and as I have said

FLOODS AND  
EMBANKMENTS.

in Dinajpur, there is no reason to regret the want. The tenants in some places have united to form small banks, on the plan which I mentioned in Dinajpur, and which answer very well; but were the zemindars to exert themselves, much advantage might ensue from extending the practice. In a few places towards the north-west the people, in imitation of those in the adjacent parts of Ronggopur, have paid some attention to making banks to secure the more equal distribution of water, by preventing it from draining soon from the higher lands, and from drowning the lower. For Bengal in general, this neglected kind of economy would be the most valuable improvement, and in no part would it be more useful than in the north-west and central parts of this district, where it is totally neglected. I have nothing to offer on this interesting subject, in addition to what I have already mentioned in the account of Ronggopur.

### CHAPTER III.

#### DOMESTIC ANIMALS—PASTURE—FENCES.

In the account of the condition of the people, and in the eleventh Table, will be found an account of the tame elephants and horses that are kept by the natives of this district as belonging to their personal equipage. Here a good many ponies are used for the carriage of goods. They are the most wretched creatures that I have ever seen, and are valued at from 3 to 5 rs. They carry from 2 to 3 *mans*, or from 164 to 246 lbs. Their keeping costs nothing, except a rope to tie their feet together when they are turned out to pasture. Their number, and that of all the other kinds of cattle, will be seen in the 53rd Table.

At Puraniya and at the cantonments at Krishnagunj, from 15 to 20 asses are kept by the washermen as beasts of burthen.

There are few countries in India where the stock of cattle of the cow kind is of more value. They are of the same species with those of Dinajpur, but in general are of a much superior breed. There are many small cattle for the plough, but the number of those fit for carrying loads or for going in a cart is much greater than towards the east, and a great many of such as draw the plough would there be considered as too valuable for that purpose, and would be reserved for carriage. The pasture and other means of subsistence which the natives afford them would appear to be still more inadequate to their support than what falls to the share of the cattle in Dinajpur, on which account their strength is not in proportion to their size; but the oxen of this country, when tolerably fed, become strong and supply the greater part of Bengal with cattle for carts, and with the better kind that are employed by traders to carry loads. I had been led to expect that the fine cattle which are employed for draught in the Bengal



artillery were bred in this country; but I saw scarcely one such, and the people said that they come from the west. The number of such must therefore be at any rate trifling, although these cattle are usually said to come from Puraniya.

In the western parts of the district the people give good prices for breeding bulls, that is, from 12 to 15 rs.; but this is little more than what a good ox will cost. The bulls, however, are fine animals, and are said to be extremely diligent in their calling, so that one will serve 100 cows. The breed would improve still more, did not the Hindus of rank work many bulls, which often, when very young, impregnate the females and produce a puny breed. A few of these people consecrate bulls, which turn out fine animals for breeding, although they are not quite so pampered as those of the lower parts of Bengal, and are not numerous. In the eastern parts bulls usually sell lower than oxen, and in many parts there, every one is wrought. Except towards the north-east cows are not used in the plough, which tends very much to improve the breed. Wherever this practice exists to a considerable extent, the cattle are of the same kind as in Ronggopur, and those of the south-east resemble those of Dinajpur.

An estimate of the whole quantity of milk that the owners get, will be seen in the 34th Table, together with its value. In this Table I have not thought it necessary to divide the cows into three kinds, as I did in Ronggopur, because in the first place there are very few cows which are kept up, and regularly well fed on grain; and secondly because there are no cows which are constantly kept in the Bathan, and very few that are not kept in that manner for some part of the year.

The pasture in this district consists of the following descriptions:—234 square miles of high fallow land, and 482 square miles of high land that is not cultivated, with about 186 of broken corners, roads, burial grounds and the like, that are among the higher fields. All this is high, and produces little or nothing from

#### PASTURE.

December until May; but in the interval is pretty good. Some of the high waste land



is preserved from being pastured, and the grass is reserved for thatch. This may amount to about 80 square miles and must be deducted from the above, leaving about 822 of clear high pasture. Besides, in the high lands there may be 93 miles covered with woods and bushes, which at all times preserve some moisture but at no season give good pasture. Then there are about 78 square miles of low land that is clear, or that has been deserted and has not yet been overgrown; and 100 miles of roads and broken corners in the low parts of the country. In the floods a great part of this is useless, but it sooner becomes good and it retains its vegetation longer than the higher land, so that upon the whole it is as useful. Then there are 389 miles of low land covered with reeds, bushes, and trees. Some little part of the former, in the rainy season, produce fresh shoots that are highly seasonable; but the remainder is then totally useless. In the dry season again this is a grand resource, as the higher plants preserve a moisture that enables a low vegetation to subsist; but it never becomes so good as the clear pasture is in the rainy season. Finally, in December and January, the rice stubble is a grand resource, especially in the low rich lands near the Mahananda and its branches.

These resources would be totally inadequate for the immense stock that is kept, were it not for the wilds of Morang, belonging to Gorkha. The woods there, at the foot of the mountains, always retain some degree of freshness, and the rains of spring are there usually early and copious, which brings forward a very strong vegetation, while almost everything here, even to the bamboo, is perfectly withered. In Morang the owners of kine give a male calf to the Gorkhalese officer for each herd (Tatti) of 500 or 600 head. Each pair of buffaloes pays from 16 to 10 annas. In some parts also of this district, the zemindars, although in other respects rigid Hindus, have had sense to take a rent for pasture. This custom prevails all over the parts that belong to Serkars Puraniya and Mungger; but in Jennutabad, Tangra, and Tajpur, no rent is taken for the pasture of kine. It is perhaps to this circumstance that a good deal of the quality of the cattle is



owing, at least, where the rent is taken, it so happens that the cattle are by far the best.

In the rainy season almost all the cattle live in the villages; and where the pasture is plenty they are allowed no addition, except such as are used in carriages, or a very trifling number of milch cows that belong to very rich men. Cattle of both these descriptions are allowed a little straw, grain, or oil-cake. At this season the cattle are in very tolerable condition.

In parts where the country is very low, as many cattle as can be spared are sent in the rainy season to higher parts, where they pay for pasture. The remainder is kept at home, and is fed on grass, which grows chiefly on the little banks that confine the water on the plots of rice, and which springs with great luxuriance and is not very coarse, being mostly different species of *Poa* and *Panicum*, that are of a soft succulent nature. In these parts there is also a great abundance of rice straw, and some low lands near the great rivers produce reeds, which when young are a valuable fodder, and pay a high rent.

In the dry season, the high pastures become perfectly brown and naked, and afford little or no nourishment. Such of the cattle as can be spared are then sent away from the villages, and do not return until the early rains of spring have restored vegetation. A part of the cattle from the higher parts of the country go then to the low banks of the Ganges and Kosi, where there are many reeds and tamarisks that shelter some short herbage from the scorching rays of the sun, and afford a scanty pasture; but by far the greater part is sent to Morang. None are kept at home but those absolutely necessary for labour, and the cows which are in full milk. These are fed evening and morning, and necessity in many parts of the district has induced the natives to give them all sorts of straw, even those of different kinds of pulse, which in any other part of India that I have been, and in some parts even of this district, would be considered as insanity. In the eastern parts of the district the people strongly adhere to these prejudices, and never give any forage except rice straw and the empty pods (*Legumina*) of pulse; but they venture to cut the



stubble (Nara) of rice for their cattle, and do not hesitate to give them the tops (Poyal) of summer rice, after the grain has been thrashed.

From the inundated parts of the district there is less occasion in the dry season to send away their cattle, and those which were sent away in the floods return as these subside. The wastes are then accessible, and retain a moisture that enables them to produce a wretched pasture, and the quantity of rice straw is very great.

The cattle when not at home, even in the rainy season lie out, although the keepers are paid higher wages than are allowed in Dinajpur and Ronggopur, where they always construct good sheds, but here materials are scanty. In some parts, especially towards the west, even the cattle that are in the villages are not brought under cover, but are tied in the farmyard, and fed from a large trough of clay or basket-work into which their straw or grass is put. In most places the cattle occupy as many houses as the people.

The cattle which are absent from their village are entrusted to men of various castes, that make the tending herds and preparing milk the principal means of their subsistence. Sometimes they are paid by so much the head for each grown cow, the young cattle going for nothing. The rate in the south is 1 pan of cowries a month. This is commonly the case when several small farmers unite to hire a man to tend the cattle which they send to the wilds. The great proprietors, who have a sufficient stock to employ one or more men, usually pay them by yearly wages, which in the south are usually 3 or 4 rs. a year with almost 11 *mans* (1 ser 96 s. w. a day) of rice, a blanket, a Dhoti, a turban and pair of shoes. Each man takes care of fifty head.

The cows in full milk are seldom entrusted to these people, but are kept at home until the quantity of milk is reduced to what is considered as alone sufficient for the nourishment of the calves; and where the breed is good the natives allege that they take very little milk at all, leaving almost the whole to the calf; for the price of oxen has of late risen so much that it is considered more profitable to rear these of a good quality



than to attend chiefly to the milk. Even in the rainy season, in Dimiya where the herds are immense, cows' milk is extremely scarce, and is seldom sold. Most of what can be spared from the calves is used in the families of the proprietors.

The cows in the western part of this district produce less advantage to the farmers by their milk than those of Dinajpur, but a great deal more by their calves. If we reckon the expense of pasture, forage and tending, with the interest of the price of the stock, there will little remain. The selling cattle being considered by the natives of rank, who in these parts are the chief owners, as very shameful if not sinful, no satisfactory account of the profit from rearing young oxen could be obtained.

The low castes in general have not so many cows as will keep up their own stock of labouring cattle, and it would be as uncivil to ask a man of rank the profit that he made by such means, as in England to ask a gentleman the sum he had procured for a rotten borough. Sixteen cows, however, will on an average produce 80 calves, of which perhaps 64 may come to maturity. Of these perhaps 36 may be oxen, and as the good cattle kept by rich people may be considered as worth 8 rs. a head, the whole value may be 288 rs. or 18 rs. for each cow. She is kept for this fourteen years. The female calves keep up the stock, the milk will do no more than defray the expense and interest of the capital, so that  $2\frac{1}{2}$  rs. may be taken as the usual annual profit on each of these good cows, mostly belonging to the high castes, or to those who tend cattle. In the east part of the district the people take more milk from their cows, but have less profit from the calves, and indeed in some parts these do not keep up their stock.

The cattle are here subject to the same diseases as towards the east, but the violent attacks do not seem to be quite so frequent. The people give them a small quantity of salt, and could more be afforded, it would probably contribute to render them more healthy.

Property in buffaloes is considered as highly respectable, more so even than that in kine; because no man nowadays can treat the sacred animal in the



manner that is its due. Rajas, totally forgetful of their duty, charge rent for pasture, the herdsmen defraud the owners so much that no profit is to be made of the milk, which is the only lawful advantage, and the owners have therefore been under the necessity of selling the calves, and in order to render them more fit for labour have even consented to their being castrated; some have even proceeded to such lengths as to have sold cattle that were useless, as not breeding or as being too old for labour, to monsters who they had sufficient reason to think would again sell them to those who might murder the innocents, for the sake of satisfying their shocking appetites for flesh. Brahmans resist all these innovations as far as they conveniently can, but with no great success, the lucre of gain in these degenerate times too often overcoming the sense of propriety. It is, however, to the sacred order that most of the bulls wrought in the plough owe the preservation of their sexual dignity.

The buffalo is the animal which chiefly supplies the people of this district with butter. They are not in general so fine as those of Ronggopur, which seems to be owing to fewer of them being impregnated by wild males. In the south-east corner, where no tame males are kept, the buffaloes sell from 32 to 40 rupees a pair, while those that go to Morang attended by tame males average no more than 28 rupees. On the borders of Dinajpur they are only valued at from 16 to 20 rupees, although they are of a very good breed. They are managed much in the same way as cows. In the rainy season they are kept in the villages: in the dry most are sent to Morang, or to the reedy banks of the great river, and never receive any food except pasture. Many of the females, however, which are in full milk are kept at home, the people having little confidence in the honesty of those who tend them.

Buffaloes are always reckoned by the pair, consisting of two adult females with their calves, and the males that are necessary for breeding, so that young and old, male and female, every pair may amount to 3 rs. a head. The male calves that are born are said to be considerably more numerous than the females, and are usually killed soon after they are calved, very few



being here reserved for sacrifices, or for labour. The female buffaloes, therefore, that have had male calves give much more milk to their owners than those which have had females, because the latter are kept until they grow up, and are allowed a great part of their mother's milk. In the south-east corner all the males are preserved for sacrifice, until their horns shoot. The females therefore, in that part, apparently give less milk, although they are finer cattle. A flock of 40 pair of buffaloes in the south, requires the following charges:—

	Rs.
Two Kespers' wages ... ..	8
Rice, 18 <i>mans</i> 12 <i>seers</i> ... ..	12
Two Blankets ... ..	2
Two Wrappers ... ..	2
Salt for the buffaloes ... ..	12
Bells and rent, 1 to 1½ <i>rs.</i> ... ..	10
Total ... ..	46

Out of 100 female buffaloes, 40 give annually milk, on an average 7½ *mans*, (80 s. w. the *ser*), worth so many rupees. The whole net proceeds therefore amount to 300 *rs.*, deduct the expense of care and there remains 254 *rs.* for profit and interest on a capital of 1200 *rs.* This is so much less than the account which I procured in Dinajpur, and that given in the Remarks on the Husbandry of Bengal, where for every full-grown female buffalo in a herd the owner is supposed to receive 10 *mans* of milk, that I imagine the natives have concealed part of their profit, which in that case would be enormous. In every part it was generally agreed that the buffalo produces a calf once in the two years only, while in Dinajpur I allowed six-tenths to be in milk, and the author of the Remarks allows two out of three; nor anywhere here would the owners allow more than 7½ *mans* of milk for the average produce of each buffalo cow in milk, that is, of 3½ *mans* of milk for each adult female in the herd, and in many places they reduced the produce to 3 *mans*. Although in the Tables of produce I have adhered to the reports of the natives, because I have no sort of proof of its being erroneous, yet I have little or no doubt of the



accuracy of the opinion of the author of the Remarks, not only out of deference for the opinion of a person exceedingly well informed, but because it agrees so well with what the people of Dinajpur admitted.

In the Tables I have estimated the value of the dairy by the milk, but it is usual with the owners of buffaloes to receive 1 ser of Ghi or prepared butter for every 12 sers of milk. The Ghi is delivered to him at his house, and is often paid for by the merchant, before he receives it.

In common years the young female buffaloes that arrive at maturity are more numerous than those which die, and the herds increase; but now and then distempers occur which reduce the flocks far below the medium standard.

Goats are pretty numerous, and are of the same kind with those in Dinajpur. I have nothing to add to what has been said concerning them, in giving an account of the districts already surveyed. The kids for sacrifice, and a few wethered males, are the only source of profit, and in general sell lower somewhat than in the two last mentioned districts.

In this district there are two breeds of sheep. The Bhera Bheri, or male and female of the one kind, are the same with those of Dinajpur, and are of the kind that seems original to Bengal. They are diffused in small numbers through most parts of the district, are managed as in Dinajpur and Ronggopur, and the value almost entirely depends on the young males produced for sacrifice. The people never castrate them. The lambs are nearly of the same value with kids. In a few parts their wool is made into blankets, for which it is very fit, as the finest in Mysore is made from the wool of this breed. This kind, as less subject to disease than the following, deserves encouragement.

The other kind of sheep called Garar has a long tail, and resembles the European breed more than any sort that I have seen in India, except some of the kinds in Nepal. The Garar has small horns, and differs chiefly from the European breed in the form of its head. This sheep, so far as I can learn, is originally from the hilly country south from Mungger which forms part of the Vindhya mountains, but whether the



breed extends all over the tract so named, I have not yet learned. As this is the only breed of which Europeans can procure wethers, large herds are sent to Murshedabad and Calcutta, and some have from thence been sent to Madras, Bombay, and other places where tolerable mutton was not otherwise procurable, and were there called Bengal sheep, although they are not of that country, but are imported from Behar. In the parts of Serkar Behar that belong to this district are a good many flocks, belonging to people whose ancestors came from the vicinity of Mungger. Last year by far the greater part was carried off by a very fatal distemper, so that the number in the Table appears trifling; but probably in a few years, all the females being reserved, the number will be considerable.

The management of these sheep is conducted on a much better plan than that of the small sheep of Bengal, and is nearly on the same footing with that adopted in Mysore. The shepherds all weave blankets, and they castrate the male lambs, to sell usually when they are rising three years old, and they procure from the females a small quantity of milk. A tup is kept for each score of breeding ewes, and a young male is kept to supply his place. The ewes have their first lamb when two years old, generally in the beginning of the fair season. They breed once a year, and very seldom have at a birth more than one lamb. They breed until seven years of age, and are allowed to die a natural death. Each gives four or five lambs. The males are castrated at four months old, and when rising three years old are sold, at about 14 rs. a score, to traders who come from Murshedabad. Older are seldom procurable. At two years old these sheep have four cutting teeth, at three years old they procure six, and at four years they acquire eight; but here such wethers can very rarely be purchased. In spring the lambs are shorn, and each gives a quarter ser of wool, which is much finer than the subsequent shearings. The second shearing also is not bad, but all the following are very coarse. The grown sheep are shorn three times a year, each giving on an average a quarter (72 s. w. the ser), which sells at three sers the rupee.



Each sheep therefore gives annually about 22 ounces of wool, worth four annas.

In the vicinity of Sayefgunj, a large village of these shepherds, before the distemper, had about 4000 breeding sheep. They sold annually about 1000 wethers worth 700 rs., and their wool, at the above rate, would be worth 1000 rs. They had besides a little milk, but scarcely deserving notice. Their principal profit, however, was in the manufacturing of the blankets, to which I shall have occasion to return.

During the rainy season the sheep are kept on the dry high pastures, in the dry they are driven to the banks of the great rivers, where they find among the reeds and bushes some short herbage. They receive no other food, but each sheep gets monthly one-sixteenth ser (Ziis) of a coarse Glauber's salt (Khari Nemak), which comes from Tirahut. Its price is about 50 sers a rupee, so that 66 sheep cost about one rupee a year. The whole village gives for pasture to the value of only 8 rupees, paid in blankets. A man takes care of 300, and is allowed 36 rs. a year. The charges therefore come to about half the value of the wool. The remainder, and the wethers sold off, are the profit.

An estimate of the number of swine will be seen in the 33rd Table. I have nothing to add to what I have said concerning them in Dinajpur and Ronggopur.

Curs, on the same footing as in Dinajpur, are very numerous in this district. A few have been trained to pursue the wild hog, and to bring him to bay until their masters come up and spear him. This sport is entirely confined to the lowest castes, who hunt for the pot. Near the capital several natives keep lap-dogs, of the European breed, of which they are very fond. Cats are on the same footing as in Dinajpur.

Poultry are much scarcer than in Dinajpur; geese are almost entirely kept as pets, there are very few ducks, and it is only the Moslems who will contaminate themselves by keeping fowls. In most places, however, pigeons are procurable.



Still less attention has been paid to this valuable part of husbandry than in Dinajpur; so that in most places there is no sort of attempt to enclose anything but

## FENCES.

the yard which surrounds the hut; and the fences for that purpose are usually very slovenly, consisting of dry reeds placed on end, and tied very rudely together. This is intended more as a screen to obtain privacy than for any other purpose, and assists powerfully in spreading the flames from one hut to another.

In many parts kitchen gardens are quite defenceless, or are guarded merely by a few dry bushes, stuck upon a small bank that has been thrown from a ditch, and is of little or no efficacy. In the south-east corner, however, there are round the mulberry fields many excellent ditches and banks, and some of them are planted with a kind of quickset hedges; but although the returns are so great, and are so much increased by fences capable of excluding floods, in many parts the mulberry is left quite open.

It is only in a very few other places of the district that some quickset hedges are to be found about villages, and the plants that are most commonly chosen can scarcely be said to make a fence; for the only two that I observed at all common were the *Jatropha curcas* (Vagh Erengri) and *Justicia adhatoda* (Harbaksa, or Tusi, or Rosa), both thin-growing bushes without thorns. Near Bholahat the trees called Mangdar (No. 84), Jiga (No. 90), and Amra (No. 92) are also used. Cuttings readily take root, but they do not make close fences. In the same vicinity the Ratan and Jujub, both prickly shrubs, are sometimes used in the hedges, but both grow in a straggling manner and do not appear to be well fitted for the purpose. To enclose a field of one bigah ( $\frac{1}{3}$  of an acre) requires there 5 rs. for a ditch, and 2 rs. for a hedge. To keep the fence in repair will annually cost half as much. This is the statement of the natives, who here exaggerate the expense of every operation. I nowhere saw round the same field a hedge and a good ditch, nor did I ever see a hedge that was a good fence.

The want of fences is a great evil, and the cattle commit uncommon depredations. A large proportion of them belong to the pure castes, who in this district enjoy high privileges and are uncommonly insolent to the vulgar. Their cattle trespass with much impunity, and the poor of course retaliate as far as they dare, by stealth, so that the community is a great sufferer. The people who tend the cattle seem to be sent rather with a view to prevent them from straying, than to keep them from destroying the crops, at least I saw many instances of a most culpable neglect. I have here very seldom observed cattle tethered, which in an open country is a very useful practice.



## CHAPTER IV.

### FARMS.

CLASSES OF TENANTS—STOCK—EXPENSES OF CULTIVATION—RENTS—TENURES—FARM LABOURERS.

#### 1. CLASSES OF TENANTS.

In this district the nature of farms is very much affected by the rank of the tenant. All the high or pure tribes, that is, Brahmans, Rajputs, Kayasthas, Saiuds, Pathans, and Moguls, have a right to occupy whatever lands they require for their houses and gardens, free of rent; and the same indulgence is granted to men of both religions, who pretend that they are dedicated to God, such as Vairagis, Sannyasis, Vaishnav, and Fakirs. Were these men to confine themselves to the duties of their profession, and to qualify themselves by the nature of their studies and pursuits for being useful in the instruction of the people, in the management of police, revenue and justice, and in the exercise of arms, such an indulgence might be highly commendable, and was probably granted on such principles; but as matters stand at present the indulgence seems to be thrown away, or rather, to be highly injurious to the state. \*

Perhaps of the whole people of this class in the district, not one person in three can read even the vulgar tongue and the number of those who have received anything like a liberal education, even according to the ideas of the country, is altogether insignificant. They are totally destitute of military spirit, even sufficient to induce them to act as private soldiers; and those who are most distinguished acquire only the art of keeping accounts, or perhaps the knowledge of a few forms used in the inferior courts

of justice, and of some marvellous legends, and an abundant stock of chicane. By far the greater part are mere illiterate peasants, with however a great degree of haughtiness towards their inferiors, and a very uncommon share of indolence and timidity. As however they are highly respected, and as most of the lands are under the management of such of their kinsmen as can keep accounts, under this pretext of land for houses and gardens, besides the large proportion of land free of taxes which they possess, they have contrived to seize on a great deal belonging to the assessed estates. In Gorguribah I was assured by the native officers that they thus held one-fourth part of all the cultivated land that belonged to the zemindars. This was probably a great exaggeration; but there is no doubt that they have become a heavy tax on these proprietors, and justice would seem to require that some stop should be put to their progress. Every man who has, of his own, lands free of taxes might be prohibited from availing himself of his privilege, and some reasonable modus for the extent might be perhaps fixed. They are not indeed considered as entitled to plough any fields which they thus hold, but they form plantations which they call gardens, and which yield them a small profit, though to the public this occasions the loss of what the land might have yielded had it been cultivated, and which would have been much more valuable.

✓The respect shewn to the privileged orders has, however, been productive of a much greater evil to the landlords and to the public. I do not indeed know that this has been sanctioned by any law; but in practice it is universally admitted that such persons when they rent land, are to pay a less rate than has been fixed or is usual for farmers of a low birth. The reason assigned for this is, in my opinion, a sufficient argument for totally suppressing, or at least discouraging the practice. It is alleged that, as they cannot debase themselves by personal labour and must hire servants, they cannot afford to pay so much rent as low fellows who are born to labour. This, I would say, implies that they never should undertake the business. \*



In Ronggopur I have indeed stated that such persons, with great advantage to all parties, have taken leases of a large extent of land; but then they do not attempt to cultivate themselves, and let out their lands at rack rent, and they pay much more to the zemindars than, considering the usual inactivity of such people, they could otherwise secure. Here on the contrary under-tenants are seldom allowed, especially where this practice is carried to the greatest extent. These tenants of high birth keep large stocks of cattle, and hire servants to labour their farms. Owing to their pride and sloth, they are in general so excessively defrauded that they could not afford to pay a fair rent, and even at the low rate which they give, they could not live unless their herds of cows and buffaloes gave them assistance, and unless many of them found a resource in begging, which according to their ideas, it must be observed, is the proper and most honourable manner in which many of them can live, and perfectly consistent with their notions of dignity. Their herds of cattle are a great nuisance to their low neighbours, who presume not to complain of the encroachments which they make; their lands are badly cultivated; and they live at the expense of the landlords, as paying a very trifling rent; yet as destitute of science, of activity, or of the wealth which encourages the industry of a country, they are a mere useless burthen of society without contributing to its splendour. This practice should therefore, if practicable, be discouraged, as a disgraceful and pernicious departure in these high castes from the duties of their station; but the zemindars, while so much under the control of these people's relations as they are at present, will never effect such a good piece of economy; and unless government interferes, the evil will probably continue increasing.

The next class of tenants in this country are the tradesmen, who in general hire small plots of land for the same purposes that I have mentioned in Dinajpur, and which does no injury to anyone. The only thing additional that I have here to notice is that some persons included in this class, that is, the Goyalas who are



farmers. Some of them have very considerable farms, like the high ranks; but although they cultivate them by servants, and pay a heavy rent, they make more profit, because they attend more carefully to their affairs. The expense of hired servants on the large scale is however so great that their cattle form the principal resource which these people have, and the farms are chiefly kept for the accommodation of their herds. It is this class of the artists that possess by far the greater part of the agricultural stock that belongs to the tradesmen; and some of them are very wealthy. I heard of one who had 1000 head of cows. The other tradesmen chiefly cultivate by means of those who receive a share of the crop.

The third class of tenants are called Chasas or ploughmen, but among these are included not only tenants who lease lands, but those who cultivate for share of the crop, or for wages. In the eastern parts of this district, there are many of those, especially Muhammedans, who have large farms and abundant stock, although very few are so wealthy as the great farmers and traders of Dinajpur; but their stock enables them to trade to a certain extent, and to supply the wants of their poorer neighbours. In the western parts again there are many fewer of the labouring tribes that lease considerable farms, most of which are occupied by the high tribes and cowherds.

The tenants of these labouring castes always pay a much higher rent than the others, and this indeed often amounts to such an intolerable height that the poor creatures, who have no other resource, are obliged to run away, after having parted with their whole property. Few or none of the zemindars condescend to bestow a greater care in the management of their estates than to inspect, in a general way, the annual account of the settlement that has been made. If the amount is kept nearly the same with what it was last year, they give themselves no farther trouble. Now the manager who wishes to oblige a friend, whether from corruption or kindred, gives him a deduction, and places the amount on the lands that are held by the low or poor tenant, so that it very often happens that in the same village the rate of rent for a bigah



is to one man, two annas, and to another two rupees. These are extremes; but smaller though still enormous differences, such as four annas and a rupee, are almost universal; and this is totally independent of the nature of the soil; nay in general the best land is occupied by the highest castes, and pays the lowest rent. In the course of one or two years the low tenant runs away in arrears; and as a deduction of rent must be made to induce a new settler to come, an addition is made on those who remain. The runaway labourers, having lost their little stock, are now reduced to take service from the high castes, and naturally enough, fleece them, not only by indolence but by petty embezzlements; and the proud indolence of their masters gives ample room for both.

A fourth class of tenants are the Kolayit or under-tenants, who have no lease nor possession from the zemindars, but hire land at rack-rent from the tenantry. Under existing circumstances, no means for the improvement of the country appear to me so likely to have effect as the encouragement of large tenants, who should have reasonable long leases, and who might re-let to under-tenants at rack-rent. This, as I have before said, is just exactly opposite in its effects to the present plan of employing an immense number of petty tenants, whose rents are farmed for short periods to agents, that are invested with all the power of the landlord. The leases ought not to be in perpetuity, otherwise the landlord's increasing interest ceases, and the farms subdivide among heirs, so that the expense of collecting becomes intolerable, as has happened in the estate called Boda of Ronggopur. But the leases ought to be for such a length as to induce the tenant to lay out money on improvement. With this view leases for life are by far the most advantageous; and the landlord in prudence should extend them to the tenant's son, whenever he offered a reasonable addition of rent. Large farms cannot be instantly produced, because there are vast numbers who hold petty possessions in perpetuity: but this might be gradually overcome. All the waste lands which a man possesses may be divided into farms, and let at whatever they will bring to individuals, whose



farms might be enlarged, as tenants who occupy in perpetuity became extinct or ran away. This would require the removal of all sorts of shackles, whether from custom or settlement. Rich men would offer for such lands, were the customs of farming rents to Mostajirs or Izaradars totally prohibited, which it certainly ought to be, as ruinous and oppressive.\*

## 2. STOCK.

In Table 33 I have given an account of the labouring and milch stock belonging to each of these classes; only it must be observed that six-sixteenths of the buffaloes belong to milkmen and tradesmen, and ten-sixteenths to the high castes, for the Chasas have scarcely any of this property. In the 35th Table I have given an estimate of the proportion of land rented by each of these three classes, and of the proportion of ploughs held by their owners or men of their families, by those who cultivate for a share, by hired servants or slaves, and by under-tenants. This will explain many circumstances relative to the stock of farms. I shall now proceed to mention some more:—

The expense of implements is here nearly the same as in Dinajpur, and amounts to a mere trifle. In some parts towards the north-east, where no iron is used in the plough, it is next to nothing. Where the soil is stiff, and where iron teeth are used in the rake drawn by cattle (Bida), the expense is rather heavier. The principal stock in both districts is cattle, and here this charge is comparatively heavy, although a good deal of the land near the Ganges requires no assistance from the plough, and the only expense attending its cultivation is the sowing and reaping.

In the eastern parts of the district the labouring cattle are small, and of about the same value with those in Dinajpur, that is, on an average are worth about 3 rs. a head. In the western and greater part of the district, the cattle are much superior, their average value being nearly double of what is above stated. Two or four oxen there no doubt plough a good deal



more than the same number of poor cattle do towards the east: but this excess is by no means in proportion to the difference of price, especially where a ploughman is hired and his master, as usual, is indolent.

In the 36th Table will be found an estimate of the number of cattle allowed for each plough in the different divisions of this district, formed on the mode of calculation usual among the natives, of so many sixteenths having two cattle, so many four, and so many six. This must not be taken as strictly exact, even making the allowances for error in the estimate, because where all the ploughs are stated to have two or four or six cattle, it may happen that an inconsiderable number may differ, but in a general view of the subject this can make no essential difference.

In the eastern parts, where two cattle are employed, being there mostly of a poor breed, they cultivate about the same quantity as in Dinajpur, that is, a pair plough about five acres. Where many cows are employed in the plough, some less must be allowed; and where the soil is very light, or towards the Ganges where much is sown without culture, a pair of oxen will serve for a farm that contains more than five acres of land under crop.

In these parts, where four cattle are allowed to the plough, they cultivate nearly double the above extent, and there is a trifle less expense bestowed on implements. Where cattle are kept for each plough, it is nowhere expected that they should plough three times as much as one pair, because the ploughman has not time, and especially as a large proportion of ploughs, with such a stock, belongs to idlers. This reduces very much the average rate; and as this practice is most common where the cattle are best, if we take it into the account we shall scarcely find anywhere, including all the plough cattle of a division, that they plough at the rate of more than five or six acres a pair.

### 3. EXPENSES OF CULTIVATION.

On the farms where four or six cattle are kept for each plough, there no doubt is a great saving in the



wages of the ploughmen. Where however there are four oxen, the ploughman can do little more than plough and feed his cattle, and when there are six oxen he even requires some additional assistance, while in Dinajpur the ploughman, except with rich crops, does every labour that attends the farm, and sometimes more. In these cases therefore, a great expense is incurred in hiring people to weed, transplant, reap and thrash. No regular establishment being kept for performing these operations, and everyone being eager to procure servants at the same time, as the seasons press, the wages given on such occasions have become extremely burthensome; while the want of care in the greater tenants has given rise to a system of embezzlement at harvest that would be ruinous to the poor farmer, who did not either avoid it by his own labour or by taking a share from the rich.

On this account the estimates usually given of the expense attending any species of cultivation in this district, are liable to great doubt. They are commonly procured from the rich farmers, as being the most intelligent men; and who could not live, were they to pay a full rent. The account is swelled out by the numerous idle fellows who are hired at a high rate to plant and weed, and whom their employer is too lazy to superintend; and an enormous charge of one-seventh is made for reaping, while the produce is diminished by what the reapers pilfer. The account, so far as it affects the profit of the rich, is true; but the poor man who labours with his own hands, if he hires in men to carry on any operation with dispatch, carefully superintends their labour, and he is hired in turn to assist his neighbours. His harvest, it is true, is pilfered, owing to the prevailing example set by the rich; but he in his turn shares in the spoil of his neighbours. Without taking this into consideration, it would be impossible to explain how so many poor men live and pay a heavy rent, while they have no resource from cattle nor from any other means but the rearing grain, nay, who must usually borrow part of their stock at a most enormous rate.

Two calculations given by rich men at Nehnagar may suffice for the rate of expense:—



A plough with four oxen will plough about 32 bigahs, Calcutta measure :—

Ploughman 18 rs.; boy to tend the cattle 1 r. 8 annas; implements 1 r.; labourers hired to weed and transplant 7 rs.; seed 3 rs. 8 annas; The average gross produce, as by the Tables, of 32 bigahs, 88 rs. 3 annas 4 pice; one-seventh for harvest 12 rs. 6 annas 12 pice; Total 43 rs. 9 annas 12 pice.

A plough with six oxen will cultivate 38 bigahs :—

Ploughman 18 rs.; boy to tend the cattle 2 rs. 4 annas; implements 1 r.; labourers hired 10 rs.; seed 4 rs. 2 annas; The gross amount, as by the Tables, 94 rs. 11 annas 16 pice; deduct for harvest 13 rs. 8 annas 10 pice; Total 48 rs. 14 annas 10 pice.

In treating of the condition of labourers, I shall have again occasion to resume the subject of the expense incurred in cultivation. The custom farther of cultivating for one-half of the produce is here also common, and those who carry on all the operations except harvest, and who furnish all the stock, are by all admitted to live better than common labourers or hired servants; the whole expense of cultivation cannot fairly, therefore, be estimated at more than one-half of the produce with the expense of reaping it, and the difference between that and the rent ought to be considered as the net gain of the farmer.

If the whole rent paid were only taken into consideration, I am persuaded that this gain would appear much greater here than either in Dinajpur or Ronggopur, and therefore the profits of the profession ought to be considered as higher. It is very true that a Mogul or Brahman may give a very fair account of his profit and loss, and by that it may appear, although the rent he pays is a trifle, that he has little or no profit on the grain which he rears; yet he still continues to follow the business, which is highly degrading to a person of his rank. The reason is that he has a large herd of cattle, which without a farm he could not maintain; he makes no allowance for what is given to them, and endeavours to show that all his profits arise from the cattle, and that he is totally unable to pay a higher rent. Such tenants, as I have already said, should by all fair means be discouraged, and those only ought to be employed who are not too high for a careful discharge of the duties of their profession. These would cultivate with more economy



and industry, would pay a higher rent, and still would become richer; for notwithstanding the large herds which many of the high castes possess, they are in general extremely necessitous.

A great proportion of all manner of produce, grain, milk, cocoons, indigo, etc., is usually spent before the person who rears it has brought it to market, so that the system of advances is carried to full as great an extent as in Dinajpur, and a large share of the farmers, high and low, could not carry on cultivation without receiving them. The liberal terms on which the Company deals make all desirous of receiving their assistance, and renders it very difficult for the agents to prevent heavy losses from the balances. The very advantageous terms given by the indigo planters induce the natives to cultivate the plant at a lower rate than they could otherwise afford, and both these means extend some way in carrying on the cultivation; but are very far from being adequate to supply one-third of the demand. The remainder is given by merchants and frugal farmers, mostly Muhammedans, and I had occasion to mention, when treating of indigo, that the terms are uncommonly hard, which shows the urgency of the want.

No attempt, so far as I heard, has been made in this district to regulate the size of farms, which after all are nearly of about the same sizes as those in Dinajpur, where attempts of the kind have been made; for there being few under-tenants there are few very large farms. Where the custom of keeping four or six cattle for each plough prevails, many poor farmers have not such an extent of capital, but two or three join in a plough, which goes alternately to their respective fields.

A large proportion of the farmers are in debt, chiefly to merchants of various kinds who make advances for their produce, silk, indigo, grain and butter. The quantity of arrears of rent is considerable, and the total loss by a deficiency of payment to the landlord is very trifling. Formerly, it is said, this loss was very heavy; when harvest came, the tenant could not sell his grain, and was under the necessity of running away. For the last few years there has



been a constant demand, and the tenantry are improving very much in their circumstances. This is usually attributed to the crops having formerly been much more copious, so that there was no one to eat them; but the crops for some years have, it is said, been uncommonly scanty. I rather imagine that the demand is owing to an overflowing population, which has now recovered from the effects of the dreadful famine in the [year] 1177 (A.D. 1770). On this account the labourers are suffering, while the tenantry are less oppressed by debt.

On most estates it is customary to assist new tenants by a little money advanced. If he brings implements and cattle, the landlord or his agent advances grain for seed and food. The latter is paid back from the first crop, with an addition of 50 per cent.; twice as much is required from the former. As the loan is seldom for more than six months, this is an enormous usury.

#### 4. RENTS.

In this district I have not been able to learn anything satisfactory concerning the common rate of rent, which is kept a profound secret by the zemindars and their agents. They will readily acknowledge the actual different rates that are in use on their lands, for instance from one or two annas to four rupees a bigah, but without knowing the proportion of each rate, this is telling nothing, and the agents will universally admit that these rates give no idea of the respective value of the produce, the best lands very often paying the lowest rate. Were the lands equally and fairly assessed, I have no doubt that they should be able to pay nearly at the same rate as in Dinajpur, that is, on an average ten annas a bigah Calcutta measure.

In Dinajpur and Ronggopur, I have mentioned that under different pretexts various charges are besides paid by the tenants, and these charges being illegal, or at least not recoverable by law, are enacted by various indirect means. What I have said before on this subject is pretty nearly applicable to this district, only as the zemindars, and still more their agents, would abhor the idea of fleecing the high

castes, so the complaints of the poor are more urgent and appear to me more fully established than those which are made in Dinajpur. Mr. Ellerton, in whose experience and moderation I have great confidence, seems to think that these additional charges raise the rent three-tenths more than the engagement; but [as] I have said, the real extent and nature of these abuses could be ascertained only by a most patient legal investigation, and that conducted with a skill, not only in avoiding chicane and the influence of corruption but also in country affairs, that few possess. I here commonly heard of a Hakimi and Grihasthi price for almost everything. The former is the price which the zemindars and all their servants choose to pay for what they want; the latter is what other people must pay, and generally is about double the former. This, however, I am afraid, is not all. In several cases I had proof which appeared to me satisfactory that the agents used various false pretexts, such as supplying my wants and that of other travellers, for fleecing the people to a considerable amount without paying anything at all.

The total produce of the arable lands being estimated at 210,97,192 rupees; allowing one-half for the fair expense of cultivation and one-half of the remainder for the net profit of the tenant, we may judge somewhat of the extent of the fair demands which the zemindar might make, and which probably very far exceeds what they receive, after making every deduction for free estates.

The whole rent is paid in money by various instalments, and as in Dinajpur is usually collected in trifling fractions by means of ignorant messengers (Mahasel), who cannot give receipts and are a dreadful charge to the tenantry, as they pay the whole expense of such messengers. Although I am aware that the nature of the people, little inclined to discharge their legal debts, requires constant dunning, and that this expense ought to induce them to be regular in their payments at the office (Kachahri) of the landlord; and although it seems hard to proceed to recover payment by legal distress without previously endeavouring by more lenient steps to recover arrears; yet I am



persuaded that the true interests of both landlords and tenants require that this practice of sending messengers with the bills should be entirely prohibited, that the tenants should be made to know that they must either come voluntarily to the office (Kachahri) and pay their rent at the stated period, or there obtain from their landlord a legal delay, or that he is at liberty to recover his rent by distress. The agents are the only persons who gain by these messengers, all of whom pay one way or other for their employment, and all that they take is a clear loss to the landlord and tenant. Messengers therefore should be totally prohibited from receiving rents and from taking any hire from tenants; and as such people are extremely daring, nothing less than severe corporal punishment in case of legal conviction would deter them from such practices. The order of their superiors should of course be no legal excuse.

### 5. TENURES.

The tenures by which farmers in this district hold land are extremely various, and shall be detailed in the review which I give of estates. I shall here mention only a few circumstances of a more general nature.

Some parts of this district belonged to Dinajpur when Mr. Hatch made the settlement of the Raja's estates, and are rented in the same manner as the other lands of that district. In the other parts of the district there may be said to be four classes of tenants:—

One are by the natives usually called *Estemurars* or *Chakbandi*, and may be rather considered as proprietors; for they pay a fixed rent to the *zemindar*, which can never be raised, and in general they can sell their farms to whomsoever they please. In other cases, however, this is not allowed. Why they were not placed on the footing of the *Murzkuris*, who held lands of a superior lord, I do not know. Their rent is in general very low, and some of their possessions are pretty considerable.

The second class, nearly approaching to the above, have leases, which were signed by the gentlemen who made the settlement with the *zemindars*. These

leases are perpetual, even if the lands should be sold for arrears of revenue, and the rate is now considered very low, the price of all kind of grain having risen prodigiously since the settlement was made.

Thirdly, those who possess lands in perpetuity from the owners, but whose right of possession becomes void, should the estate be sold for the arrears of revenue. Such possessions in this district are most usually called *Mududi*. Some of the tenants have leases, others have not, but their names and rents are entered on the books of the estate, and by its customs these have an undoubted right of possession at the same rate. In some cases, however, as will afterwards be mentioned, means are taken by the landlords to make evasions.

Fourthly, those who possess on short leases, at the expiration of which they may be deprived of their lands, and these in fact compose by far the greater part of the tenantry. In no case, however, is it customary to turn a tenant away who would give as much as any other offerer; nor is a man ever deprived of his house and garden, nor is the rent of these ever heightened, so long as he chooses to occupy them.

As it has pleased government to vest the property of the lands in the *zemindars*, and as this act is now irretrievable, I am persuaded that this tenure is by far more advantageous for the community than any other by which the tenants could hold their lands. As however, I admit that most of the lands in this district are held by this tenure, and that the people are not so industrious as in *Dinajpur*, where a different tenure prevails, many may naturally think that there is here a practical proof of my being mistaken. I endeavour to account for appearances as follows:—First, wherever this custom prevails in this district, the people are more industrious and the land is better cultivated than where the leases are perpetual. Secondly, the leases are too short, seldom exceeding three years. Thirdly, the high castes, that is, the most indolent are encouraged by paying a very low rent, while those who are industrious are reduced to beggary by enormous exactions.



To give an idea of these I shall mention what is said to be an usual practice. The leases on an estate having expired, the manager assembles the people, and speaking to all kindly, encourages them to commence the cultivation with spirit, and talks to them of his moderation and justice. He finds various pretexts for delaying the leases; one of the most usual of which is that he does not know the value of lands, nor the extent to which the people will be able to cultivate; and he assures them that when he has seen the real condition of affairs, everything will be settled to their wishes. When a considerable part of the cultivation has been performed, he calls the people together, and fixes the rent at whatever he pleases, and the people must either accept of his terms or lose the whole crop on the ground. This practice I was assured is very common, and it may seem extraordinary that the people should so often be duped; but I know of none so easily misled by promises as the natives of this country, and even the most acute foxes of Calcutta or Madras are often beguiled by the high prospects of gain which a known rogue has held out.

It cannot be imagined that I should propose to render void such leases in perpetuity as now exist, which would be an act of intolerable injustice; but the zemindar should be perhaps restrained from granting any such to new tenants, except for houses and gardens, the rent of which, to all castes, should be fixed at double the actual average rate of fields in the estate where they are situated, to be ascertained by its books.

Each of these kind of leases or rights of possession may be of two natures. First, the rent may be fixed upon the extent or number of bigahs occupied, and the tenant may cultivate them in whatever manner he pleases, or may allow them to be fallow; but he must pay the rent. This kind of tenure in various parts is called Mokurruri, Juma Zemin, Kumkasht, Bigahti, Kumdur, etc. In the leases or agreements which are granted for land in this manner, the number of bigahs is usually mentioned, and the rate of rent for each is stated. The landlord may at any time measure the field, and if he finds more than the lease states, he



can only charge the surplus at the same rate that is mentioned in the lease or rent-roll of the estate.

In many parts of India it is usual to fix the rent of land according to its value, and to divide the lands of a village into three, four, or more qualities, each of which is to pay a certain rate. This plan, which I confess appears natural enough, is followed in a very few places of this district, but in most is totally rejected. In all villages, indeed, you find lands rented at very various rates, but these are totally unconnected with the quality of the soil, and depend entirely on the influence which the person who obtains the lease has over the person who granted it, and the best lands are often the lowest rented.

In other places, again, no measurement is attempted; but the master and tenant agree upon a certain rent for the farm taken in a general way, whatever may be its extent, or in whatever manner it may be cultivated. This kind of agreement is called *Guzbundi*, in opposition to *Darbundi*, where a certain rate on the *bigah* is specified. Were the *zemindars* to attend to their affairs this is the most rational method, as preventing the constant oppression to the tenants and the enormous expense to the master that arise from measurement; but in general, especially where the leases are perpetual, this would prove totally ruinous to the owner, as his agents would contrive to let the whole for a trifle: a certain rate on each *bigah* is some check on their villainy.

In the second case the tenant pays only for what he actually cultivates. A certain rate is fixed for each species of crop, according to its supposed value or profit; and if the land gives two crops in the year, it pays two rents. This tenure in various parts is called *Husbulhaseli*, *Halhaseli*, *Kasht*, *Pordur*, *Darbundi*, etc. From the *Ayeen Akbery* it would appear that in the time of *Abual Fazil* this mode was very common, that is to say, on the face of the public accounts; for at all times, I suspect, it must have been totally nominal, as at present it no doubt is. It implies that every field in an estate should be measured at least once a year and often two or even three times, which on any estate of considerable size lays open such room for



fraud as would be totally impossible to keep within sufferable bounds, except perhaps by a severity of punishment that would be a greater evil. The usual practice is therefore, when a new tenant enters and has cultivated his farm, to ascertain the rent by the rate contained in his agreement, and he continues afterwards to pay the same rent, subject however at any time to a re-measurement, if he increases his cultivation or if any part of his land should be carried away or destroyed.

In many parts it is usual to fix the rate of the land that is occupied by houses, gardens, and plantations, (Chanri, Bastu, Ud Bastu, Bagat), in the first of these manners, while the fields (Kohet) are valued by the second. In all parts the high ranks pay nothing for the former description of land; and in some parts of the district all those who rent fields are also exempted from paying for lands of this description.

In some places I was told by the agents of the zemindars that there was a customary Dar or rate fixed for each species of crop or land, and that more could not be exacted; but the Collector assured me that if any such settlement had been made, he knew of no evidence of it upon record. I am, however, told that in some cases the Judge had found sufficient evidence of such a rate being fixed, at least by custom, and in consequence had determined that the parties should adhere to it as a rule. Where sufficient proof exists of any such rate having been established by legal authority, there can be no doubt of the necessity for every upright judge to enforce obedience, nor could the government with any sort of justice alter the regulation so as to affect tenants now in possession; but I have already had occasion to represent that in a view of real improvement such tenures are injurious to the country, and that landholders should on all occasions be permitted to let unoccupied lands on such terms as they please, only rendering all such leases void on the estate being brought to sale for the arrears of revenue. The utmost caution is also required in admitting the proof of a customary rate; for both landlord and tenant may have an interest in fixing it so low as may affect the public revenue. In by far the



greater part of the district, however, the agents of the zemindars alleged that government had fixed no rule, and that they might let their lands at whatever rate they and the tenants could agree; and this appears to me, as I have frequently stated, by far the best footing on which the affair could be placed.

✓ 6. FARM LABOURERS.

Having now finished what I have to deliver concerning the tenantry, I proceed to give an account of those who cultivate lands in which they have no property. I have already, when treating of domestic slaves, said all that has occurred to me concerning such of those unfortunate men as are employed in agriculture. I now therefore shall give an account of those who cultivate for a share of the crop, of those who are hired by the month or season, and of those who are usually hired by the day, premising that the same person joins often two of these employments, and that many small farmers who have less land than their stock will cultivate, employ part of their time in cultivating for a share, while many others who have not stock for one plough, join with neighbours to complete what is wanting, employ it by turns on their respective fields, and when they are not engaged in using it, hire themselves out as day labourers.

A man who has stock sufficient to keep a plough, but has no land and cultivates that of others for a share of the crop, is here also called Adhiyar, and is much on the same footing as in Dinajpur and Ronggopur. In general, however, their reward is higher, as they do not reap the share of the crop that goes to the proprietor of the land; or if they do, are paid for their trouble. They either, however, furnish the seed, or if they borrow it as almost always happens, they repay it with interest at the rate of 100 per cent. They pay all other expenses of cultivation, and take a half of the crop. Their condition is very generally admitted to be better than that of hired servants or daily labourers. They are chiefly employed by the high castes, by tradesmen who hire land, and by the proprietors who reserve land to cultivate on their own account.



The servants who are hired by the month or season are chiefly ploughmen, and those who tend cattle. The former are usually badly paid, but are only engaged for nine months in the year, and are allowed the harvest for themselves. It is true that they do little work, and are allowed time to repair their huts, and do other little jobs for themselves. They are of course generally married and have families, which may usually consist of four persons, that is, a wife and two children. The expense of such a family was said on an average to be 24 rs. a year. Now his allowances are usually as follows:—money  $4\frac{1}{2}$  rs., food or grain (at  $\frac{1}{4}$  ser a day)  $1\frac{1}{2}$  r., leaving a balance of 18 rs. The low allowance given to women for beating rice in this district cuts off a great part of that grand resource which the poor in Dinajpur and Ronggopur enjoy, and which almost always ensures them of subsistence. I have stated that according to the native accounts a woman cannot in her usual morning rate of working procure more in the ten months which, allowing for sickness, she may be allowed to labour than 6 rs.; and by spinning the remainder of the day, she cannot well clear more than four annas a month, or  $3\frac{1}{2}$  rs. a year. Whatever deficiency there may be, it is said, is made up by harvest, and the average rate of gain by this, including the presents called Lora and Kuri, was stated at no less than  $5\frac{1}{2}$  seers of rice in the husk daily, so that in three months the man may gain 12 *mans* of grain, worth about  $4\frac{3}{4}$  rs., leaving still a balance of  $3\frac{3}{4}$  rs., which is supposed to be either made up by pilfering in harvest, or otherwise the man borrows from his master from year to year until he can get no more, and then runs away. The women here, however, make much by weeding; and at that time in many places clear  $1\frac{1}{4}$  r. a month. It would thus appear that, notwithstanding the low price of cleaning grain, the women actually earn more than the men. This is the usual rate of hire about the middle of the district, but of course there are many variations. In some parts they are nearly on the same footing as in Dinajpur, receiving throughout the year eight annas a month with food and clothing, or twelve annas and food; but then they have no profit from harvest. I have nowhere



in this district heard that this class of men have mortgaged their services, as is usual in Ronggopur.

The person who tends plough cattle is allowed two annas a month and two chhataks of rice for six head, and a boy of fourteen or fifteen, who might plough, can tend 24 oxen, so that he has eight annas a month and half a seer of grain a day, a higher allowance than is given to the ploughman; but he has no harvest. A very young boy or an old man is, however, able to provide for himself by tending six cattle, and is no burthen on his kindred. Almost all the servants are however in debt to their masters, and without discharging their arrears cannot legally enter into any other service.

There is, however, in many parts of the district, especially towards the west, another class of monthly servants called Athoyaras or Chautharis, who neither receive wages nor food, except as a loan. These men have a house, and rent some land. The master furnishes the implements and cattle, and the Athoyara ploughs twenty days in the month on his master's field, eight on his own, and two on that of the boy who tends the cattle, and who is either his own son or that of one of his neighbours. Thus the use of a wretched stock of perhaps 40 rs. in value, for eight days in the month, is reckoned an adequate reward for 22 days' labour. Each party pays his own rent and seed, and weeds and reaps his own field. In some places these servants have a little stock, and keep one or two oxen, in which case they are called Bahanias, and are allowed for each an addition of three days' ploughing in the month, so that we have the following estimate:—Six strong oxen, such as are usual in that part, will cultivate exceedingly well 45 bigahs of land or 15 acres. Their hire is equal to  $18/30$  of the whole expense, the ploughman's hire  $8/30$ , the hire of the boy who tends the cattle  $2/30$ , and the cost of the implements  $2/30$ . The boy, if hired by the month, would receive  $2\frac{1}{2}$  rs. a year; so that the expense of these operations, at this rate, would be  $37\frac{1}{2}$  rs. The weeding costs 20 *mans* (64 s. w. the ser) of the coarsest grains, worth 5 rs. The transplanting costs 5 *mans* of grain, worth  $1\frac{1}{4}$  r. The seed will cost  $4\frac{1}{3}$  rs., total expense



46½ rs. The average produce of a grain farm of this size in the south-west part of the district, where this estimate was made, when fully cultivated with a proper stock, may be taken at 104 rs. 2 annas, deduct one-seventh of the whole for harvest and thrashing, and there will remain for rent and profit 41 rs. 6 annas.

The people who are hired by the day to weed and transplant, or to supply the place of ploughmen that are sick, get usually three pan of cowries a day, or three sers of grain. In some places the wages are considerably higher. A man, in the former case, allowing him to find work and to be able to perform it for 270 days in the year, will gain 20 *mans* of grain or about 12 rs. a year. His wife often labours at the same employments, and will make fully as much. They would thus appear to be better provided than the monthly servants; but they have less advantage in harvest. These men also are usually extremely necessitous, and I know that many of them are so imprudent as to anticipate their wages, by taking money from indigo works four or five months before they are to earn it. Without indeed paying them in advance, no men can in general be procured, and this in fact adds very highly to the price of their wages; because they seldom perform the contract honestly, and generally contrive to be paid for many more days than they work. This is especially the case towards Europeans, and the indigo manufacturers find this loss a pretty considerable charge.

Owing to the ploughmen that are hired to work by the high farmers performing no other part of the work, and the necessity of finding people to weed and transplant, the number of day labourers is here much more considerable than in Ronggopur, and perhaps even than in Dinajpur, where the farmers, who live on stiff clay land, act six months in the year in this capacity. Here there are no extensive tracts of such land: it is generally so much intermixed with land of a different nature that each man's farm gives him constant employment.

## CHAPTER V.

### ESTATES.

FREE ESTATES—ZEMINDARS AND MANAGEMENT OF ESTATES—ESTATES IN SUBEH BENGAL, SERKARS JENNUTABAD, URAMBAR OR TANGRA; TAJPUR; PURANIYA—ESTATES IN SUBEH BEHAR, SERKAR MUNGGER.

#### (a) FREE ESTATES.

In this district the free estates, so far as I can learn, amount to a vastly greater proportion than in Dinajpur and Ronggopur; but the actual extent is not known, for a great part of the register which was in the Collector's office has been lost. I was assured by the various people whom I consulted, that in almost every part of Serkars Puraniya and Mungger the lands claimed as free amount to one-fourth of the whole. In Jennutabad, Urambar and Tajpur the claims it was said do not exceed one-sixteenth. This would seem to require an investigation; for I have no doubt that many are putting up claims who have no just title. There are various means by which they can obtain possession; and if their claims come to be challenged, they will say that their papers have been lost, but that they were entered in such and such a number of the register, which is known to have been lost. This and actual undisturbed possession would render the resumption difficult.

One obvious means for obtaining possession, which is said to be now practising, is for a zemindar to give some man lands as a free possession; after allowing him to retain the lands for some time, he enters a suit for their recovery, and allows himself, by some error, to be non-suited. The new proprietor has thus obtained possession confirmed by legal decision, which would be a strong point in his favour were an investigation to take place.

It may be supposed that the zemindar would not for his own sake alienate his lands; but we well know



what influence the supposed efficacy of supposed pious deeds have had in Europe, and the large alienations which on that account have been formerly made. The natives are very strongly disposed to act on such principles; but they are liable to be actuated by more immediate interests than the expectation of future divine favour. They may be in debt, and may wish to raise money, and a rich man may wish to purchase a free estate; for as I have mentioned in Dinajpur, there is no necessity for lands, that have been granted for pious uses, being applied in that way; and the lands which have been granted to support a Brahman may be sold, and belong to a cobbler. Besides there is nothing to hinder a Brahman, after holding the lands for some time, to return them to the donor. In fact much free land now belongs to the zemindars, who are of course taking every means at the expense of their assessed estate to increase its value: bad lands are exchanged for good, the nominal measure of the estate is gradually increased, and lands are added, so that a right of occupancy by prescription may be acquired.

It has been customary, on the failure of heirs to a free estate, to allow the zemindar of the estate to which they formerly belonged to resume them. These portions, instead of being added to the estate as a security to the public for the revenue, as they ought to be, are often still considered as free, and extended at the expense of assessed lands by all possible means; and I am told that some estates are now so much impoverished by this means and by the lands let at a low rent to the high castes, as scarcely any longer to be worth the holding, and are merely kept in order to strengthen the rights to these lands by a longer possession, so that no evidence could be procured concerning the above-mentioned circumstances. I am also persuaded that many owners of small free estates have found means to procure an exchange for the lands originally granted; and have in their stead procured land of the best quality: for in the adjacent district of Dinajpur, the free estates are notoriously of the worst soil in their vicinity, and here they are generally the very best. The whole of this subject therefore



requires a careful revision, and it cannot commence too soon, lest the witnesses should all have died. It is also probable, although the Collector is not aware of it, that on examination there might be found many native papers, which would enable at least a part of the lost register to be restored.

The free lands have been granted on a vast variety of pretexts which it would be unnecessary to relate, as it is universally admitted that the owner is in no respect bound to apply them to these purposes, and may alienate them in whatever manner and to whatever person he pleases. Very few of the grants have originally been of such a size as to enable the possessor to live with the splendour becoming the rank of a gentleman. Such a manner of living is not indeed suitable to any subject of a despotic government, who is not a servant of the prince; and the habit of a mean appearance has been here so long rivetted that now, when the government has been anxious to bring up a respectable gentry and for that purpose has made a vast sacrifice of revenue, neither those who have been secured in free nor in assessed estates have ventured to emerge from their dens of obscurity, sloth and ignorance.

The free estates in this district, contrary to what is the case in Dinajpur, are rather the best cultivated. Part of this is generally and justly attributed to their being of a better soil than those which are assessed. Another reason is usually assigned; but it appears to me that the people who assign it are totally mistaken, and that what happens and what actually encourages the cultivation is just diametrically the opposite to what they imagine. It is supposed that the free estates are more fully occupied, because they are lower let; and on enquiry you will be shown poor land on an assessed estate which is let at two rs. a bigah, while the best and highest on a neighbouring free estate does not pay more than half of that amount. At first I gave way to this opinion; but on farther inquiry I found that it was entirely fallacious: that on the free estate the whole land was let at a rupee a bigah, while the greater part of the good land on the assessed estate was let at four annas, and in order to



keep up the last year's rental, large sums were placed on the poor, many of whom being unable to pay the demands deserted their possessions. The good state of cultivation on the assessed estates is therefore owing to the rent being fair, and to the tenants being obliged to make some exertion to pay it, while at the same time it does not exceed the bounds that industry can discharge. The generality of free estates being small, and easily inspected even by the most indolent, the losses which arise from the mismanagement of agents are avoided, and the greatest of these consists in the unequal assessment of lands. The very worst managed land in the district is either free or may be said to be such, as being granted in perpetuity for a trifle. Wherever the size of such is considerable, it is as much neglected as the assessed estates, and is managed in the same way.

The owners of the free estates are here, in general, very prudent frugal men, and live within their income. The land is very seldom sold: nor indeed are purchasers readily procurable. I am told that in many parts it could not be sold at more than a rupee a bigah.

(b) ZEMINDARS AND MANAGEMENT OF ESTATES.

What I have said concerning the manners, conduct and education of the zemindars in Dinajpur is applicable to those here, only that in this district there are fewer new men, the zemindars are more proud, ignorant and slothful, live with much less splendour in everything but equipage, delight more in a crowd of parasites and religious mendicants, are more grossly defrauded, act more meanly and oppressively towards their tenants, and are more devoid of politeness towards strangers. So far as I can learn, the Muhammedans are in general more exempt from these faults than the Hindus. In the eastern parts of the district the zemindars are fond of the title Chaudhuri; but where the Hindi dialect of Mithila prevails, this is a low phrase bestowed on carters and such vulgar people. There such zemindars as cannot obtain the title of prince (Raja) content themselves



with that of Lion (Singha). This is given even to new men; but in the eastern parts no one, except their servants, will bestow on such persons the title of Chaudhuri.

The general system of the management of estates is the same in both districts, only here a much greater proportion of the rent is farmed out, from three to nine years, to persons who here are called Mastajirs. These often let out their bargains to under-renters, who still rent their portions to others, and these settle with the tenants, each making an agreement with such as have no leases, or taking a sum of money to decline all investigation for the term of his engagement. People are exceedingly eager to obtain these appointments, and I have no doubt in general pay for them: the zemindars being desirous, as in Ronggopur, to keep a rental apparently as low as possible. The avowed allowances of the renters are in general very trifling, and I have been assured by persons who have had access to see some of their books, although they had no reason to suspect the fairness of these as representing the receipts and disbursements, that there did not appear to be any profit. Such may be the case where Europeans were security for these renters, and thus procured a view of their books, because in some cases at least, the European had guaranteed the renter against loss, and had probably made a very imprudent bargain: but even in such cases we are not to suppose that the renter was without a very solid profit. In letting the lands he secured for his own family, or for that of some friend disposed to act reciprocally, leases which were highly advantageous, and which a sense of common interests would secure from subsequent renters for many years after his engagements ceased. In many places the renters, I am persuaded, are not contented with such gains, but obtain large profits in money; for the establishments which I learned several of them maintained, far exceeded the whole amount of the allowances that were avowed.

I have no doubt in recommending that the custom of farming rents, nominally or virtually, should be totally prohibited, under the penalty of forfeiture.



I am aware that many careless lazy zemindars might be ruined by this means; but it would either compel the remainder to be more active, or it would throw the property into the hands of active men, and prevent a vast deal of oppression which the mass of the people now suffer.

All actual inspection into the conduct of their agents, on the part of the zemindar, is considered as highly derogatory to his rank. He may superintend the general accounts, and inquire into the nature of the business that he has with the Judge, Collector, or his neighbours, for they are mostly on very bad terms; or he may exact money from the farmers of the rents when a new engagement is made: but he is disgraced and considered as a mean fellow if he at all interferes in the inspection of his farms or tenants. Their chief object seems to be to maintain an enormous establishment of dependants, from whom they receive adulation and presents which do not appear on their rental; and for the same reason they assign, for the maintenance of their relations and even for their family expenses, lands which they call Kamat, and which are cultivated on their private account: so that very probably the actual profits that may appear on their books are very trifling. Still however, they are so distrustful that it has been impossible to induce them to make the annual returns concerning their estates that government required. They are so indolent and such a prey to their servants, that it would be impossible to say what their profits are. The principal estate in the district now pays its supposed net profits into the courts of justice, until it is decided to which of the numerous claimants they are to belong. They amount to only 1,30,000 rs. a year, which in my opinion implies a mismanagement that is altogether enormous. I do not by this mean to say that the present manager may be found culpable. The evil may have been done before he took charge, and with great propriety he may not think himself warranted, under present circumstances, to attempt a reform of long-established abuses; nor considering his other avocations, may have leisure to attempt so arduous a task.



Although the produce here is great and the revenue paid to government small, I do not know that even if the estates were equally well managed with those in Ronggopur, that they would be so productive to the landlords: because I believe that the free lands are a much heavier drawback, and to these we must add the privileges of the high castes, and a most enormous establishment. I was in general assured that the collection of the rents usually amounts to one-fourth of the whole gross rental, and Mr. Ellerton assures me that on one estate, which as a security he had a right to ascertain, he found that this was actually the case. To this we must add the expense of agents with the Collector and Judge, and the expense of the law suits in which almost every landlord is engaged, and in which I believe almost every one endeavours to succeed by corruption: and I have no doubt, so far succeeds as to pay its price, though I believe it seldom, if ever, reaches the hands for which it was intended, or produces the smallest effect except by influencing the chicanery of counsel (Vakils).

The enormous amount of charges attending the collection seems to have originated in the plan of levying the revenue by an actual measurement of every field and crop. Although this, as I have said, probably was never carried into regular execution, yet even the modification which I mentioned as practicable is attended with enormous expense; and for reasons above-mentioned the zemindars are by no means desirous that this charge should be diminished, and the renters are therefore carefully restricted from any such economy: nor can they in general dismiss any servant without the zemindar's consent. Some restriction is indeed necessary, because the accounts kept by some of these servants are a kind of check on the conduct of the renters, and are the only document used in farming the estate to a new man; but many of these servants are of use to the renter alone, and would be placed entirely under his orders, had not the zemindar an interest in their appointment. This want of good economy in the management of the estates will be considered as more glaring, if we bring



into account the enormous charges that the tenantry pay to messengers, which I am persuaded often amount to five per cent. on their rent. Such is the nature of Indian economy that no man pays his rent nor indeed discharges any engagement at the regular period, nor until a bill has been presented; nor is the whole almost ever paid at once. The bill is always therefore sent twice a month until discharged, and the tenant must always pay the messenger from one to four annas each time, according to his rank and the distance he has come; and he gets no receipt, none of the messengers being able to write.

Having presumed so much on both estates and farms, I shall conclude with a review of the different estates or Pergunahs into which this district is divided; and where an opportunity offered of gaining more particular information, I shall take occasion to explain more fully the nature of their management.

(c) ESTATES IN SUBEH BENGAL, SERKAR JENNUTABAD.

1. Sersabad (Sersabad, Gladwin's Ayeeen Akbery) is a very fine estate in the division of Sibgunj, of which it is said to occupy about 61/64th part, or little short of 300,000 bigahs or 100,000 acres. It includes a large portion of Gaur, is all in the immediate vicinity of that capital, and is almost all arable land. This noble estate, with many others, formerly belonged to the family which performed the office of Register-general (Kanungoe) for ten-sixteenths of Bengal, and the same family still retains a considerable part of this estate, where it formerly resided; but some time ago it retired to Murshedabad.

Bhagwan, an Uttar Rarhi Kayastha, is here said to have been the first person of the family who held the estate and the title of Banggadhikari Mahasay or the most worthy proprietor of Bengal. He was succeeded by Bangga Binad Ray, a son by adoption, who adopted Hari Narayan, and he again adopted Darpa Narayan. He was succeeded by his son Bodh Narayan, who left his property to his brother Sib Narayan. He adopted Lakshmi Narayan; he adopted Surya Narayan; and he adopted Chandra Narayan,

the present representative of the family, now a minor. Of eight occupants of the property, therefore, only one has had male children.

On this estate the whole lands are let in perpetuity at a certain rate (Hari) for each bigah of 80 cubits, but four are deducted for what is called Galjinda. Some tenants have leases which are called Mukurruri Pattahs, others none; but whenever the rent has been fixed to a tenant by his name, the number of bigahs he occupies, and the rate having been entered in the books of the estate, no alteration can be made. This tenure is called Jumabundi, which may be called copyhold. The tenant pays for his land, whether he cultivates it or not; and if any is carried away by rivers, he is allowed a proportional reduction or is allowed an equal quantity of waste or newly-formed land. Reeds and grass for thatch are not rented, but the produce is sold annually to those who wish to cut it. There is no evidence for the rate at which the lands are let, except the books of the estate, which from favour or corruption are liable to be reduced to the lowest rate, which I understand is only two annas a bigah, and a very large proportion is now fixed at that value. I understand that should a new tenant enter, no maximum is fixed; but no higher rent than eight annas a bigah has been demanded.

The whole has been so mismanaged that there is a great doubt whether the rents will equal the revenue paid to government. The estate therefore will soon probably fall into the hands of the Collector; for so far as relates to the present proprietors, the rents are now fixed, and the people seem to think, were the leases set aside when the estate is sold, that they would suffer injustice. If such practices however are admitted, it is evident that the whole landed revenue may be gradually frittered away.

A part of Sersabad, reckoned  $1/64$ th of the whole, perhaps about 4800 bigahs, was formed into a small estate named Kasemnagar, in favour of a Ram Chaudhuri. His representative Parbati has involved himself in debt and has absconded, having previously alienated his estate to his priest (Purohit),



in whose name it now stands; but according to the scandal of the vicinity, Parbati is supposed still to receive an allowance.

In the next place 44 villages have been sold to pay off some family debts that were owing to a merchant of Murshedabad, who has left them to his brother Sagar Lal. These may amount to 33,000 bigahs, of which it is said perhaps 1000 have been alienated in charity, and the remainder is said to pay 8834 rupees revenue; probably 24,000 bigahs may be occupied, which ought to leave a moderate profit; but as things have been managed, the owners are now losers by their property. They have therefore wished to make a new rate, but the Judge has interfered, and they have betaken themselves to the usual shift of squeezing as much as they can by threatened measurements, and the like.

Thirty-five whole Mauzahs have been granted free of revenue to various persons, and may amount to 29,000 bigahs. About 700 bigahs are said to have been frittered away in small proportions, and the remainder, probably 226,000 bigahs of which 169,000 may be occupied, is let for the behalf of the Zemindar, now a minor, at about 22,000 rupees a year. What the tax paid to Government is, or what the renters' profit may be, I cannot conjecture. He has let a great part to under-renters, and manages a part himself.

2. There is in the vicinity of the above a small estate named Dursuraf, the whole of which is free, and as it is not mentioned in the Ayeen Akberry it also was probably a part of Sersabad, although concerning this circumstance there is no remaining tradition. It belongs to Gajaraj Singha, a person who resides in Bhagalpur, and who pretends to be of the princely caste. He is son of Sujan, son of Mahakum, son of Hari, son of Narayan, son of Kesari Singha, the first proprietor of the family. The estate contains about 9600 bigahs, and if I am right in supposing that it was formerly a part of Sersabad, about 15 per cent. of that estate and of the division of Sibgunj is not assessed, and the houses and gardens of the high castes pay no rent.

3. Pardiya (Pardijar, Gladwin) is a small estate in the division of Kaliyachak, of which I had no means of conjecturing the extent. The first proprietor known was Amarkanta, an Uttar Rarhi Kayastha. He was succeeded by his son Satrajit Ray, who left two children Rajib and Kamal, both called Lochan. These did not divide their property. The former had two sons, Anup Ray and Chandicharan. Kamal had three sons, Rasik, Harish and Kartik. Anup, who came to be the head of the family, had no son, but adopted Baidyanath, son of Rasik. He left a son Govinda, whose son Ram Sundar possesses five-sixteenths of the estate. Chandicharan received four-sixteenths, and left three sons, Chirangjiv, Pran Narayan, and Baneswar. The first left no heir; the second left a son Nehalchand, who received all the share of his branch. He has left three sons, Gopi, Radha and Ram, all called Mohan, who now enjoy it in common. Their uncle Baneswar lived with his brother, and left four sons, Syamsundar, Ganggadhar, Golokchand and Gopalchand, all of whom live with their three cousins. Kamal Lochan seems to have received no share.

Seven-sixteenths of the whole estate were sold to two brothers, Prasad and Vasudev, who divided it into equal shares. Jitram, son of Prasad, left his share to his nephew Krishna Mohan, who now possesses it. Vasudev had two sons, Kewal-Krishna and Gaurang, who divided in equal shares. The former left a son, who had three, the present possessors. Gaurang had six sons, now alive and possessing in common. These small proprietors reside and do not farm out their rents, but collect them from the tenantry by their servants. The charity lands amount to about 230 bigahs.

4. Kotwali Jennutabad (Cutwally, Gladwin) was a fine estate, of which a part is situated in the division of Bholahat and a part in division Kaliyachak. The former portion is said to contain about 72,000 bigahs; concerning the latter I had no means of forming a conjecture.

This last part is divided into three portions. One has for five generations belonged to a Muhammedan



family:—1st, Derastullah, 2nd, Burantullah, 3rd, Motiullah, 4th, Aliullah, 5th, Surufullah and Enaetullah, two brothers, who now reside on their estate and manage it by means of their servants. The family originally held their lands from the Dinajpur Rajah by the title called Muzkuri, that is, they paid a fixed rent in perpetuity; but on the new settlement they were liberated from many casual charges due to their superior lord, and pay the revenue directly to government.

Another portion of Kotwali in the division of Kaliyachak was called Hoseynpur, and belonged to Ram Nidi Chakrabarti, a Brahman, who sold it to Ram Narayan Misra, who again sold [it] to Radha Madhav Bungrujya, a Rarhi Brahman, who lives at Calcutta and manages his estate by a deputy. He does not hold the estate in his own name.

The third portion of Kotwali in Kaliyachak belonged to the Dinajpur family, and was sold to Dular Singha, a Zemindar who has estates in the north, where I shall again mention him. He has farmed the rents to a Mostajir. The valuation was made by Mr. Hatch, who settled it at ten annas for Poli, [land producing two crops] and six for Khyar [land producing one crop].

The seven-eighths of Kotwali which are in Bholahat belonged, either in whole or in part, to a Jagannath Prasad, who about the year 1764 sold his estate. These shares then came to be occupied as follows:—

Rani Bhawani of Nator held three-eighths, all of which has been sold to new men in lots. An equal share went to the Register for the ten-annas of Bengal, of whom I have lately given an account. This has shared the same fate with the portion belonging to Nator. One-eighth belongs to Bavendra Narayan, an old Zemindar of Lushkurpur and Pungthiya in the district of Nator.

In the whole of the seven-eighths of Kotwali that are in Bholahat, it is said that there may be 2000 bigahs of free land.

5. Dogachhi, as it is not mentioned in the Ayeen Akbery, is probably a subdivision of some old estate, but this I could not trace. It is situated in the

division of Kaliyachak, and I could only learn that its extent was small. The first proprietor of whom anything is known, was Vishnu Das, a Barandra Brahman, who was succeeded in regular descent by Chandra Sekhar, Nityananada. Haradev and Mahadev. The last had three sons, Kripanath, Dinanath and Sitaram, who divided their patrimony in three equal shares. Kalimohan, the son of Kripanath, and Abhaycharan, the son of Dinanath, now possess their fathers' shares, and live on their lands. Sitaram sold his share to Uday Narayan Sarkar, who now possesses it.

6. Bhatiya (Bhetya, Gladwin) is a fine estate of division Bholahat, including, it is said, almost 100,000 bigahs, of which about 4000 are said to be free. The earliest proprietor of whom I found any account was Gopal Ray, an Uttar Rarhi Kayastha. He was succeeded, in regular course from father to son, by Sarbananda, Durlabh, Mahes, Raj and Hari Narayan, who left four sons, but the youngest alone, Krishna Prasad, left surviving issue. He had three sons, now alive, and named Guru, Gangga and Govinda, all surnamed Prasad. Since the year 1798 they have sold the greater part of their estate in various lots, partly by public sale to discharge arrears of revenue, and partly by private agreement with their creditors. The remainder is mortgaged to its full value. They had endeavoured to secure a good deal of charity land, and had granted such to various persons, from whom they had again obtained it; but the purchasers, who are mostly men that have dedicated themselves to God and have vowed to relinquish all worldly concerns (Sannyasis) have resumed these grants, which indeed it would be absurd to suppose that such persons could suffer a mere worldly man to hold.

7. Amirabad—is an estate in Bholahat, which is said to contain about 27,000 bigahs; but about 2000 have been granted free of revenue, 1300 of which are in one estate named Chak Korbanali, and belong to Mir Mozufur-ali, a Moslem who resides. Amirabad is not mentioned in the Ayeen Akbery, and seems to have been taken from some other estate and given to



the Register-general (Kanungoe). The houses, gardens and plantations (Bastu and Udbastu) have been let on leases in perpetuity (Mokurruri) at the following rates.—Houses from 1 to  $7\frac{1}{2}$  rs. a bigah, gardens from 4 annas to 1 r. a bigah, bamboos from  $\frac{1}{2}$  anna to 6 annas a clump. Common mangoes from 4 annas to 1 r. a bigah, fine (Khasa) mangoes from  $\frac{1}{2}$  anna to 8 annas a tree. Plantains from 4 annas to 1 r. a bigah. Mulberry from 3 annas to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  r. The rent having been fixed by these rates at the time of entry, cannot afterwards be altered. The rate has no sort of connection with the quality of the land, but depends entirely on the various degrees of favour that the landlord had for the tenant. The fields are let by what is called Husbulhaseli, and a rate is fixed for each crop. It is supposed that each field should be measured when it produces a crop. If no crop is taken, there is no rent. The leases mention only the rate of the various crops, and in forming these also there has been no other rule but the favour of the landlord or his agent. With such a system the landlord has gone to decay, and this estate has been sold.

8. The same fate has followed the same management on another estate belonging to the same family. This is named Kamalavari, and is not mentioned in the Ayeen Akbery, unless Kemelah be the same; but that seems to have been more considerable than Kamalavari, which is said to contain only about 11,000 bigahs, of which 500 are free.

9. Sumbolpur is another estate not mentioned in the Ayeen Akbery, that formerly belonged to the Register-general, and that by the same mismanagement has been all sold. In Bholahat it is supposed to contain almost 50,000 bigahs, of which 1000 are free, and some part is in the division of Kharwa.

These three estates were purchased by the family of Puraniya, and the owner has not yet been determined by the courts of justice.

Rokunpur is another estate, which formerly belonged to the Register-general. The greater part is in Dinajpur (No. 71); but a small portion is in Kharwa and some is in Gorguribad. The Register-general

retains the property of the latter. The portion in Kharwa was sold to the Puraniya Raja.

10. Begumabad is said to be in the same Serkar, but that seems doubtful, and I find no traces of it in the Ayeen Akbery. It contains 15 or 16 thousand bigahs, of which perhaps 600 are free. In the year 1594 it is said to have been bought by Anantaram, a low trader (Teli). His son was Raghu Ram, then came Ramjivan, who was succeeded by his wife Gina-mani, who left it to her daughter's son, Baidyanath, now a very old man. He retains only a small part; the greater portion has been sold.

11. Ekbarpur (Akbarpoor, Gladwin) is a considerable estate of Jennutabad in the division of Gorguribah. Part of it belongs to Gokulnath, a Barandra Brahman, whose ancestors have held it for six or seven generations and were once proprietors of the whole; but now besides him seven other zemindars possess a share.

A Turuf or portion of this estate, named Rampur, is situated in Kharwa, and belongs to Dharanidhar and Mohankanta Ray, two Brahmans, one of whom has relinquished all temporal concerns.

12. Gorhanda is perhaps the Gerhy of Mr. Gladwin, and is an estate in the divisions of Gorguribah and Kharwa. It belongs to Sambhuchandra, a Rarhi Brahman, and Bimala, his sister-in-law. The family has had possession for two or three generations, and procured it from a Moslem.

13. Mukrayin (Mekrayin, Gladwin) is an estate in the divisions of Gorguribah and Kharwa, and has divided among no less than sixteen proprietors.

14. Doulutpur, from the vicinity in which it stands, is perhaps in Jennutabad; but I see no such name in the Ayeen Akbery, and the agents of the Zemindars in that vicinity pretended to a total ignorance of everything. It is divided between two proprietors, one a lady, and both Moslems.

15. Hatinda (Hentenda, Gladwin), in the divisions of Gorguribah, Nehnagar and Kharwa, is a considerable estate. The person universally considered



as the owner is Gaurikant, a Rauri Brahman; but although it has come to this person by hereditary descent, the estate in the Collector's books is held under the name of Ananda Gopal, whose sister the real proprietor has married. Gaurikanta is son of Dharanidhar, son of Kalicharan, son of Bhawani, son of Narendra, son of Krishna Ray, the first proprietor of the family.

16. Turuf Chhatarak is a petty estate in the division of Gorguribah, and belongs to Bhairav Singha. I know not whether it is in Jennutabad.

17. Kasempur is a considerable estate both in this district and in Dinajpur (No. 70), where I was informed that it belongs to Serkar Jennutabad, although I can find no trace of it in the Ayeen Akbery. Several small portions (Turufs) have been separated from it, but I shall first mention the principal share, that retains the name and belongs to a Muhammedan family which has divided into four branches. Narullah possessed the whole and had four sons. The first, Merza Mithun, died, and left his share of the patrimony to his son Khodabuksh. The second son, Ab'ullah, has left his share to his son, Ahudullah. The third son, Amurullah, is still alive. Each of these has 3 annas, 13 gandas and 2 cowries ( $294/1280$ ) of the estate. The fourth son, Muhammed Bakur, is also alive, who although the youngest has 5 annas ( $5/16$ ) for his share, because his mother was married: his elder brothers were the sons of concubines.

Kasemali is a small portion of Kasempur, which has been separated in favour of Sheykh Dewan Ataullah.

Bakipur is another portion of the same estate, which was acquired by Ganggagovinda Singha. This person was originally clerk to the Register-general for the six-sixteenths of Bengal: but having been appointed Company's Dewan in the Government of Mr. Hastings, he acquired a considerable estate, part of which I have mentioned in Dinajpur, No. 77. He was succeeded by his son Pran Krishna, who has left property to his son, known by the name of Lala

Babu. This is universally allowed not to be his name, but a title. I have never, however, met any one who knew his real name, which owing to some idle superstition is probably concealed. Bhelagachhi is a small estate belonging to the same person, and situated in the division of Kharwa. He also possesses another estate in the western parts of this district which will afterwards be mentioned.

In Kasempur the rope is 84 cubits of 19·8 inches long; but three cubits are deducted for Galjinda. The bigah is therefore very nearly 17,860 square feet or about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  bigah Calcutta measure. The land occupied by houses (Chandina) is rated at 8 annas a bigah, plantations and gardens at 4 annas, and fields at from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 annas. The tenants after a few years' possession require no leases, and cannot be turned away if they consent to pay the usual rate, which is so very trifling that a great part is waste.

18. Mahinagar (Mahynagur, Gladwin) is an estate of Jennutabad, partly situated in Dinajpur and partly in the division of Kharwa in this district. It formerly belonged to the Rajas of Dinajpur, and in the wreck of their fortune has been partly purchased by Dular Singha, whom I shall have afterwards occasion to mention. This part is now called Mahinagar Sujanagar. The remainder has been purchased by two Moslems, Ahamud and Muhammad Juma. This is called Turuf Brihasthal. These lands were settled by Mr. Hatch, as I have mentioned in the account of Dinajpur.

In the part of Jennutabad that is in this district the two religious establishments of Peruya have two estates—

19. That of Chhadazari in Bholahat is said to amount to about 11,000 bigahs; but in Kharwa it has also a small estate (Turuf), which is called Khal-sanna. The whole is under the management of a lady named Bibi Saidun Nesa, widow of Golam Hoseyn, I believe a descendant of the saint.

20. The establishment called Baishazari has about 1300 bigahs in the division of Bholahat, and also a part of the division of Khaswa Estates in Serkar Tangra, now more commonly called Urambar.



(d) ESTATES IN SUBER BENGAL, SERKAR URAMBAR OR  
TANGRA.

21. Haveli Tangra (Tandeh, Gladwin) besides small detached portions, has been divided into two equal shares, and is situated entirely in the division of Kaliyachak. One-half belongs to Imam Bukhsh, son of Muhammed Hayat, son of Woziruddin, son of Alauddin, son of Amanullah, son of Manullah, son of Mortuza, son of Mostufa, son of Fayezullah. The other equal portion went to Kandarpa, an Uttar Rarhi Kayastha. He was followed in regular succession by Binod, Durlabh, and Golab. The two sons of this person divided their patrimony. Yasamanta has left two sons, Kausiki and Amar Narayan, who have a common stock, but a portion of their land has been sold for arrears of revenue. Kali Prasad, the brother of Yasamanta, has left two sons, Ram and Kamal, both called Lochan, and now living together. All the proprietors reside and manage their own estates by means of their servants.

Wolipur was formerly a dependency of Tangra, and was held by an under-tenant (Muzkuri), who paid his revenue through its zemindar; but the possessors have as usual been rendered independent of their former lords. The first of these under-tenants of whom anything is known was Kasinath Ghosal, who sold seven-sixteenths of his lands to Ram Lochan, his superior, and nine-sixteenths to a Ganggadas, who sold to Bangsivadan Ray, who sold to Jagannath Awasti of Sultangunj, who will be soon mentioned. These quick transition of property by sale are usually made to conceal some illegal transaction.

Chandpur is another portion of Tangra, which belonged to an under-tenant named Hiraman, a Ganggot. He was succeeded by his son Kharga Singha; then came the nephew of the latter, Radha Ballabh, and his brothers Bharat and Gurib, the latter of whom has a son named Pitambar, who possesses a quarter of the whole. Two cousins german possess each one-eighth, and a certain Ghosal of the same family has six-sixteenths; one-eighth part has been sold to Jagannath Awasti of Sultangunj, lately mentioned.

Muzumpur or Shahbazpur is another small detached portion of Tangra, which belongs to Imam Bukhsh, lately mentioned.

22. Bahadurpur (Bahadrepoor, Gladwin) was a pretty considerable estate in the division of Kaliyachak, which has been very much subdivided. It seems originally to have either entirely, or mostly, belonged to a certain Mata Kasidas, who pretended to be of the royal or military caste. He was succeeded by his son Dindar, and he by his son Ajab Singha, who alienated part and left the remainder to Chamanlal and Ommayed Ray, who sold it to Basantali Khan, a servant of Mani Begum, who although he attends his lady at Murshedabad, does not farm his rents but collects them by a steward. There are said to be in this estate about 600 bigahs of free land.

Durobarpur and Jonka, a portion of Bahadurpur, was sold by Ajab Singha to Mir Shah Ali, who gave Durobarpur to one son, and Jonka to another. Mir Kasem Ali left the former to three daughters. The first had a son, Mir Sad Ali, who has left  $346/1280$  (4 annas  $6\frac{1}{2}$  gandas) of the estate to his son Rujubali. The second daughter had two sons, Neamatali, who possesses  $173/1280$  (2 annas  $3\frac{1}{4}$  gandas) of the estate; and Fuzulali, who possesses a similar share. The part of the estate called Jonka went to the second son of Mir Shah Ali, named Jaynulabudin, who left a son named Mir Wakudali. He had two sons; Mir Torabali, who is alive, and possesses  $294/1280$  (3 annas  $13\frac{1}{2}$  gandas) and Mir Naserali, who left an equal share to his son, Mir Ahamud Ali. One-half of Jonka has been sold, and is called Jot Parim. All these persons live on their estates, and manage them by their servants.

Futehpur is a small portion of Bahadurpur which belonged to a Mogul, Merza Sultan Eyarbeg Khan, who left it to his daughter's husband Muhammed Fusih, who in the same manner left it to his son-in-law Ali Nayaj, who lives on his estate, and manages its rents.

Islampur and Sahebgunj or Humidpur are two small detached portions from the same estate, and belong to Futehullah and Kamel, two brothers.



Jagdala is another small portion, which belongs to Nilkantha, a new man.

Jayrampur is another lot belonging to Durga Prasad.

Bangkipur Govargari is another small lot, belonging to Srinarayan and Lalit Narayan, now claiming the estates of the Puraniya family. They have farmed their rents, and will be afterwards mentioned.

23. Akburabad is a pretty large estate in the division of Kaliyachak, and formerly belonged to Dinajpur. The settlement was made by Mr. Hatch, at ten annas a bigah, nominally at six annas for the crop reaped in winter, and four annas for that reaped in summer; but the fact is that all good land was let at this rate, and on various pretexts three annas a bigah are taken in addition. The bigah is equal to seven-eighths of the Calcutta measure. The estate has been sold to Dular Singha, whom I have already mentioned. He has farmed the rents to a man who, I am well assured, has no apparent profit, although the charges of collection amount to one-fourth of the gross rental. Of this fourth he has probably in private a large share.

24. Sultangunj is a pretty considerable estate in Kaliyachak, which belongs to Jagannath Awasti, usually called Jagan Babu, who has made several additions as I have already mentioned, and manages his own affairs with great attention and prudence, in which virtues he is imitated by very few in this district; but on this account he deserves the greater praise. He is son by adoption of Kasinath, son of Chuniram, son of Govindaram, son of Harikarna, a Kanojiya Brahman.

25. Kasemnagar is a small estate in the division of Kaliyachak. This formerly belonged to Bhairav Ray, a Dakshin Rarhi Kayastha, who sold it to Ramdev, a scribe of Barandra. He left two sons, Brajamohan and Syam Mohan, who lived in common. The former had one son Krishnadev, who now enjoys the whole, lives on his estate, and his servants receive the rent from the tenants,



26. Futeh Khani is another small estate in the same division, which originally belonged to Syam Pangre, a Kanojiya Brahman, who was succeeded by his son Bhagawan, who sold seven-eighths of his patrimony to a Mogul. The remaining share was afterwards sold to a family of Pungras, whose profession is to rear silkworms. This family has divided into four branches, which possess equal shares. All reside, and do not farm their rents.

The Mogul who purchased a part of this estate was descended of a family that had formerly settled in Persia. He was named Golam Hoseyn, and was succeeded by his son Mozuffer Hoseyn, who left two sons:—1st, Guzuffar, who obtained six-sixteenths of the estate, which he has left to his son, Haydur Hoseyn; 2nd Bahadur Hoseyn [who] has ten-sixteenths of his father's patrimony. Both representatives of the family live on their estates, and do not farm their rents.

27. Kakjol is a large estate in the divisions of Kaliyachak, Gorguribah, Manihari, and Sayefgunj of this district, and part is in Dinajpur (No. 79). It is said to be also called Amgachi (Ungatchy, Gladwin). The great mass of the estate is in Manihari, where it may occupy 284,000 bigahs; but of this about 47,000 bigahs are not assessed. In Sayefgunj there are said to be about 11,000 bigahs which retain the name, and 18,000 which are now called Baragangga. I was not able to form a conjecture concerning the extent of the other portions.

This estate seems originally to have belonged to two brothers, Ghanasyam and Mahesdas, who were Rarhi Brahmans. Ghanasyam, having been deprived of all share of the patrimony by his brother, went to Delhi to solicit justice, and having adopted the faith, obtained the whole estate and many others (in all  $7\frac{1}{2}$  Pergunahs) in the vicinity of Rajmahal, where he took up his residence, and was called Abdullah. He had two sons that divided the patrimony. The eldest was Kurimullah, father of Abdullah, father of Amanullah, father of Ebadatullah and Sayefullah. The former had a son Hubibullah, who sold all his estates in Manihari and Sayefullah, amounting probably to



90,000 bigahs. Sayefullah left his share to his son Ommaydullah, a young man who is careful of his affairs, and free of debt. He resides at Rajmahal, and a steward (Nayeb) manages his affairs on this side of the river, but a great part of the rents have been farmed.

The younger son of Ghanasyam or Abdullah was Afzol, father of Akrum, who was succeeded by his daughter's son Muhammed Nafi, who was succeeded by Muhammed Zaher, his cousin, a son of another daughter of Akrum. On his death he was succeeded by his aunt, the mother of Muhammed Nafi, who was known by that designation alone, a common circumstance among the Muhammedan ladies, who when they have a son throw aside their former name, and call themselves the mother of such a person. She was succeeded by Imambukhsh, her daughter's son, who now enjoys half of the whole estate in Manihari, the whole of that in Sayefgunj, and much beyond the Ganges. This person is also free of debt and is attentive to business; but a large part of the rents are farmed.

Both brothers are said to have the manners of gentlemen, to be polite to strangers, and not only to be moderate in their expense, but uncommonly just towards their tenants, so that none of their servants dare to oppress them; yet their tenantry are uncommonly poor and their estates are badly cultivated, much being totally waste. The reason might be supposed to be too high a rent; but that would not appear to be the case. No tenant who cultivates fields (Jotdar), pays any rent for his house or garden, and is only charged for his arable land. The most common measure is the Calcutta bigah; but in some places one-twentieth part is added free of rent to each field, and in others one-eighth part is added to the rope. The greater part (ten-sixteenths) is let at a certain sum annually for each bigah, and the field pays whether it is cultivated or not. The rent is said to be only from one to three annas a bigah, the rate depending on the favour which was shown to the first occupant. This tenure is here called Kampuran; in other places it is called Juma Zemin and Mokur-



ruri. The remainder is let by what is here called Halhaseli, which is the same with Husbulhaseli of other parts. The field pays only when cultivated, and if the tenant chooses to neglect half of his farm, the master can neither give it to another nor take rent. Every crop on each field ought to be measured annually, and the rent would scarcely pay the expense, for the rate varies according to favour, from one to three annas for each crop. The Zemindar therefore is content to take anything rather than ruin himself by such a plan. Both tenures are in perpetuity (Mududi); but if a tenant deserts his farm, the Zemindar may let it at whatever rate he and the new tenant agree.

The revenue, I presume, is almost nothing; for I had an opportunity of learning that a man who purchased a lot called Sanbarra, of 1200 bigahs, pays to government 12 rs. a year, or 1r. for 100 bigahs. This man is a Rajput, named Kisor Singh. He gave 1500 rs. for the property and probably makes a good income, as he has got rid of most of his tenants, and cultivates the land on his own account.

Another petty portion called Govindapur has been purchased by Subhkaran Singha, who manages it himself.

The remainder of Kakjol that was alienated by Hubibullah in the division of Manihari, has branched into two lots or Taluks. The first called Taluk Baghar was the property of Nawab Khadem Ali Khan, brother of Jafur Ali, the Subahdar of Bengal. He was succeeded by his son Montuddoulah, who left his estate to two sons, Saiud Daudali Khan and Taleb Hoseyn Khan, who both live at Rajmahal. They farm no part of their estate to renters, but manage it by a steward.

The second Taluk, Balalpur, is larger, and in the government of Jafur Ali was purchased by Bani Begum, widow of Ataullah Khan. This lady left her estate to two nephews, Muhammed Ali Khan and Bakur Ali Khan, who sold this part to Saiud Umbur Ali Khan, as eunuch in the family of the present Subah of Bengal. This person, who lives at Murshe-dabad and has been deprived of every characteristic



part of manhood, has adopted five sons, all in the same deplorable condition. He has appointed two stewards (Gomashtahs), and allows none of his rents to be farmed.

The portion of Kakjol that is situated in Kaliyachak is also called Balalpur, and probably therefore belonged also to Hubibullah; three-quarters are in this district and one-quarter in Dinajpur. It was acquired by Merza Nujibali, and has come to his descendants, Umburali Khan and Ayenuddin Ali Khan, who both reside and manage the whole of their affairs.

Chandpara, a small portion of the above, has been separated in favour of Ram Mohan, a new man.

Another small portion, called Manichak, has fallen to the lot of Subhkaran Singha, who has considerable estates in the northern part of the district.

The portion of Kakjol which Hubibullah possessed in the division of Sayefgunj, and which is called Banigang, was sold in lots for the arrears of revenue. Durga Prasad, already mentioned, purchased four shares, the Puraniya family purchased four shares, and Mayaram and Manikchandra purchased two shares. Although these are said to contain 4000 bigahs, the gross rental (Hustabad) is said to be only 222 rs., for the average rate is only  $1\frac{1}{2}$  anna a bigah, and a great portion is waste. This pays 172 rs. to government.

The portion of Kakjol that is in the division of Gorguribah has divided among eight zemindars. Imambukhsh of the original family retains a part, and Saiud Akbur Ali Khan, a lady named Sultan Surfunnessa Begum, Sohageswari also a lady, Khayerullah Madari, and two others have procured lots.

28. Akburnagar is a small estate, perhaps a portion of Kakjol, but of this I am uncertain. Part is in Gorguribah, and chiefly belongs to Umbur and Ayenuddin Ali Khans, mentioned as the proprietors of a part of Kakjol called Balalpur: but a part now belongs to Nimayichand, a Hindu.

A part of Akburnagar called Enayetpur is situated in Kaliyachak, and has been purchased by



Baidyanath Singha, a wealthy banker of Puraniya, who now manages the estates of the Puraniya Rajas.

29. Garhi is a considerable estate. Part is on the south side of the Ganges, in Bhagalpur, and is usually called Teliyagarhi from the caste of the owners. The remainder is in the division of Manihari, and is said now to contain about 110,000 bigahs, of which about 1500 only are free. Ranabhim and Sarmat, two oilmen, having it is said been useful to Man Singha, received from him this Pergunah in the year of the Bengal Era 1002 (A.D. 1595). Twenty-one years afterwards, Jagat Singha, son of the former, succeeded, and lived until the [year] 1051. His son, Uday Singha, went with Sultan Suja Shah to Delhi, where he embraced the faith in Muhammed. On this account he was exonerated from tribute for this estate, and received the management of Madhuban in Bhagalpur. Ever since, the family call themselves Moslems, but always marry the daughters of oilmen. This convert possessed the estate 22 years. His son, Kotub Singha, held it 10 years. His son, Bukhtawor Singha, held it 22 years. His son, Bukhtmund, enjoyed it 39 years. His son, Firoz Bukht, enjoyed it 5 years. His brother's son, Beherojmund, held it 21 years. His son, Roushun Bukht, enjoyed it 41 years. His son, Khosh Bukht, on the new settlement was obliged to pay a revenue of 1800 rupees a year, which is at the rate of about 60 bigahs for the rupee; but as, since the settlement was made, a very large proportion of the land has been carried away by the river, the revenue did not probably exceed 1 rupee for 100 bigahs. He was succeeded by his wife Rani Parameswari, his mother Kamal Dhai, and his brother Tahawor Bukht, who hold the estate in common.

It might be expected that with such an extent of land and such a moderate revenue, the family would be in easy circumstances, but that is by no means the case. They have mortgaged the whole for 7760 rupees. The mortgagee pays the revenue, takes the profits for interest, and if the money is not repaid at a certain term, he will take the estate and liquidate the debt. I understand that he has a hard bargain,



for he has farmed the rents to a man who has relet them to five underlings, and the whole that these pay is 3200 rupees a year, from which the revenue, and some charges, besides the profit of the chief renter, have to be deducted.

The lands are all let in perpetuity (Mududi), and the rent is nominally fixed by measurement, so much for each bigah of each kind of produce; and the rates mentioned in the leases, or books of the estate, are uncommonly low, being nominally from 1 to 4 annas for a bigah of 130 feet square; but in fact the custom is always to make an abatement. If the crop is good, one-fifth is allowed for abatement: if the crop is indifferent an allowance of one-half is made, and if the crop is bad the proprietor demands only one-tenth part of the rent. The agents therefore live by begging from the tenants, and compel them to be charitable by threatening them with every annoyance in their power. The land is uncommonly ill cultivated, and the inhabitants wretchedly poor.

Kasichak, a Mawzah of this estate, had been previously alienated by the oilmen Moslems, who had contrived to mortgage it for 5000 rs. to Bhairavlal and Gopinath. These men also were probably overreached, and thought themselves secure by getting 1621 of these large bigahs paying only to Government Rs. 38-11-0 a year. They have been able to let it at from  $1\frac{1}{4}$  to 2 annas a bigah for each crop, without any deduction; but the expense of management is grievous:—one keeper of accounts, 36 rupees; one messenger (Gorayit), 12 rupees; one ascertainer of boundaries, 12 rupees; stationery and oil, 2 rupees; total 62 rupees, almost double the revenue paid to government.

30. Chak Delawori is an estate of nearly the same size with the former and under a similar management; but about 15,000 bigahs are not assessed. It lately belonged to three families. Puran Singha Kumar possessed five-eighths, Viswambhar, a Rajput, had a quarter, and Ramjan Khan, a Moslem, had one-eighth. They fell into arrears of revenue; several purchasers did the same, and at length it became necessary to make a deduction from the revenue of



600 rupees a year. It was then purchased by Subh-karan Singha whom I have already mentioned, and who has a considerable estate in the north. This estate also has suffered from the river. The measure is only of the Calcutta size, and the rate of rent is a trifle higher, but still vastly too low to leave room for expecting a decent cultivation.

Having thus given a detail of the different estates in Serkars Jennutabad and Urambar or Tangra, which occupy the south-east part of the district and are nearly commensurate with the six divisions of Sibgunj, Kaliyachak, Bholahat, Gorguribah, Manihari and Kharwa; which contain, I have supposed, 1280 square miles besides rivers, ponds, marshes and sands, I shall now make some general remarks:—

Most of the estates in this part are small; most of the proprietors reside, and a large proportion of them are of old families and retain a considerable proportion of their rents under their own management, or at least of their stewards. The country abounds in the mulberry, a most valuable production, and contains numerous manufacturers that raise the price of grain and milk, while it is intersected by numerous large rivers that at all seasons give an opportunity for exporting its produce by water; but it is in a wretched state, and of late years its agriculture seems to have rather been going backwards.

Mr. Ellerton, treating in a general way concerning this vicinity, informed me that he thought the average rent really paid for land in actual cultivation amounted to one rupee a bigah. The bigah by which he reckons is only equal to seven-eighths of the Calcutta standard, which will raise the rent somewhat: but then there is a good deal of land sown without ploughing, which pays a rent, but Mr. Ellerton allows that to go towards making up the deficiency of some poor cultivated lands, that pay little.

Mr. Ellerton thinks that the land paying such a rent may amount to almost one-half of the whole measurement. I allow 1028 square miles of land in five of the divisions in which Mr. Ellerton has concerns, and say that seven-sixteenths pay this rent it should amount to 110,272 bigahs or rupees. Now the



whole occupied land, houses, gardens, plantations and fields good and bad in these divisions I have allowed to be 124,528 Calcutta bigahs. So that the average rent on each bigah will be almost  $13\frac{1}{4}$  annas. Mr. Ellerton however includes in this all illegal charges and all voluntary contributions beyond the avowed rent, both of which kind of charges are called Khurchah; and he seems to think that these may amount to about 23 per cent. (three-thirteenth) of the whole payments, which would reduce the real avowed rent to nearly 10 annas a bigah, the common rate, so far as I could learn in Dinajpur.

That such an average rent for the whole of these Serkars might be actually raised, were it laid on in proportion to the respective value of the lands, I have no doubt; and I am firmly persuaded, were all vexatious and illegal demands avoided, that such a rent, by stimulating the industry of the tenants, would tend greatly to increase their profits. I must however say that the accounts which I in general procured from the natives, differed very widely from those of Mr. Ellerton, and except in Kaliyachak I suspect that his rule will not apply.

The lands in these two Serkars are usually let in perpetuity (Mududi); partly by so much a bigah, whether cultivated or not; but mostly by a certain rate on each crop that is actually sown. The whole is divided into Turufs, each consisting of from one to five Mauzahs or collections of farms. In each Turuf an accountant (Patwari) resides, and receives the rents. If his charge is large, he is allowed a clerk (Mohurer), and at any rate a proportional number of messengers (Gorayit or Atpahariyas), generally one for each Mauzah. In most places there is a Mandal for each of these collections of farms. He is one of the chief tenants, and is a kind of agent for the others, to settle between them and the Patwari. There are besides Dihidars, who can tell the boundaries and whose duty it is to exhort the tenants to work, a very necessary occupation but attended with little success. The pen-men usually receive money wages, the messengers and Dihidars are rewarded in land, and the Mandal is generally allowed his farm at a low rate.



In each Pergunah again there is a steward (Nayeb or Gomashtah), a keeper of the rental (Juma Navis), an accountant (Shomar Navis), a valuer of money (Fotdar), one or more land measurers (Amins), and one or more keepers of papers (Dufturis) with guards (Burukandaj), all paid in money wages. When the rents are farmed, the Mostajir undertakes to pay the whole rent after deducting these charges, and a certain sum called Surujami, which here is usually a sum fixed on each Turuf, and is not rated by a given percentage.

In the division of Sibgunj most of the land was said to be let by the bigah, whether occupied or not. The rate for houses  $2\frac{1}{2}$  rs., for garden 1 to  $1\frac{1}{4}$  rs., for fields from 2 to 8 annas.

In Kaliyachak the greater part seems to have been originally let by the plan of measuring each crop, and a rate for each was then specified in each agreement: but I found that in practice very little attention was paid to this, and in two leases, that I with great difficulty procured, I found that the tenant was bound to pay rather more than 18 annas a bigah for land, that produces two crops, and rather more than 9 annas for what produced only one. In this division there is much good cultivation, and I heard little or no complaint of oppression. The landlords were uncommonly civil, seemingly because they were conscious that they had no recourse to illegal means, their fair demands giving them a sufficient profit.

In Bholahat the rate on each crop is nominally nearly the same as in Kaliyachak; but so far as I can learn the people there in general continue struggling to levy their rents in the old manner. The actual rents are therefore lower, the country is worse cultivated, and there are more complaints of oppression.

In Gorguribah the lands are usually rated very low, at from  $1\frac{1}{4}$  to 4 annas a bigah, which pays whether cultivated or not; they pay no more for their houses and gardens, and the high castes being uncommonly numerous have seized on a large proportion of the best land. The zemindars have therefore very little avowed profit. Although forty reside, I saw



only one of them, a young Brahman, entirely under the control of his servants. The native officers of government said that this shyness proceeded from a consciousness of their violence, that the zemindars had so beaten and harassed the poor that the country was daily more deserted, and that the tenantry were so much terrified that no formal complaint was made, without which the officers of government could not interfere. Appearances seemed to justify these assertions.

In Manihari the rates of rent are so miserable (1—3 annas a bigah, often very large), that the Zemindars seem to have little or no profit, although they pay to government next to nothing. Deductions of revenue have already been necessary; and unless a new settlement is made, still more will be unavoidable. The people, having no adequate inducement to labour, are uncommonly poor and indolent, although I heard no sort of complaint against their masters.

In the part of Kharwa that is in these two Serkars, the same is nearly the case. The land is everywhere measured by a rope, and the bigah, where not mentioned otherwise, is rather less than the Calcutta standard, sometimes one-seventh less, but generally there is not so much difference.

(e) ESTATES IN SUBEH BENGAL, SERKAR TAJPUR.

31. Ghagra (Gogehra, Gladwin) is an estate of which part is in the district of Dinajpur (No. 95) and part in the division of Kharwa. It originally belonged to Bhagawat, a man of a low mercantile tribe (Barandra Teli). He had five sons, who divided the estate into an equal number of Turufs:—

1st.—Turuf Mathurapur went to Mukunda Ram, the eldest son. He had two sons, Swarup and Akin, both called Chand. The former's son Mansukh has left a son Ballabikanta, who possesses in common with Raghunath, the son of his grand-uncle Akin. The avowed rent for houses (Chandina) is from 12 to 16 annas a bigah: for the fields it is from 5 to 8 annas. The rope being 82 cubits (18·7 inches), with the deduction usual in this Serkar of  $1\frac{1}{2}/20$ , the bigah will be very nearly the same with that of Calcutta.



*2nd.*—Turuf Jadulpur went to Badalram, the second son, who has left two sons, Ramananda and Kalachand. The whole patrimony, in the Collector's books, is in the name of the former; but they have in fact divided the property, he taking ten shares, and his brother six. The bigah is equal to about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  of the Calcutta measure. The ground rent for houses is from 14 to 20 annas, and for fields from 5 to 8 annas.

*3rd.*—Turuf Malangcha went to Nandakisor, the third son, whose son Bahar had two male children: one of them, Kewal Ram, died without sons, the other, Dharanidhar, left two, Vaishnavcharan and Ganes Das, who enjoy the patrimony in common. The measure is the same as in the second share. The ground rent for houses is from 16 to 12 annas; for fields from 5 to 9 annas.

*4th.*—Turuf Bhagawati went to Pranballabh, the fourth son. He had two sons, Chandicharan and Narsingha, who divided equally their patrimony. The former has left two sons, Balaram and Ramkanai, who live in common. The latter left three sons. The eldest, Loharam, is dead, and has left a son, Madhumohan. The second, Syamchand, adopted Jagamohan, and died. The third, Gaurchand, is alive and possesses in common with his nephews. The measure is the same as in the two last shares. The ground rent for houses is from 12 to 16 annas; the rent for fields is from 6 to 10 annas.

*5th.*—Turuf Mandariya was given to Pratap, the fifth son. He had no less than four sons, of whom the third, Dhir Narayan, separated from his brothers, and formed his patrimony into a small separate Turuf, which takes the name of the Pergunah and is called Ghagra. The oldest of the three other brothers, named Naranarayan, had two sons, Karlinarayan and Gauri, who are still alive. The second brother, Virnarayan, had one son Kalicharan who has left a representative in Golokchand. The youngest brother left a son Balaram, who died without son. The estate is possessed in common by the three cousins, and in the Collector's books is written as belonging to Kirli and Golokchand.



6th.—The Turuf of Ghagra, as I have mentioned, went to Dhirnarayan, the third son of the fifth brother of the family. He had two sons, Mansukh and Ramnath. The former left a son Jagamohan, who possesses in common with his uncle, but in the public books the name of the dead man, Mansukh, still remains to the estate. The measure in these two Turufs is the same as in the last mentioned. The ground rent for houses is the same in both, that is, from 12 to 16 annas; but in the former the fields are let at from 4 to 8 annas, while in the latter they are let from 7 to 9. The tenants on this Pergunah require no leases. After occupancy, no more than the customary rent can be demanded, and they cannot be turned away. The lands which are neither very high nor very low are valued highest; the high lands are rated next; very low lands pay least.

32. Kumaripur (Gowrapoor, Gladwin) is a large estate belonging to the family of Puraniya, mostly situated in the division of Sayefgunj, but a small corner, comprehending Nawabgunj, is in Manihari, and another is in Gondwara. On the whole it probably contains about 150,000 bigahs Calcutta measure: but its bigah should contain  $6\frac{1}{2}$  cubits a katha, about 2.64 bigahs of the other measure. About one-sixteenth part is not assessed, and of the remainder perhaps 94,000 bigahs are occupied. The greater part is let by what is called Moshukkushi, that is, a certain number of these great bigahs, good or bad, for a rupee. If the tenant has cultivated fifty bigahs any one year, he must pay the same rent ever afterwards, although he should not afterwards cultivate half so much, and if on a measurement he should be found cultivating more, his rent will be raised in proportion. This however need not be considered as a hardship, as the average rate, I am told, is from two to four of these bigahs ( $5\frac{1}{4}$  to  $16\frac{1}{2}$  Calcutta measure) for the rupee. This rent is however considered as enormous and is called Kumkasht, being squeezed from the tenants by short leases at rack rent, and they are induced to consider it enormous, probably, from a few having what is called Kasht leases,



which are in perpetuity, and in these the rent is only from 1 to 2 annas for each large bigah.

Some time ago a certain Kali Sahay farmed the rents of this estate in the name of his nephew, then a boy; for few transactions here are carried on in a direct open way. Having made many fair promises to the tenants, he induced them, as usual, to undertake the cultivation without leases, and when the crops were about to be cut, he put his own price on the lands. The tenants of course consented, rather than lose their crops, and he procured a fine rental, with regular agreements from all the tenants. He immediately farmed these rents to various other men, to whom he spared lands on terms apparently very easy, and took good security. The tenants had no sooner secured their crops than they withdrew, and the new renters were compelled to induce him to come back by reducing the rents even lower than they were before, and have lost enormously. One of them, I am informed, who pays 11,000 rupees a year, loses annually 4,000 rupees, which is paid by an indigo planter who is his security.

One of the Nawabs had incurred the displeasure of the King, and being in a great distress, applied to Pasupati, a Mithila Brahman and a skilful magician, who by his profound art informed the Nawab that the King would on such a day send him comfort and forgiveness. As this prediction was fulfilled, the Nawab rewarded such profundity of science by this estate, which of course was taken from some stupid fellow. The Magician (Jyotish) was succeeded by his descendants Babu Ray, Chand Ray, Jevnarayan and Durjaynarayan. This man, unlike his scientific ancestor, had the imprudence to dispute with the Dewan of the Nawab Sayef Khan, and his estate was given to Ram Chandra, the father of Indra, last Raja of Puraniya. Durjay was of course very much displeased, but could effect nothing. His son Rup Narayan is supposed to be still alive, and to have proceeded to Europe in order to petition the superior powers for a recovery of his estate.

33. Haveli Tajpur is a very fine estate, partly in Dinajpur and partly in this district, where in the



divisions of Dangrkhora, Dulalgunj and Nehnagar there may be about 250,000 bigahs of land.

In treating of the estates in Dinajpur (No. 64-67), I gave an account of the succession of proprietors which I received from the owners and their agents, but here a tale somewhat different is told by a family which alleges that it has been defrauded of a large part of its possessions. They say that Tajpur, Delawasapur and Khulara belonged to a Vasudev Ray, and afterwards came to Hara Narayan, the son of Kisor Singha, a Rarhi Kayastha. Hara Narayan died, leaving two sons, Nara Narayan and Ratneswar, who were children placed under the charge of Jagat Ballabh, his Dewan and ancestor of the family in Dinajpur, from whom I received the former account. This faithful servant, according to the people here, went to Murshedabad, informed the Nawab Jafur Khan that his master had died without children, and having expended some money, procured the three estates for his three sons. Hiranman obtained Tajpur. Long after he fell into arrears of 42,000 rs. and sold the estate, which was purchased by Raghudev, who was married to a daughter of Naranarayan, the proper heir to the estate. Although the estate had been publicly sold, Kaliprasad, the son of Hiranman, in the Bengal year 1173 (A.D. 1776) went to Murshedabad and having expended some money, procured from Nawab Mozuffer Jung an order to be restored; and he took possession. Raghudev then applied at Murshedabad to Mr. Hastings, who referred the case to a gentleman that died, as did also Raghudev. His son Sibnath procured an order for being restored from a Mr. Lambert. Soon after he was restored he sold, for 15,000 rupees, six-sixteenths of the estate to Gauri, a brother of Bala Ram Mazumdar, who was the Dewan of Mr. Lambert, and it is usually supposed that this Dewan had been promised the sale before the lands were restored. Sibnath has died and left the remainder of the estate to his younger brother Baidyanath, but by the descendants of Hiranman this possession is considered as an usurpation. The share he still retains in this district is said to amount to about 156,000 bigahs, Calcutta measure. The



share which was purchased by Gauri was soon afterwards transferred to his brother Balaram the Dewan. Both brothers, however, died soon and left their estate to a brother; but Nityananda Daneshmund, of whom I have given an account in Ronggopur, produced a bond from the deceased brothers, and having to the surprise of many obtained a decision in his favour, the estate was sold to pay the amount. He was the purchaser, and now possesses it.

Almost the whole rent of this estate is farmed to Mostajirs, who receive the land free of leases, and relet it at rack-rent for the duration of their own agreement, which is usually for three years. It is not usual to grant the lease until the first crop is ready for being cut. The renter takes the land at the rental which was delivered in by his predecessor, deducting one-sixteenth for his profit and one-sixteenth for the expense of collection. The chiefs of villages (Mandals) and messengers (Payiks) are paid in land, at the expense of the zemindar. The renter pays all the other expenses, and a large establishment is supported.

34. Khulara, the second estate which belonged to Hara Narayan, was given to Udayman, the second son of his Dewan, as I have mentioned in Dinajpur. The portion situated in Dangrkhora and Nehnagar in this district may contain about 20,000 bigahs.

35. Delawarpur (Delawerpoor, Gladwin), the third estate, went to Lakshman the third son of the Dewan, and his descendants, as has been mentioned in Dinajpur. In Nehnagar of this district there may be about 22,000 bigahs belonging to this estate.

36. Kharwa is a pretty large estate in the division, to which it communicates its name. In this the rope is 82 cubits of 19 inches long, and 4 are deducted for Galjinda. It is therefore 15,250 square feet, and is only equal to one bigah, 1  $\frac{1}{5}$  katha, Calcutta measure. The rate in Kharwa proper for houses is said to be from 5 to 14 annas a bigah; for fields from 3 to 9 annas a bigah. In Kharwa Dilalpur the rate for houses is from 6 to 16 annas a bigah, and for fields (Kshetar) from 4 to 12 annas. This estate originally belonged to a certain Devicharan, who



sold six-sixteenths to the above-mentioned Jagat Ballabh. The ten-sixteenths that remain to the family, and are called simply Kharwa, went to his son Saheb Ram, who left them to his wife Sudhamahi, and they are now in possession of her daughter's son Guru Prasad, an Uttar Rarhi Kayastha, and probably of the same family with the original owners of Haveli Tajpur.

I suspect that Turuf Mobarukpur, in the division of Gorguribah, is a detached portion of the same estate, as it also belongs to Guru Prasad.

The six-sixteenths of Kharwa are said to have been sold to Jagat Ballabh, the Dewan lately mentioned, and were given to his son Lakshman of Delawarpur, on which account this part of the estate is now called Kharwa Delawarpur. I have in Dinajpur detailed the various successions in this family. The whole of Delawarpur and of Kharwa Delawarpur is now in possession of Chandi and Guru Prasads, who reside at Churaman.

37. Mathurapur is an estate which is said to have belonged to Udayman, the son of Jagat Ballabh, the Dewan so often mentioned. It is situated partly in Dinajpur (No. 65), and partly in the division Nehnagar, where it may contain 12 or 13 thousand bigahs. In Dinajpur I understood that Mahendra Narayan, grandson by adoption of Udayman, had sold this estate, and retained Tajpur, but I in some degree misunderstood his agents, and the confusion probably arose from some obscurity in their manner of speaking. They were unwilling to acknowledge the loss of Tajpur, of which he pretends to have been unjustly deprived, and Mathurapur is universally known to belong to Mahendra, although a nominal sale has taken place, and in all public transactions it is supposed to belong to a Sibchandra Ray.

38. In Dinajpur I have mentioned that the foregoing estates seem formerly to have belonged to persons of some note, Ram Ray, and Syam Ray, who had other estates, among which is Maldwar, the 63rd in the Dinajpur list, where an account of its proprietors may be seen. In the divisions of Nehnagar and Dulalganj about 45,000 bigahs belong to this property.



39. Sujanagar is a fine estate, which belonged to the Dinajpur Rajas. Part is in the district of that name (No. 14), and about 108,000 bigahs are in the division of Nehnagar, and have been purchased by Dular Singha, who will afterwards be mentioned.

40. Baror was mentioned in Dinajpur (No. 96) as supposed to belong to the same proprietor with Suryapur who, although a Muhammedan, is called Raja of Krishnagunj. In fact, however, it belongs to another Muhammedan family, and is a very large estate; for besides what is in Dinajpur, there are perhaps in Dangrkhora, Dulalgunj, Nehnagar and Krishnagunj above 480,000 bigahs.

The first person, so far as I can learn, who possessed this fine estate was Saiud Pir Dhuutar, who was followed in regular successions by Hamza, Hazi Mir, Jamal, and Alah Bukhsh, all of whom prefixed Sai-ud to their name, in order to denote their descent from the prophet. Abdul Rahim, the son of the last, left the estate to his sister's son Kale, whose son Roushun had three male children, Muhammed Wares, Muhammed Malek, and Muhammed Jung. The second died without children, and the first took the whole estate. In 1148 (A.D. 1741) Muhammed Jung complained to Sayef Khan, Nawab of Puraniya, who determined that he should have an equal share of the patrimony: but the brothers continued to live together.

Muhammed Wares had a son named Budh, who had two sons by concubines; but they died young, and he was succeeded by his widow Mehurnnesa, who left her share to her daughter's son Buka-ullah, lately dead. He had mortgaged his patrimony to Salabut Ray, a merchant in Puraniya, and in public transactions the estate appears in that person's name; but it is generally understood that Rahutunnesa, widow of Bukaullah, is the real proprietor and manages everything as she pleases. This part of the estate is now called Zila Paramanandapur, and may contain 270,000 bigahs.

The remaining 210,000 bigahs, constituting Zila Malor, were the share of Muhammed Jung, who had a son named Kodrutullah, who left his share to



his widow Roushun Nesa. She made a gift of it to a favourite servant named Mir Muzedullah, who has left it to two boys, his sons by different mothers, and named Mir Korbanali and Mir Kasemali. These lads are sons of concubines, but their father had a wife who is still alive and had a daughter. She is dead, but has left three sons, who claim the estate.

The whole of this great estate is managed much in the same manner as Tajpur. There are two manners of fixing the rent. One is by Gusbundi. The master and tenant agree on such or such a rent for such or such a farm, without any measurement, or regard to the manner in which it is to be cultivated. The leases being short, and at rack-rent, the plan answers well, and is that which is mostly followed. The other plan is called Darbundi, and the lease specifies the number of bigahs, and rate. The rope is 90 cubits of 17 inches; but, in measuring, four are deducted, so that the bigah is very little larger than that of Calcutta (1.031). Where the land is let by measure, it generally pays from 9 to 16 annas a bigah. It is of course well cultivated and occupied, and on the whole is the finest part of the district. In the time of Akbur it probably paid no revenue, as it is not mentioned in the Ayeen Akbery, and has long been the property of this family, the first of which seems to have been a saint, and therefore may have been exempted from tribute.

41. Dehatla (Deyhut, Gladwin) I have mentioned in my account of Dinajpur (No. 8), as having belonged to the Rajas of that title. Between five and six thousand bigahs are situated in the division of Krishna-gunj. It has been purchased by Dular Singha, who also bought Sajanagur, and who has already been often mentioned.

42. The institution in Peruya that is dedicated to Kotub Shah has about 2,000 bigahs free of rent in the part of this Serkar that is in Puraniya. This, like the other lands belonging to the same institution, is called Pergunah Chha Hazari, and is situated in the division of Dulalgunj.

43. The largest estate (Pergunah) in this part of the district is Sujapur, which in the divisions of

Haveli, Dulalgunj, Krishnagunj and Udhraail may contain between 14 and 15 lakhs of bigahs or 500,000 acres; besides a little in Dinajpur. In the time of Akbur it was but a trifling territory, the greater part then belonging to the Sikim Bhoteyas, and being overrun with forests occupied by thieves. In this state things continued for some time, when Saiud Khan, a stranger, having possession of the estate, the Bhoteyas became troublesome. By the assistance of Saiud Ray these mountaineers were driven out, and in order to check their incursions a fort was built at Haldivari, while the family took up its residence at Khagra, near the chief fortress which the Bhoteyas had built. Saiud Ray married his friend's daughter, succeeded to his estate, although a Moslem obtained the title of Raja, and was made Register (Kanungoe) as well as Zemindar of the newly-acquired territory. He was succeeded by his son Julal Khan, who was early attacked by the Bhoteyas; but having procured assistance from Isfundiyar Khan of Puraniya, he put them to flight, and obtained from the king the title of Saiud Julaluddin Muhammed Khan. His son was called Saiud Reza. The Bhoteyas then making frequent incursions, he built a fort at Mundimala, and annexed to his estate the country between the Mahananda and Balasan. The king bestowed on this person a dress of honour, and gave him the Pergunah of Kahalgung in Bhagalpur, which being infested with robbers, the Zemindar had been displaced. He obtained this estate in the year 1052 (A.D. 1635), and was murdered by a servant of the Zemindar who had been removed. His son Mahiuddin lost Kahalgung, and died without children. He was succeeded in Suryapur by his sister's husband, Nurm Muhammed, who left four sons, Sultan Muhammed, Muhammed Roushun, Muksud, and Rusid. The three first, one after the other, held the estate without division. Muksud left three sons and a daughter. Jayenuddin Muhammed, the eldest son, succeeded to the whole. On his death without children, his two brothers, Hoseyn and Borhanuddin, both also called Muhammed, disputed the succession, and were carried to Murshedabad by a certain Hafez Khan. Having



both died there, their mother applied to the Nawab of Puraniya, who appointed her Dewan or agent, Muhammed Sayed, to hold the offices of Zemindar and Kanungoe. His eldest son having died before his father, he was succeeded by his second son Julil, who left two sons, Golam Hoseyn and Golam Hasun. The first succeeded, and was usually called Dewan Hoseyn. His eldest son was called Dewan Reza Fakhuruddin Hoseyn, and had three sons, Dewan Mukbur Hoseyn, Akbur Hoseyn, and Didar Hoseyn. The first died without children, the two latter now hold the estate jointly, but live in separate houses. Fakhuruddin's younger brother died without children. The mother of the two young men was not even a concubine (Nekah), but a handsome dancing girl, and their claim to the estate is exceedingly doubtful; especially if Golam Hasun has left any legitimate successors.

The whole estate, for the behoof of the young men, is under the management of a person (Surburahkar) who collects the rents, pays the revenue, and accounts for the balance. The division of Udhraïl forms about a half of the whole estate, comprahending about 700,000 bigahs, Calcutta measure, of which about 500,000 may be occupied. It is said that about one-sixteenth of this is not assessed, so that the Zemindar's occupied lands will be about 470,000 Calcutta bigahs or 340,000 bigahs of the Pergunah measure (100 cubits, deducting  $1\frac{1}{4}$  Katha). The whole is let on short leases at rack-rent, to tenants (Gachdars), all of whom find security, so that there is no loss. The land is not measured, and each tenant, before he begins to cultivate, makes a fixed agreement, and obtains a lease. It is therefore impossible that the leases can be on a better footing, and the land is well occupied, although of a poor light soil. Many of the farms are large, and are let to under-tenants at from 8 to 16 annas a bigah, but the greater part is cultivated by those who receive one-half of the crop for their labour, and who are here uncommonly prudent, many of them being entirely free of debt. The tenants are mostly low Muhammedans, or men who do not despise the plough, and the rent should be paid by four



equal instalments. Why with such a system almost the whole rents should be farmed, I am at a loss to know; but it so happens. The reason seems to be the wish of keeping a low rental, a circumstance always most eagerly sought. The rental is kept just a little higher than will pay the revenue, but the person who farms the rent pays for his place, and either takes a fair rent from the tenants, or sells them a permission to occupy, at a low rate, for the time that his engagement lasts.

The renters are paid by the tenants a certain percentage (one-eighth) in addition to the rent, the whole of which without any deduction is remitted to the Zemindar; but he furnishes some land, that is given free of rent to the messengers (Gorayit and Payiks) that are kept in the villages. There are no chiefs of villages (Mandals). The clerks (Patwaris) and remaining messengers are paid by the people who farm the rent (Mostajirs). Those who farm a large amount of rent, remit what is due to Krishnagunj. Those farming small portions pay their engagements to an agent (Tahasildar) at Udhraail, who also collects from the few farmers whose rents are not farmed. It was said that the whole money remitted to Krishnagunj is only 95,000 rs. Even allowing this to be accurate, it will give no idea of the Zemindar's profit, unless we take into the account what is paid by those who farm the rents for their appointments. In all probability the nominal rents are very low, and the tenants have all given security for its payment, and in fact none is alleged to be lost; yet, as usual, no man pays his rent without the dunning of messengers, who are sent with bills twice a month. These messengers and bills are not sent by the renter (Mostajir) but by orders of the Zemindar's agent (Tahasildar), and are a grand source of revenue.

The chief establishment, which is kept at Udhraail to superintend a collection said to be only of 50,000 rs., and to assist the renters, who are said to pay 45,000 rs. at Krishnagunj, is as follows:—one Tahasildar or steward, one deputy (Nayeb). These represent the Surburahkar or manager. One Gomashtah or agent,



who represents the Zemindar, and applies his seal to all public acts. One chief accountant (Serreshtadar). 9 Clerks (Mohurers). One Treasurer (Khazanchi). One Valuer of money (Fotdar). One Tabkush, who melts money suspected to be bad. One Munshi, or writer of Persian letters. 25 Guards (1 Jumadar, 24 Burukandajs) at the treasury. 4 Watchmen (Chaukidars) at the office (Kachahri). Two Keepers of papers (Dufturis). One Chief (Jumadar) of the principal messengers (Dhaliyats), who are sent to obstinate debtors, and who are paid from 2 to 4 annas each message, according to the distance. He employs people that hang on, generally voracious curs who are glad to give him a large share. Eight chiefs (4 Mirdhas and 4 Gomashtah Mirdhas, deputies of the former) who employ the swarm of starving tatterdemalions that are sent, at the rate of from 1 to 2 annas, to dun ordinary creditors. One sweeper. Such an establishment, and the system of farming the rents, are sufficient to ruin any estate, on however good a plan the settlement of its rents may have been made.

The other great portion of this estate, situated in the division of Krishnagunj, may contain 680,000 bigahs Calcutta measure, equal to 495,000 of the customary standard. Of these probably 400,000 are fully occupied, but about one-sixteenth must be deducted for lands that are not assessed. The farms and management are exactly the same, only the rents are higher. It is said that, including charges, great tenants pay on an average 8 annas for the customary bigah, from which on account of these charges one-eighth is deducted by those who farm the rents. The under-tenants pay about 1 r. a bigah. One, whose lease I saw, paid 21 rs. for 18 bigahs, but his farm was of a very good soil. The lands in Dulalgunj are managed in the same way, and are still better.

44. Shahpur (Shahpoor, Gladwin) is a small estate in the division of Haveli, which may contain about 5,000 bigahs, and formerly belonged to the Dinajpur Rajas. It has been bought by Dular Singha, so often mentioned on similar occasions. It must be observed that by far the greater part of Serkar Tajpur is let on lease at rack-rent, and except in the

south-west corner the rent is considerably higher than in Jennutabad and Urambar. Except in that corner, therefore, the country is much better cultivated. A larger proportion of the rents are however farmed, which in a great measure checks the beneficial effects of the good system, and the leases are too short. Few chiefs of villages are employed. The land is usually divided into Taluks, Chuklahs, or Mahals, containing from 20 to 50 farms, on each of which is a Patwari or keeper of accounts, who gets from 3 to 6 rupees a month, and from 1 to 4 messengers (Gorayits or Payiks), who get from  $\frac{3}{4}$  to 1 rupee a month, or land to a supposed equal value. The people who farm the rents (Mostajirs) receive from the tenants an addition of one-eighth, from which they pay all the expenses of collection, and if the messengers are paid in land, they pay more for their farm. Besides the one-eighth additional rent which they receive, they cultivate all the land which is not on lease. This they give either on leases, that never appear on the books of the estate, or to those who cultivate for a share of the crop.

The land in Tajpur is everywhere measured by a rope. In measuring assessed estates a deduction is always made, by the man who holds the fore end taking  $\frac{1}{2}$  Katha or a twentieth part, while the man who holds the other end takes  $\frac{3}{4}$  Katha. In measuring estates that are not assessed, in order to increase their size no deduction is made, which is probably an imposition.

(f) ESTATES IN SUBEH BENGAL, SERKAR PURANIYA.

45. Haveli Puraniya is an immense estate which belonged to the Rajas of that title, and is now disputed by several claimants, none of whom, I imagine, could prove any propinquity to the last Raja. In the meantime two of the claimants have been appointed managers (Dukhilkars), and are bound to deliver the net profits to the Judge, who keeps the amount in deposit until the suit is decided. These persons, Srinarayan and the widow of his brother Lalit, have never, I believe, interfered farther in the management than to go round the country begging from the



tenantry, although they have a very large patrimony, and in this mean practice they have had considerable success. The whole management has been left to Baidyanath, a banker of Puraniya, who is their security, and has been already mentioned as proprietor of an estate in Serkar Tajpur. He is a man of good abilities, but I presume has made no attempt to correct the numerous abuses that prevail in the management of the estate, which indeed could not reasonably have been expected.

This Pergunah is scattered through the divisions of Haveli, Dangrkhora, Dulalgunj, Nehnagar, Matiyari, Arariya, and Gondwara, and may contain between 10 and 11 lakhs of bigahs, Calcutta measure. The measure in three-fourths of the estate is 90 common cubits, from which one-tenth is deducted in measuring. In one-fourth the measure is 100 cubits, with the same deduction. This I suspect is the free land, as that is the proportion said to have been alienated. The 81 cubits used in the greater part is a very little more than the Calcutta standard (1.025). The lands that have been alienated free of tax are said to amount to not a great deal less than one-fourth of the whole, and may be about 212,000 bigahs, leaving a balance of 870,000: almost the whole is rented, because even pasture pays somewhat; but the land fully occupied by houses, gardens and fields, and assessed, probably may be 508,000 bigahs.

About 35 tenants have Estemurari leases, on a fixed rent for ever. Their leases mention either that they have a certain number of bigahs, or certain villages. The remainder is let in two manners, one Darbundi, and the other Bigahti: the former is when it pays so much on each bigah, accordingly as it is cultivated with different crops; the other is when it pays so much for every bigah, with whatever it may be cultivated. If a Darbundi Raiyat has cultivated 50 bigahs, so as to pay a certain sum, less will not be taken during his lease, except in a few leases called Kasht, some of which are in perpetuity, others for life. Tenants who have such can be compelled to pay only for what they actually cultivate. The others are called Kumkasht. The Bigahti lands should be

measured every year, in order to see that no new lands are cultivated.

It is said that in a few places Mr. Colebrooke settled a rate, both for lands let by the bigah and for those let by the nature of the crop. Perhaps he may have done so for the whole, but if that was the case, the shackles have been entirely cast off by the Zemindars, and except in a few leases signed by that gentleman, there is now no authority for the rate but the books of the estate, which are liable to be altered; and accordingly of 50 persons occupying one village the rate of no two for the same kind of land will be the same, and the worst land is often highest rated. Neither measure nor rate is mentioned in the lease, the master only engages to take no more than the usual custom. When the new tenant has cultivated his lands, if any attention is paid to form they are measured, and the rent is fixed by what appears by the accounts of the estate to have been paid by his predecessor, for which there is no evidence but that of an accountant, liable to corruption, always from poverty, and too often from inclination. It is difficult to say whether the frauds on the masters or tenants are most numerous. Almost all the leases are for three years, or at least are very short, and are called *Meyadi*, or leases for a term of years; and the Zemindars allege that if a new tenant offers to raise the rate, the old one must either go out or pay as much as the other offers. In fact I learned that in most places it was usual to consider the whole, except that held by the leases called *Estemurari* and *Kasht*, as let at rack-rent. The ceremony, however, in many parts is performed of keeping the accounts as if the whole were actually measured annually, and valued at a certain rate, and even this costs an immense sum, as the books are kept both in Hindi and Persian.

In many parts again, such methods of raising a rent being intolerably expensive and troublesome, the Zemindars endeavour to let farms on a short lease without measurement, which are here called *Benapi*, as in *Serkar Tajpur* they are called *Guzbundi*. This tenure should by all lawful means be encouraged, and the others checked.



The tenants are not required to find security before they enter, as is wisely and properly done on the estate of the Krishnagunj Rajas, but security is demanded when the crop is ripe, a most villainous practice which ought to be prohibited under the most severe penalties, and all such securities should in law be considered as void; for the crop being in danger of spoiling, the agent may compel the tenant to accede to whatever terms he pleases, otherwise he will raise objections to the security. In fact the clamour, at least, of the tenants on the estate are very loud against such illegal demands; and it is obvious that this practice opens the door for their being exacted with impunity.

The whole of the rents are farmed, and the expense of collection is great. The farmer or Mostajir is allowed 6 6-16 per cent. on the amount of the gross rental, besides all lands out of lease, and whatever additional rent he may impose; but this seldom appears on the books, because he usually takes a present and avoids giving trouble either to himself or the tenants, and the Zemindar does not urge him because he also receives his presents, and thus makes a profit without raising his rental. The Mostajir in fact has only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  rs. per cent. and the other profits to answer for bad debts and his establishment; for he allows to the village clerks  $4\frac{1}{4}$  rs. per cent. for the village establishment of messengers (Gorayits and Peyadas), and chiefs of villages (Mandals), where such are employed, which is not everywhere the case, and also for stationery. The village clerk also avowedly allowed to take  $\frac{1}{4}$  anna (Paiya) on the rupee from every tenant; but of this he pays a share to the Zemindar, which I suppose does not appear on the books. Where the Mahal, or land farmed to a Mostajir, is small, as is usually the case in this Pergunah, he is allowed to act as clerk (Patwari) and receives all the emoluments. There is not much land granted to the establishment, but a good deal to the domestic slaves (Khawas) belonging to the family.

46. Asja (Assownja, Gladwin) is a fine estate containing about 128,000 bigahs, of which perhaps 24,000 have been alienated free of rent, and of the

remainder between 63 and 64 thousand may be occupied. It is scattered through the divisions of Dangrkhora, Dulalgunj, Nehnagar, Haveli and Arariya. In the year 1158 (A.D. 1751) this was alienated by Chandra Narayan, the father of the last Puraniya Raja, to Devananda, a Mithila Brahman, who at the same time procured another estate called Tirakharda, which will afterwards be mentioned. Asja went to his eldest son Manikchandra, who has left it to his son Haralal. The bigah is of the same kind with the smaller one in Haveli, and almost the whole is let by a certain rate on each crop. Land that produces two distinct crops pays from  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to 16 annas, according to the degree of favour for the tenant; summer rice alone pays from  $4\frac{3}{4}$  to 10 annas; transplanted rice from 3 to 9 annas; other winter crops from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 5 annas. Sugarcane from 7 to 10 annas; grass for thatch 6 annas.

47. Kangdaya is another fine estate that has been alienated from the Puraniya family, but the possessors are supposed to be a collateral branch, and are the claimants now in possession as managers. It may contain about 300,000 bigahs, in the divisions of Dangrkhora, Dulalgunj, Nehnagar and Haveli. Of these perhaps 22,000 are free of assessment, and about 192,000 of the remainder are occupied. The measure and management are the same as in Haveli Puraniya, only little of the land is let by the rate on each crop (Darbundi). It is usually let by so many bigahs for the rupee. Almost all the land pays, whether cultivated or not, and the leases are almost all granted for a short number of years, and when these expire, the lands may be let to the best bidder.

Vasudev, a Mithila Brahman, supposed to be of the same family with the Puraniya Rajas, was the first who obtained this estate. He was succeeded in regular descent by Uttam Narayan and Chandra Narayan, who left three sons, Dev Narayan, Sri Narayan and Lalit Narayan. The estate was divided into two Zilas. Dev, the eldest, took Sekrol, and dying left it to his three sons, who live in common, and their affairs are managed by Ram Narayan the eldest. The two younger brothers Sri and Lalit Narayan took Zila Belor, and lived in common until the death of



the latter, which happened in February 1810. He has left a widow, but no children. The widow pretends to his share of the patrimony. Sri Narayan is also called Syam Lal, and is also proprietor of Bangkipur Govargari, as has already been mentioned.

48. Kathiyar (Kuttyary, Gladwin) is a fine estate in the divisions of Dangrkhora, Gondwara, and Haveli, and will belong to the heirs of the Puraniya family. It may contain 108,000 bigahs, of which fully 10,000 are said to have been alienated free of assessment, and of the remainder perhaps 62,000 are occupied, but almost all pays rent for pasture. This estate has been mismanaged much in the same manner as that called Kumarpur in the south-west corner of Serkar Tajpur, with which it is intermixed, only the rate of rent is said to be higher. Pasture lets at from 1 to 3 annas. Grass for thatch at from 2 to 6 annas. Cultivated land at from 2 annas to a rupee. The bigah is equal to nearly 2.64 of the Calcutta standard.

49. Sultanpur (Sultanpoor, Gladwin), in the time of Akbur was a subdivision of Puraniya, but it has since received great additions from Morang, and may contain about 455,000 bigahs. It is said that above 80,000 bigahs are not assessed, and of the remainder about 268,000 bigahs may be fully occupied, but almost the whole pays rent.

A Persian of some distinction, now in his native country, has a lease in perpetuity and transferable by sale, of 30 villages, for which he pays only 21,000 rs. a year. He has also 12 Mauzahs free, but these are estimated to contain only 9,000 bigahs, but the bigah is exceedingly large, being nearly an acre. His whole nett proceeds, as managed by a Brahman at such a distance, is 22,000 rs. a year, which does very great credit to the manager. The remainder is let in the same manner as Haveli Puraniya.

The whole rents of the part of this estate, remaining to the heirs of the Puraniya family, have been farmed to Bhairay Dat Mallik, a scribe of Mithila, for 48,590 rs. 5 annas 7 pice. He has let the whole to under-renters, who each pay from 200 to 7,000 rs. Those who pay under 500 rs., collect for themselves. Those who pay from 600 to 3,000 rs.



rent keep one clerk (Patwari). Those who hold more, keep from one to two assistants (Mohurers). One-half of the messengers (Gorayits) are paid in land, at the cost of the landlord; every other expense is paid by the farmer of the rents, for which he is allowed one anna on the rupee and is answerable for all arrears. The renter always takes the estate at what it appears rented in the books, and his profit is to arise from the difference between that and what he can let it, and from the deduction of  $1/16$  allowed for the expense of collection. The gross rental should therefore be 51,829 rs. 11 annas; but the tenants pay  $\frac{1}{4}$  anna on the rupee more to the clerks, which they should give as a private bonus to the landlord, under the name of Miran. This amounting to 809 rs. 13 annas 8 gandas, the tenants should pay only 52,639 rs. 8 annas 8 g. which is at the rate of very little more than 3 annas a bigah, Calcutta measure; for the rent of fallow land, of pasture, and of grass for thatch are fully adequate to make up for the lands given to messengers, and to the domestic slaves of the family. This is nothing like what the greater part of tenants pay. The high ranks may indeed pay at such a rate, but the lower classes and tradesmen pay at least 8 annas a bigah, and the difference is taken by the chief renter, for the under-renters are, I suppose, contented with the  $1/16$  of the rent for their expense and profit. Were we to inspect the books of the estate we should perhaps only find a small part let to tenants; but the whole of what is occupied either pays regular rent to the Mostajir, or the tenants give him a consideration to waive his rights of altering the nature of their payments. We cannot, as I have said, allow to the under-renters less than  $1/16$  of the actual payments to make up their expense and risk of bad rents, with a reasonable profit; and we may judge of the great amount of the surplus that the chief renter draws by the size of his establishment, which I am told is as follows:—

One Steward (Tahasildar) per mensem 50 rs.; one deputy (Nayeb) 25 rs.; one Persian letter writer (Munshi) 15 rs.; one Persian accountant (Sureshtahdar) 15 rs.; his clerk (Mohurer) 10 rs.; Hindi accountant (Amanut Navis) 10 rs.; His assistant



(Peshkar) 7 rs. 8 annas; one chief guard of the treasure (Jumadar) 6 rs.; 5 guards under him (Burukandajs) 12 rs. 8 annas; one valuer of money (Parkhiya) 3 rs.; two chief messengers (Mirdhas) 6 rs.; their deputies (Nayeb) 3 rs.; 64 messengers (Payiks) have land; two watchmen have land (Pashwan); two other watchmen, 3 rs. 8 annas; one keeper of papers (Duftury), 2 rs.; one sweeper, 1 r.; one torch bearer (Mushalchi) 2 rs.; oil and stationery, 7 rs.; total 178 rs. 8 annas, or 2,142 rs. a year.

The 48,590 rs. paid by the farmer of the rents is not all clear profit to the landlord. Besides a heavy establishment which he supports at Puraniya, he has on this estate as follows—one agent (Gomashtah) who signs and seals all public deeds, 41 rs.; one deputy (Nayeb) 15 rs.; one clerk (Mohurer) 10 rs.; one deputy ditto, 5 rs.; one chief messenger, who sends messengers (Mohasels) to dun the tenants, 3 rs.; monthly 74 rs. These collect only the Miran, which nominally would only pay their wages.

50. Sripur (Sirrypoor, Gladwin) is another fine estate belonging to the same family, which since the time of Akbur has been much enlarged at the expense of Morang, and may contain about 889,000 bigahs. It is said that in this perhaps 138,000 are not assessed, and of the remainder 624,000 may be fully occupied. The rope by which lands on assessed estates are measured is 120 cubits, deducting one-tenth, that is, a square of 108 cubits. The occupied assessed lands are therefore about 240,000 of these bigahs. These are arranged into farms (Gach), the boundaries of which are preserved, but they are often let in lots. A very few persons have leases in perpetuity, some paying so much for their farms in a general way (Gachbundi), others paying so much a bigah (Darbundi), on a low average, such as 4 annas. Almost the whole however is let on short leases of from two to four years, and the lease is seldom granted until the seed has been sown. The high castes pay from 14 annas to 1 rupee, which is called Kumdeer; the low castes pay Pordur, or from  $1\frac{1}{4}$  to 2 rupees a bigah. These rents being tolerably high, the country is very well cultivated. This is the actual rent; in all probability, in the books of the estate it stands as



low in proportion to its value as the last-mentioned estate, which is also well cultivated; for the great extent of waste land is owing to the poverty of the soil, large tracts of which are preserved for pasture.

The whole estate is managed exactly in the same manner as the last mentioned, only it has been farmed to several small renters. The allowances made to these are similar, but then the village establishment is heavier; for each Mahal has a chief farmer (Mandal), a clerk (Patwari), and if large, one or two assistants, besides from one to four messengers (Gorayits), all of whom are paid from the 1 anna. Three different kinds of messengers (Dhaliyats, Payiks and Gorayits) are indeed allowed land, but these kept entirely in waiting on the Zemindar and his chief officers, and probably pay rent which does not appear on the books. These hold about 6,000 bigahs.

The establishment kept by the Zemindar in order to superintend these numerous renters is very heavy, and amounts to 313 rs. a month.

51. Futehpur is an entire new acquisition to Serkar Puraniya, taken from Morang and given to the Rajas of Puraniya. It may contain about 349,000 bigahs Calcutta measure, of which it is said about 105,000 are exempted from assessment. Of the remainder about 200,000 are fully occupied, and this will give about 110,000 bigahs of the estate measure, which is the same with that of Sripur. The farms are exactly on the same footing, but the rents are farmed and managed as in Sultanpur.

52. Harawat is a small estate also taken from Morang, and annexed to the domain of the Puraniya Raja. It may contain about 62,000 bigahs, of which 3,900 may be free of assessment. Of the remainder, are exactly on the same footing, but the rents 40,000 may be actually occupied. The measure being a square of 20 rods, each 6 cubits long, the estate measurement of occupied land should be about 22,400 bigahs. The whole is let by what is called Ekduri, or one rate, from 14 to 20 annas a bigah in different villages, the high castes getting much good land, and the low receiving a large proportion of poor. Much however that is not regularly cultivated is included in the rental, the land being tolerably high



let and as fully occupied as the poor nature of the country will admit. The tenants here do not pay  $\frac{1}{4}$  anna on the rupee to the clerk on account of the zemindar. In the old leases the measurement and rent was mentioned, but as that might lead to discoveries in case of a new assessment, no such particulars are now stated. The lease merely says that the tenant is to pay according to old custom, for which there is no evidence but the books of the estate, liable to be altered at pleasure. The rents are farmed as in Sripur.

53. Tirakharda is a fine estate in the divisions of Matiyari and Arariya. This also was taken from Morang, and given to the Rajas of Puraniya, but Ramchandra, the last Raja except one, gave this and Asja as already mentioned to his Dewan Devananda. This man left Asja to one son, Manikchandra, and gave Tirakharda to Puramananda, another son, who has left it to Dular Singha, a person whom I have had frequent occasion to mention as proprietor of a portion of Kotwali, of Mahinagar Sujanagar, in Serkar Jennutabad, Akburabad in Serkar Urambar, and of Sujanagar, of Dehatta, and of Shahpur in Serkar Tajpur, all of which I believe he has purchased; as he has also done a part of Dhapar which will be afterwards mentioned. He also has lands in Tirahut, Bhagalpur and Dinajpur, and is a very thriving man. Being very active and intelligent, he has also had sense to perceive that his real interest is inseparably connected with fair dealing and kindness to his tenants; not shown in the usual manner by granting low rents to parasites, but by protecting the industrious from the frauds and oppressions of agents, and especially of those who farm rents. I believe he employs none such, except where the rents had been farmed, when he purchased and the term has not expired, or where the lands are very distant. Notwithstanding this, Dular Singha is a very troublesome neighbour and has a strong inclination to encroach on all those, whose lands are adjoining to his.

Tirakharda may contain 276,000 bigahs, of which perhaps 22,000 are not assessed. Of the remainder perhaps 149,000 are fully occupied. The bigah was originally a square of 100 cubits each side, or was equal



to 1.56, Calcutta measure. Mr. Colebrooke, it is said, settled that the leases should be in perpetuity, and that the whole lands of each village should be let at one rate (Ekduri), which varied from 10 to 12 annas according as there were more or less of a good soil. This, although a much better plan than the attempting to fix a rent on each bigah according to the nature of the crop, leaves great room for oppression and fraud, a favourite getting all his land good, while those who will not agree to be squeezed get nothing but fields of the worst quality. The evil of leases in perpetuity had probably existed before the settlement made by Mr. Colebrooke, so that it was indispensable. The tenants having complained that this assessment was too heavy, they and the Zemindars agreed that the bigah should be extended to 120 cubits, and that the rate should rise to from 16 to 20 annas, in which the tenants were grossly deceived; for in place of lowering the rent it was considerably raised, this being at the rate of from 11 to 13 annas for the old bigah, in place of from 10 to 12 annas. Not that this is by any means too high, being at the rate of from 7 to 8 annas a Calcutta bigah. Not only what is actually cultivated, but a good deal that is fallow pays this rent, which may raise the average rent of the cultivated land to about 10 annas, a rate which in present circumstances is sufficient to incite industry without being oppressive, provided it is levied fairly, as Dular Singha practises. The estate now contains about 66,000 large bigahs fully occupied, with about one-fifth more in fallow, making in all 79,000, which should be rented at from 16 to 20 annas a bigah, with an addition of  $\frac{1}{64}$ th part (Paiya, i.e., one-quarter anna) given to the clerk; but in two or three villages near the frontier of Morang some deduction is allowed, herds of wild animals pouring in from the wastes of that country.

Dular Singha keeps in his own management a farm (Khamar) of 5,000 of these bigahs, one-half of which he cultivates by his slaves and hired servants, and the other by those who take one-half of the crop for their trouble. The losses which even a man of his activity must suffer by fraud should allow little profit on such a concern; but he has vast herds of cattle



for which it is necessary to provide, and from which he derives a solid gain; and at the same time diminishes his rental (Hustbud), a circumstance most eagerly attended to by even the most intelligent Zemindars. Besides he is probably in hopes of being able to withdraw these lands from the assessed estate, as would appear to have been done in the estates of the Raja of Tirahut, as will be afterwards mentioned. He has given 1,800 bigahs to about 50 men called Jaygirdars, who are fellows of some courage and who pay only 250 rs. a year; but are bound to oppose the incursions of wild beasts from Morang. They also pretend that they oppose the passage of thieves, although scandal gives a different turn to the nature of their employment, especially in the time of his father. He gives about 500 bigahs free of rent to 20 messengers (Payiks) that attend him, and 50 to their chief called a Serdar. What remains from 4,000 bigahs of lands granted for service goes to his slaves.

The remaining 70,000 bigahs are divided into Taluks, in the size of which there is no very material difference, which is of much importance towards economy. On most estates one Taluk will be 200 bigahs and another 15,000, so that the person who has charge of the one cannot live by fair means, and he who has charge of the other cannot perform a half of the duty. In each Taluk he allows only one clerk (Patwari) and one messenger (Gorayit), who are paid in money in proportion to the value of their receipts. The clerk receives  $\frac{1}{64}$ th part of the amount of collections, which although paid by the tenants actually comes from the master, and if he collects 1,000 rs., he gets 24 rs. a year, in all 39 rs. 10 annas. The messenger gets 12 rs. a year, and of course begs or takes from the tenants, a poor but general economy from which even Dular has not been able to escape. The village expense of collection is therefore a trifle more than 5 per cent. No part of the rents is farmed. His own steward and servants receive the money from the village clerks, and account to a master who narrowly inspects their conduct. I heard no estimate of the expense of this establishment; but I have no doubt that it is under 5 per cent. on the rental. Being on the immediate frontier of



Morang, to which every rogue can with facility escape, he no doubt loses by arrears; but his people are so little oppressed, when compared with those of all the neighbouring estates whose rents are farmed, that his lands are immediately occupied. I have entered into this detail to explain the proper management of an estate, in which the only defect is the perpetuity of the leases.

54. Pauiyakhali is an estate which was taken from Morang and annexed to Puraniya, but was allowed to remain in the possession of Garib Das, a cowherd (Goyala), whose ancestors held it from the Morang Rajas. In the year of Sambat 1772 (A.D. 1716) he received a charter of confirmation from Mandhata, the Raja of Makwani, which includes Morang; and after the conquest this was renewed by the Nawab Sayef Khan in the Bengalese year 1146 (A.D. 1739). He continued to live until the year 1176 (A.D. 1779). He was succeeded by his son Hari Singha, who left his estate to his son Subh Karan Singha, now an elderly prudent man, whom I have mentioned as having purchased Chak Delawari and part of Kakjol. He lives in a decent manner, but is not such a good master as his neighbour Dular Singha.

This estate in the division of Bahadurgunj may contain 168,000 bigahs, of which about 25,000 are not assessed. Of the remainder, about 117,000 are fully occupied. The lands are let every year at rack-rent, and the tenants allege that the settlement is never made until the crops are fit for cutting, when they must give security for the rent that is then fixed. Although the Zemindar resides, he has farmed the whole rents, not I believe from want either of industry or capacity, but merely to keep a low rental, as on paper his receipts would appear a trifle, but he takes money from every man who from year to year farms the rents.

(g) ESTATES IN SUBEH BEHAR, SERKAR MUNGGER.

55. Dharpar is an estate on the same footing with the last mentioned. It was taken from the Morang Rajas, and allowed to remain in possession of the



family by which it was then managed; but it is since the time of Akbar that it was annexed to this Serkar. Hiridi, a Bhawar by caste, held this land under the Rajas of Morang, and was succeeded by his son Mahes, in whose time the country was subdued by the Moguls. He had three sons, Kamal Naiya, Kriparam, and Lakshman. The first succeeded to the whole, and adopted the second son of his second brother, who now possesses the estate and is named Kaniya Singha. His affairs are in the utmost confusion, and he has thrown himself into hands by whom they will in all probability be soon entirely ruined.

The whole estate may contain about 236,000 Calcutta bigahs; but the measure here is a rod 9 cubits long, 20 rods each way making a bigah, so that this is more than five (5.062) of the Calcutta measure, and the estate will contain about 46,600 customary bigahs, of which perhaps 28,000 are waste. On the conquest it was placed under the management of a Register (Kanungoe), and he and the Zemindar, as usual uniting, have contrived to reduce the assessed part to a trifle. The whole estate being divided into 120 Mawzahs, eleven were given to the Zemindar free of rent, thirteen were given to different branches of his family and to his priests, and eight to old servants of his family. The Register for his share took five, and five have also been given to Brahmans or Fakirs. Thus 42 parts out of 120 have been totally exempted from assessment, and three have been granted in perpetuity (Astemurar) for a mere trifle.

The villages that have been exempted from assessment are probably small, as by one calculation which I heard, the whole free land on this estate is only about 64,000 Calcutta bigahs. But farther, of the 78 remaining assessed shares a great part in detached portions has been exempted from assessment, and given partly to religious persons and partly to the Zemindar and Register under the denomination of Kamat, or reward for their services. Under this pretence the Zemindar is said to possess 1,389 large bigahs, and the Register 2,768. Many of these claims are probably illegal and would not bear an investigation, but I understand that a person who some years



ago farmed the rents could not raise as much as would pay the revenue, these various pretenders to exemption from assessment having so enlarged their boundaries that little remained from whence he could make a demand.

Four of the assessed Mawzahs have been alienated to Dular Singha, and one, which the Zemindar held as a Jaygir, has been taken from him and given to Padma Mandal, who pays a revenue. The leases are all in perpetuity, and the rent is supposed to be raised by a measurement at a certain rate for each kind of crop. No measurement is mentioned in the lease, but it specifies the rate at which the tenant is to pay.

When the settlement was made, the tenants were divided into three classes: one paid the full rent (Pardurha), the second paid three-quarters of the full rent (Kumdurah), and the third paid only half rent and are called Kasht. These rents were not fixed according to the value of the land, but from favour or respect. The favourites who procured Kasht leases were again divided into two classes. One held by the tenure Maybabutwari, in which case if upon measuring a farm it was found that the owner had cultivated ten bigahs more than he did last year, or had cultivated more rich crops, the surplus is valued only at the low rate (Kasht). In the other tenure, Seway Babutwari, all additions made to the cultivation are valued at the full rate (Pardurha). These low rates, apparently highly injurious to the Zemindar, are not without advantage, and have enabled him in a great measure to overcome the leases in perpetuity. By far the greater part of the lands are let at the full rent, and the abatement is made to the rich and noble, who have great influence over the minds of the others.

Now, when the rents are farmed to a new man for a few years, he endeavours to enter into what is called a Bejuribi agreement. By this he agrees with the tenants, for a certain term of years, not to measure any farm, but in consideration of a general average percentage on what each man paid, before he agrees to give him a lease for a certain number of years at that increased rate. It is understood that those who



pay only one-half or three-fourths of the full rate are entirely exempt from this increase, and therefore use all their influence to bring about the agreement, which saves them from measurement. The rent is therefore always rising on the lands that are assessed at the high rate, because the additional percentage is added to the rent, until it becomes so high that the tenant runs away, and then the farm is let for a trifle to induce a tenant to enter; but this trifle is called *Pardurah*, in order to subject it to the rise that is always going on. Thus even in the full rate there is no regularity, all intermediate stages may be found, from a very trifle to such a rate as is no longer tolerable.

This *Bejuribi* agreement is the excess of evil management on an estate let by a measurement of crops. No owner of an estate exempted from assessment permits it, and it should be rendered totally illegal; but it is one of those evils which naturally result from the system of leases in perpetuity. The rates on *Pardurah* land, I understand, are as follows:—*Sali* land, which produces two crops or one crop of rice, from 20 to 40 annas a bigah; *Ekfusli* land, which produces one crop of *Turi*, *Sarisha*, *'Arahar* or *Maruya*, from 18 to 36 annas; *Chaumasi* land, which produces one crop of wheat, barley, linseed or the finer kinds of pulse, from 12 to 24 annas; *Janggala*, or land producing coarse pulse after one ploughing, from 5 to 12 annas; kitchen gardens from 24 to 42 annas; ground rent of houses for labourers 160 annas, from tradesmen 128 annas; pasture or grass for thatch, from 4 to 8 annas.

The rent on the *Calcutta* bigah will be about one-fifth of the above. It is therefore the inequality of the assessment more than its height that does injury; for the great tenants paying almost nothing, the *Zemindar* attempts to make up his loss by irregular demands on the poor, in which he is assisted by the rich, to whom alone the poor could look for assistance.

In every *Mauzah* there is a chief farmer (*Mokuddum*), who is appointed by the *Zemindar* to settle the affairs of the poor and ignorant, and is usually a rich man who can read and write. He receives no wages, but is exempted from all charges



to which he induces the others to consent. There is also a clerk (Patwari), who receives  $2\frac{1}{8}$  per cent. on the rental. He is answerable for all arrears of rent, for which he receives a fee of from 2 to 8 annas from each tenant to whom he grants a general release for the year's rent. This fee is called Phurkun. Each village has from 1 to 4 messengers (Gorayits), who receive from 6 to 12 rupees a year. The rent of the whole assessed land is farmed and re-farmed. The farmer should pay the whole of the rental (Hustabud), deducting 1 anna on the rupee for the expense. He is allowed farther  $\frac{1}{2}$  anna on the rupee when he measures the land; and when he enters into a Bejuribi agreement, he is allowed all the excess which he can add to the rental.

56. All the remainder of this Serkar, so far as included in the district of Puraniya, consists of the Pergunah of Dharmapur (Dehrempoor, Gladwin), which formed part of the domains of the independent Raja of Tirahut, who resided at Gar Samaran. In an account which I received at that place in 1801, and which I have detailed in a short account of Nepal that I had the honour of presenting to the Company's library, I find that I have confounded two families of Zemindars that have enjoyed this country since the conquest, which I believe happened in the 1322nd year of our era. I am here told that the last of the independent Rajas was Hari Singha Dev, and that after his death the country continued without any regular government for 34 years, when the Moslems conferred a large part of the principality of Tirahut on a Brahman named Bhairav, chief of the Uniwar tribe. He is said to have held it 36 years. His son, Dev Singha, enjoyed the estate 61 years, and his son Siwai Singha held it  $3\frac{1}{2}$  years. He left 3 widows, who succeeded in their turn, Padmawati  $1\frac{1}{2}$  years, Lakshmi 9 years and Visweswari 12 years. She left her estate to a relation of her husband, who was the proper heir. This man, Darpa Narayan, enjoyed the estate 6 years; his son Rhiday Narayan 35 years; his son Hari Narayan 14 years; his son Rudra Narayan 15 years; his son Kangsa Narayan 4 years. This man died without children, and although he had near relations in the male line, whose descendants now



live at Saguna, his Dewan or principal servant took possession and held it for two years. Nine years after this a certain Mahes Thakur, a Srotriya Brahman, obtained possession. This genealogy was procured from a person who had been a Register (Kanungoe) on the estate, and although probably not quite exact may upon the whole be not very far from truth.

About the year of our era 1705, the greater part of Dharmapur was in possession of a certain Lala Chaudhuri, whose descendants are said to still remain at Durgapur in Gondwara. In that year the property was transferred to a Sumran Singha, but he was immediately dispossessed by Raghav Singha of Darbhanga, who by the natives was considered to represent the princes of Tirahut, and thus reannexed Dharmapur to that territory. I shall therefore now give an account of the family of Darbhanga, one of the most considerable in these parts:—

I procured two accounts of this family: one from the same person that gave the account of the Tirahut Rajas, the other from an agent of the family, which I prefer. As the family is of great power, its rise is attributed to miracle. Mahes was a man of great sanctity and learning, and had a son named Gopal, also a person of celebrity. Akbur, the king, caught the son, and intended to make him a Moslem. The father sent a favourite pupil named Pandit Ray to intercede. The king, surprised at the learning of this person, requested the Pandit to teach him a form of prayer (Kulmah). The Brahman replied that this would be contrary to the Hindu law; but that any child could do so easy a matter. An infant being sent for, the Pandit placed his hands on its head, and it immediately pronounced a prayer. The king then ordered the Pandit to repeat the Karibangsa which, being a portion of the sacred books, should not be profaned by infidel ears. The Pandit, however, made extempore a translation into the vulgar language, which he repeated to the king, and this is said to be a very elegant poem, now called Kekhta. Notwithstanding these works the king, as usual on such occasions, continued obstinately bent on performing his wicked intentions, when a voice from heaven



commanded him to desist. The king was then afraid, and in order to make amends offered an estate to Gopal, who scorned the offer of the infidel. The king also gave Tirahut to Pandit Ray, who despising worldly greatness transferred it to his instructor Mahes. This person having by his years and experience become more humble than his son and pupil, accepted the offer, and Gopal, the heat and pride of youth having abated, succeeded when his father died, and left the principality to his son Subhangkar, from whom it went in regular descent to Purushottam, Narayan, Sundar, and Mahinath. He was succeeded by Narapati who, the agent says, was son of the last-mentioned person: but the Register says that the connection is doubtful and he doubts also how far Raghav Singha, the next in succession, may be considered as a legal heir. The agent has no doubt at all, and considers him as the son of his predecessor. All the former zemindars had contented themselves with the title of Lord (Thakur); but Raghav Singha took that of Maharaj or king. He was succeeded by his brother Vishnu, whose son Narendra left the estate to a brother's son named Pratap, who added Bahadur to the family titles. He was succeeded by his brother Madhav, who has left a vast estate to Chhatra Singha of Darbhanga, his son.

The whole of this estate of Dharmapur, which makes but a small part of the Zemindari, comprised probably about 2,347,000 bigahs or 782,000 acres of land, almost all arable, and a very large proportion of a good soil. The measure is everywhere made by a rod of six cubits, so that the estate will contain 1,042,000 of such bigahs. It was divided into five zilas, Nathpur, Gorari, Virnagar, Bhawanipur, and Gondwara. Of each of these I shall now proceed to give an account:—

It must be previously observed that Raghav Singha appointed a certain Vir Singha, who had been a servant (Jumadar), to manage the whole estate. This man soon after built a fort, and refused to pay any revenue. In the year 1720 Surmutali Khan came with some troops from Delhi, and two engagements took place. In the first, at Saindgunj, the Moslem was worsted, but in the second, with the assistance



of Pasupati Das, sent by Raghav Singha, he gained a complete victory. Vir Singha, it is said, had previously retired, but his son was killed and his power totally crushed. The territory was now delivered over to Sayef Khan, the Nawab of Puraniya, by whom it was annexed to that district. Raghav Singha was however confirmed in the Zemindari, and held the whole until the year 1738, when Nathpur and Gorari were taken from him and given to the Raja of Puraniya. It is alleged that Raghav Singha had incurred the heavy displeasure of the Nawab, whose wrath was averted by the intercession of Ramchandra of Puraniya, or rather of his agent, Devananda, who had great influence with the Muhammedan noble. As a reward for his assistance Nathpur and Gorari were given as a present to Indra Narayan, the son of the Puraniya Raja.

Nathpur in the division of Dimiya contained about 152,000 bigahs of the country measure, or 343,000 of Calcutta. Of this, no less than 87,000 bigahs, including the Kamat lands given to the Zemindar for his expense, are supposed to be exempt from assessment. The greater part is in small portions, only 15 entire Mauzahs having been alienated. Two villages that were formerly exempted have been recovered, and pay a revenue. One belongs to Durga Dal, a Mithila Brahman, the other to Kalyan Singha, a Rajput. Out of 146 Mauzahs in the whole, 129 of assessed land remain to the Zemindar; but as I have said, a large share of these, in detached portions, is exempted from revenue. The rents are imposed and collected exactly as in Dhapar, only they are somewhat heavier, for on land let at the full rate the Sali land pays from 13 to 32 annas, which on the bigah of Dhapar would be from  $29\frac{1}{4}$  to 72 annas, in place of from 20 to 40. It is better cultivated, and the cultivation is increasing. Two whole villages have been let in perpetuity (Estemurar) for a trifle. Of the remainder,  $1/64$  is let at the lowest rate (Kasht),  $7/64$  at the middle rate (Kumdar), and  $56/64$  at full rent (Pordur). About three-quarters are let on the condition of exemption from measurement (Bejuribi). The village establishment is the same as in Dhapar. There are between 40 and 50 persons who farm the

rents, some of whom pay only from 5 to 100 rupees a year, while others pay as high as 6,000. They are allowed  $6\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. on the gross rental, and have all the additional rent that they can impose during their agreement. In order to collect the money from the farmers of the rent, the Zemindar keeps a very heavy establishment, nearly similar to that which I have mentioned to be retained at Sultanpur.

Zila Gorari, the other part of Dharmapur which the Puraniya Rajas acquired from those of Tirahut, is situated in the divisions of Dhamdaha, Dimiya, Haveli and Matiyari, and contains about 161,000 Calcutta bigahs or 72,000 of the customary measure; 105,000 of the former rate may be actually occupied. The lands exempt from assessment may amount to 36,000 Calcutta bigahs, of which a part belongs to the Zemindar as a reward for his trouble, and he holds a village by the title of Nankar, that is, to find him bread. The management is entirely similar to that of his other portion of Dharmapur.

Having now treated of all the estates which the Puraniya family possessed at the demise of the last occupant, I shall now give a general recapitulation.

No.	Pergunahs.	Extent in Calcutta Bigahs.	
		Total exclusive of free land.	Actually occupied.
43	Haveli ... ..	8,70,000	5,08,000
48	Sripur ... ..	7,51,000	6,24,000
49	Futehpur ... ..	2,44,000	2,00,000
47	Sultanpur ... ..	3,75,000	2,68,000
50	Harawat ... ..	58,000	40,000
54	Nathpur ... ..	2,47,000	1,84,000
46	Gorari ... ..	1,25,000	81,000
30	Katiyar ... ..	98,000	62,000
26	Kamaripur ... ..	1,41,000	94,000
7	Baniganj ... ..	7,000	4,000
8	Amirabad ... ..	25,000	16,000
9	Kamlavari ... ..	10,500	6,700
	Sambalpur ... ..	49,000	31,300
	Rokunpur ... ..	a small portion in Kharwa.	
	TOTAL ... ..	80,00,500	20,99,000

The revenue is almost 3,74,000 rs., and the net actual profit, under the present mismanagement, is



said to be 1,30,000 rs., or rather more than 34½ per cent. on the revenue.

Even in the three portions of Dharmapur that remain to the Tirahut Rajas, they have been obliged to make a sacrifice. Gangga Govinda Singha, Company's Dewan in the government of Mr. Hastings, procured a share of each, in all about 30,000 bigahs Calcutta measure. These form three Taluks, or small estates, Khajura in Virnagar, Raghavpur in Gondwara, and Chapapar in Bhawanipur. People give various accounts of the manner in which this was procured. It is alleged by some that the agent of the Raja having a friendship for Gangga Govinda, without his master's knowledge allowed the estate to fall into arrears of revenue, and selected for sale a part which was remarkably fine land, and very lightly assessed. Gangga Govinda bought this in the name of Navakanta Das, but his heirs now enjoy it. Others allege that the Raja, although he pretended great displeasure, knew very well of the transaction, and consented to it on account of Gangga Govinda's having procured a total remission of revenue on all the lands called Kamat that are in this Pergunah.

Zila Virnagar, after deducting the lands of Gangga Govinda, may contain about 720,000 bigahs. Calcutta measure, in the divisions of Dimiya and Dhamdaha. Of this about a quarter part is exempted from assessment, and perhaps one-tenth has been let in perpetuity for a trifle. These leases are called Estemurari, but here it is considered that they cannot be sold, and in case of failure of heirs the land would revert to the Raja, who would be liable to an increase of revenue. The remainder is let to ordinary tenants, and may amount to 496,000 bigahs, of which 354,000 may be fully occupied, but a good deal more that is fallow pays rent.

Zila Bhawanipur in the division of Dhamdaha, deducting the lands of Gangga Govinda, contains perhaps 344,000 Calcutta bigahs, of which a quarter may be exempted from revenue, and about the same proportion is let on the same kind of perpetual leases for a trifle (Estemurari), and of what remains 171,000 bigahs Calcutta measure may be fully occupied.



Zila Gondwara, exclusive of Gangga Govinda's share, may contain 747,000 bigahs, Calcutta measure, in the divisions of Gondwara, Haveli, and Dhamdaha. Of this perhaps 122,000 may be exempt from assessment, of which the old Register contrived to secure between 40 and 50,000; probably a sixth of the remainder has been let Estemurari for 7,530 rs. a year. The remainder, 470,000, is let to ordinary tenants, and of this 259,000 may be fully occupied.

In the three portions still belonging to the Tirahut Raja, there remain thus perhaps 784,000 Calcutta bigahs fully occupied, but much that is fallow pays rent. This however will do little more than make up for the houses and gardens held by the privileged ranks. In letting the land, nearly the same terms are applied here as in Dhapar, Nathpur and Gorari; but they are taken in different meanings. A quarter of the leases are said to be Kasht, which implies that they are in perpetuity and at a low rent, the Sali land or that of the best quality paying only from 4 to 8 annas for the customary bigah, which is at the rate of from  $1\frac{3}{4}$  to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  annas for the Calcutta bigah. This is in general the best land, and has been given to the high ranks. One half of these Kasht leases are called Jot Juma; and if a man cultivates only half his farm, the landlord cannot let the waste land to another, nor can he demand any rent for it. The other half of the Kasht leases are said to be Kamani Juma, and if the tenant neglects his farm he must pay his rent. The remaining three-fourths of the leases are called Meyadi or leases for a term, and extend from three to five years.

One would suppose from the usual practice in this district that when one of these leases expired, the land might be let to anyone who bid higher than the former tenant; but that is said not to be the case. It is not pretended that any maximum was fixed by government as in Ronggopur, but it is said that there is a customary value beyond which the Zemindar cannot demand, yet it is allowed that this rate in the same village varies enormously to different persons, and that totally unconnected with the value of the land. As there is no evidence for this rate but the



books of the estate, this leaves room for the whole being alienated at a rate below the amount of the revenue, which cannot then be recovered. What the use of the leases may be, I cannot learn, for it is alleged that no fee is taken on the renewal. It is said, however, that the perpetual nature of these leases has been confirmed by a decision of the Judge on a complaint of a tenant against the Zemindar for dispossession. Should this have been the case, I am inclined to suspect that there has been a collusion on the part of the defendant, in order to confirm or procure a right of alienation. These Meyadi leases differ from the Kasht only in being at a higher rate, the richest crops being rated at from 8 to 24 annas a customary bigah, or from  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to  $10\frac{1}{2}$  on that of the Calcutta standard. The whole land ought to be measured annually, and what is done so, is called Juribi, but two-thirds of the tenants purchase from those who farm the rents an exemption from this exaction (Bejuribi), and pay the same rent that they did before. The annual measurement is seldom insisted upon, even from those who are called Juribi. The man who farms the rent makes an agreement for what ought to be produced, and contents himself with that; but recourse may at any time be had to measurement, and every new farmer of the rents may do the same, with those who had purchased from the former one the exemption from measurement. The money paid for the exemption is not here added to the rental, as is done in Nathpur, which renders the effect of the same nominal tenure totally different.

The rates are laid on by the same denominations in Dhapar and Nathpur, and for the lower denominations of land are nearly in the same proportion to what the Sali pays, and this I have already mentioned. In addition to the rent above stated, the farmers pay  $\frac{1}{2}$  anna on the rupee, which is called Paiya, although the meaning of the word implies  $\frac{1}{4}$  anna.

The village establishment consists only of clerks (Patwaris) and messengers (Gorayits). The former usually receive from 12 to 36 rupees, and the latter from 5 to 7 rupees a year. Both of course live on the tenantry. In some places however, the two descrip-

tions of persons are allowed the  $\frac{1}{2}$  anna on the rupee of the collections, and nothing else.

The rents of the whole estate are farmed to one man, a relation of the proprietor, who is said to pay 2,28,000 rupees; but he deducts 1 anna (Gahari), for the expense of collection, and does not account for the  $\frac{1}{2}$  anna (Paiya) which the tenants give. The nett proceeds should be therefore about 2,14,000 rupees out of which the Raja pays an agent (Vakil) who attends on the Judge, and another who transacts business with the Collector; and the revenue amounts to about 1,60,000 rupees, which should leave a profit of about 72 or 73 thousand rupees a year, or about 45 per cent. on the amount of the revenue. It is indeed alleged that, far from getting 72,000 rupees as I have above stated, he receives only 14,000 rupees, various items of expense being brought in to reduce the nominal profit to that sum; yet on all the means thus lost by the Raja, there is not on the estate a native, except one Moslem, that has in the least the appearance or habits of a gentleman.

The person who farms the rents has, I am told, from twenty to thirty thousand rupees profit; yet he keeps four enormous establishments, one at Puraniya and one at each Zila. He has relet the farm to numerous inferior Mostajirs, to whom he allows one anna on the rupee of the collections, and for this they are bound to defray every expense and all bad debts. His avowed profit is therefore the  $\frac{1}{2}$  anna on the rupee given by the tenants: but as they all have their lands too low, each under-Mostajir takes money to allow their nominal rent to remain the same, and he gives a share of this profit to the chief Mostajir. The whole probably give money to the Raja, who is said not to be a fool.



*Extract from Dr. Buchanan's Instructions, dated  
11th September 1807.*

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Your inquiries should be particularly directed to the following subjects, which you are to examine with as much accuracy as local circumstances will admit:—

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VI. The progress made by the natives in the fine arts, in the common arts, and the state of the manufactures; you will describe their architecture, sculptures, and paintings, and inquire into the different processes and machinery used by their workmen, and procure an account of the various kinds and amount of goods manufactured in each district. It should also be an object of your attention to ascertain the ability of the country to produce the raw materials used in them; and what proportion, if any, is necessary to be imported from other countries, and under what advantages or disadvantages such importation now is, or might be made; you will also ascertain how the necessary capital is procured, the situation of the artists and manufacturers, the mode of providing their goods, the usual rate of their labour, and any particular advantages they may enjoy; their comparative affluence with respect to the cultivators of the land, their domestic usages, the nature of their sales, and the regulations respecting their markets. Should it appear to you that any new art or manufacture might be introduced with advantage into any district, you are to point out in what manner you think it may be accomplished.

VII. Commerce; the quantity of goods exported and imported in each district; the manner of conducting sales, especially at fairs and markets; the regulation of money, weights, and measures; the nature of the conveyance of goods by land and water, and the means by which this may be facilitated, especially by making or repairing roads.

## PART V.

### ARTS, MANUFACTURES AND COMMERCE.

#### CHAPTER I.

##### FINE ARTS.

##### ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE, PAINTING, MUSIC, ETC.

For an estimate of the number of each class of artists, I in general refer to the 37th Table. In this no respect is had to caste. For instance some milkmen (Jat) are Moslems, some (Goyalas) Hindus; both are included under one head: but there are many both of the Jat and Goyalas, who do not prepare curds nor Ghi; in this Table such are not mentioned.

In my account of the topography and condition of the people, I have said all that has occurred to me concerning the state of architecture, ancient or modern. In the whole district there certainly is not one decent native building, nor is there one erected by Europeans that has the smallest claim to merit as a work of elegance; and so far as we can judge from the remains, the case has always been the same.

Sculpture, statuary, and painting are on as bad a footing as in Ronggopur.

The painters mentioned in the Table are employed to draw representations of the gods, as monstrous as their images, to the last degree rude, and very often highly indecent.

Of music, such as it is, there is abundance:—

2. The women who dance and sing, accompanied by music, are here usually called Bai, but in the dialect of Mithilia the set is usually called Garoch. They are more numerous than in Dinajpur, but inferior to those of Ronggopur in number, looks, and circumstances, and are all common prostitutes. They do not form a society so regular as those of the last-mentioned district, and all profess to follow the doctrine of the



Koran. Four sets at the capital are tolerably decent, and for a night's performance are allowed from 10 to 25 rupees. The others are allowed from 1 to 4 rupees. The whole profits are divided in shares among the different performers, men and women.

3. The Hindus of rank, being here afraid of losing their character by frequenting such company, indulge often in society of a much more doubtful nature, that is, of the dancing boys called Bhaktiyas, whose conduct is in general suspected but is less offensive to the system of caste. These performers however are not near so common as farther towards the west.

4. In the north-west part of the district sets of musical performers called Nirtakali are common. In each are two or three boys, who dress like the goddess Parbati, and dance and sing relative to Radha and Krishna, or to Sib and Parbati. They are accompanied by four or five men beating cymbals, and one performer on the drum called Mredangga. The two chiefs of the set (Uddhab and Nayak) usually flourish tails of the Thibet bull. The boys are mostly of pure castes, and when they grow up, become musicians and marry in their own caste. They are chiefly employed at marriages, at the ceremony performed when a Brahman assumes the string that is his badge of honour, and at the festival of Durga. A set for one day's performance is allowed 8 or 10 rupees, but they never have regular employment.

5. In the western part of the district many boys of the tribe of weavers called Jola are taught to dance and sing the poems of Jayadev called Git-Govinda. They also sing love songs and poems concerning the amours of Krishna. One or two boys and six or seven men compose a set; two of the men beat small drums (Tabla), the others beat small cymbals (Mandira). They are employed at marriages, at the festival of Durga, and at that called Holi, after the indecencies of which they continue during the whole month Chaitra to sing love songs or obscenities. For a day's performance a set may be allowed from 1 to 3 rupees, and they do not relinquish their profession of weaving.



6. I heard of one set of the people called Kalidamaniya, who perform a kind of rude opera. These sets are said to be very numerous in the districts of Virbhum and Barodhaman, where they are called Jatrawalehs. There they are of two kinds, Ramjatra and Kalidaman; but of the former none have reached this district. The Kalidamaniya consists of boys who dance and sing concerning Radha and Krishna, dressing in imitation of these deities, their attendants and relations. In each set may be nine or ten boys and from ten to fifteen men, who partly are musicians and partly imitate some of the divine personages.

7. The Balwai of Sibgunj resemble in indecency the Modam Kamdev of Ronggopur, but do not dress in the same silly manner. They sing for three months in spring, from eight to twelve men and boys forming a set. The boys make a kind of dancing.

8, 9. The Manggalchandi and Bishahari are similar to those of Dinajpur. Of the former there is in the district only one set, and the Bishaharis are chiefly confined to the parts of it that are in Matsya. These sets are indeed, I am told, peculiar or proper to Bengal.

10, 11. The same, I believe, may be said of the Sang Kirtanias, who are almost entirely confined to the eastern parts of the district, while in the western are found sets of the kind called Bhajaniya Kirtaniya. Each set consists of from five to eight men, who like the Sangkirtanias sing concerning the amours of Krishna, but are seldom employed at the ceremonies performed in honour of deceased relations when the mourning is over, while this is the most usual occasion on which the Sangkirtanias sing. The Bhajaniya Kirtanias are generally farmers, and always of the set of Vishnu, and are employed by Brahmans and other high people when these give an entertainment in honour of the family God. They also join in the indecencies of the Holi, in which they make a conspicuous figure. They take no reward but food.

12, 13. The Moslems very wisely do not trouble their saints much with their noise, and the number of Pirergayan is inconsiderable.



In my account of Ronggopur I have mentioned the worship of Salya-Pir, or Salya-Narayan. Here it is confined to the south-east corner, where a set of musical performers find a subsistence by singing his praise.

The number of Badyakars, who rend the ear with the ordinary implements of din, is exceedingly great, and to these must be added a numerous higher class of drummers. These are called Tasawalehs, and never play in company with the Badyakars or Bajaniyas or Pangch-Hajaniyas, as the common performers are called in the Hindi dialect of Mithila. The Tasawalehs are mostly Moslems. Each set consist of five performers:—2 Tasas, 1 Baradhol, 1 Marpha, 1 Neshan. For a day's performance these get from 8 annas to a rupee. All their instruments are of the drum kind. The set of common Bajaniyas in this district usually consists of 2 Dhols, 1 Jhangj, 1 Sarnay, 1 Turai or trumpet, 1 Singga or horn. The Jhangj is the Kangsi of Bengal. The Sarnay is a sort of hautboy made entirely of wood.

14. The descendants of the people who performed the Nahabat for the Nawabs still remain, and perform for any rich men that have a ceremony. Properly no one should exhibit such grandeur that has not a special order from the King; but at present no one attends to this regulation, and the noise is so villainous as to be fit only for the coarsest ears. The instruments are the Nakarah drum, the Sarnay, and Jhangj.

The Hindi women of low rank frequently sing when they make offerings to the gods, and at marriages, and some of the impure tribes in this manner greet strangers who are passing their village, when from the rank of the passenger they expect a present. Persons of high rank, except a few dissipated young men, never either sing or perform on any musical instrument, to do either of which is considered as exceedingly disgraceful. Strolling musicians such as I have called Akra in my account of Dinajpur, come here occasionally; but my people, who are better judges than I can pretend to be, consider such as they have seen as very poor performers.

The people here who sing the praises of Bhimsen, Sales and other heroes of antiquity do not, like the Vogis of Ronggopur, accompany their voices with any instrument; and their songs are so rude and uninteresting that they have not the impudence to beg on their strength; the singing theme is a mere religious duty.

15. In many parts of Bengal I have heard the people called Bajigurs, who balance and perform tricks of legerdemain, allege that they came from Puraniya, but on the spot I could hear of only two families that had a fixed abode; and the few, whom I found wandering about, as usual said that they were strangers; and they seemed unskilled in their art. I presume indeed that the whole class are constant wanderers, at least in the fair weather. During the inundations they halt about large towns, where they may find employment; during the dry season they wander from market to market.



## CHAPTER II.

### COMMON ARTS.

PERSONAL ARTISTS—WORKERS IN DURABLE MATERIALS,  
WOOD, EARTH OR METAL—MANUFACTURERS OF CLOTH,  
SUGAR, INDIGO AND SALTS.

I shall here follow the same plan that I adopted in Ronggopur:—

#### (a) PERSONAL ARTISTS.

16. Many of the washermen are here Moslems, and in the western parts of the district can scarcely live, they are so little employed. This indeed is not surprising when we consider the extreme dirtiness of the people, and the great number of the artists of this kind which is said to be in the district.

17. The washers of shawls are all Muhammedans. They are skilful in removing stains and dirt from all kind of woollen cloths, and they are dexterous in repairing them when torn. They make decent wages.

At the capital 13 families are supported by making a very coarse soap. I had no opportunity of learning their process.

18. Tailors make higher wages than either in Dinajpur or Ronggopur. A few of them are Hindus.

19. Tent makers (Khimahdoz) at Puraniya form a separate profession, and are a principal kind of artists, who hire many tailors to work under them. The tents which they make are usually of the kind called Bechoba, which has four poles, one at each corner of the roof, which rises in a pyramid, and is supported by bamboo spls reaching from the bottom to the summit. Such tents cannot be large, and they are only of use in fine cool weather, as they can have no fly to turn either sun or rain; but in the cool season they are easily carried and easily pitched, and the natives of rank when on their pilgrimages find them very convenient. Some are exported. The same people make neat enough bodies for the carriages in

which the people of rank travel. Those of an ordinary sort are made by the common tailors.

20. The barbers are not so much respected as towards the east, but are exceedingly numerous. Some of them are Moslems, and some condescend to weave when they are in want of more honourable employment. The farmers usually contract for a quantity of grain, others pay in money; in the western parts at least they do not frequent markets. They pare the nails of women, but never cut their hair, an operation to which no woman of the least decency would submit. Although low fellows, they do not flay their patients so unmercifully as the haughty shavers of Ronggopur, and are a great deal more condescending. Having thus more general employment, notwithstanding their numbers, they make considerable wages.

21. Those who prepare tooth powder (Missi-walehs) are on the same footing as in Dinajpur. Many people make their own, and there seem to be various other ingredients besides those I have mentioned before; but these seem to be the most approved. The fruit called Tai in Dinajpur is here called Tairi. It is the pod of the *Cæsalpinia* that is used in dyeing.

22. As the most common female ornament is a thick layer of red lead covering the whole forehead, the quantity used here is very great. Accordingly a good many people live by preparing this paint. It is made of two qualities, and at two different places I procured estimates of the charges and profit. At Puraniya the charge for one Ghani or grinding is as follows:—

	Rs.	As.
To 15 sers (64 s. w.) of lead ... ..	0	0
To 20 sers of Khari (coarse Glaubers' salt) ...	0	10
To 1 ser unrefined saltpetre ... ..	0	2
To grinding ... ..	0	8
To a pot ... ..	0	2
To firewood (about 480 sers) ... ..	1	4
Total ... ..	8	10

The whole operation occupies four days, and gives  $30\frac{1}{8}$  sers of red lead, which sells at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  sers for



the rupee = 12 rs. 4 annas, leaving a profit of 3 rs. 10 annas.

The materials for the coarse kind are 8 sers of lead, 32 sers of the impure sulphate of soda, and 2 sers of the impure nitrate of potash. This gives 1 *man* of the red lead. The expense of fuel is probably much less. I could not procure a view of the operation.

The proportion of the ingredients at Dhamdaha was stated differently. The charges for making the best kind were said to be as follows: the man usually grinds 5 times a month, and keeps a servant; for he does nothing himself but superintend. The servant's wages are 3 rupees, coming to 9 annas 12 gandas on each grinding. Then the materials are as follows:—

	Rs.	A.	P.
To 80 sers of lead ... ..	12	0	0
To 10 sers impure sulphate of soda ...	0	6	0
To 2 sers impure nitrate of potash ...	0	6	0
To pots ... ..	0	4	0
To grinding ... ..	0	2	0
To servants' wages ... ..	0	9	12
To firewood ... ..	0	6	0
Total ...	14	1	12

In the bad kind, at Dhamdaha, equal quantities of lead and impure sulphate of soda are used. The people never work in the highest part of the floods, the soil being then too damp, so that the operation will not succeed. They only therefore work ten months in the year; and with very little capital, and no labour, make a very good profit, of perhaps 90 or 100 rupees a year.

23. Those who make ornaments of Lac (Lahari) are pretty numerous, and the profession is followed by both Hindus and Moslems. The women work as well as the men; but from their other avocations, such as beating rice, do not find time to make so many bracelets. At Puraniya the following estimate was given of a man's monthly labour and charges:—

	Rs.	A.	P.
To 7 sers of shell lac, at from 3 to 4 annas ...	1	8	10
To colours ... ..	1	5	0
By 28 pairs of bracelets at from 3 to 5 annas ...	7	0	0
Profit ... ..	4	2	10
Total ...	13	15	20

24. At Dhamdaha are said to reside three families (Churigar) who prepare glass bracelets or rings from the impure soda (Usmati) of the country. I could not see their operation, but it probably does not differ materially from that described in my account of Mysore. The glass is very opaque and imperfect, and is called Kangch, while proper glass is called Sisi. Even our wine bottles are called Sisi, but China ware from its opacity is called Kangch.

25. At Puraniya are two families who melt broken European glass, and blow small bottles in which the natives hold scented oils; I did not see their process.

26. Except in the eastern part of the district shells are not used as ornaments, and even there the artists who work in this kind of material are rude and unskilful.

27. In this district many of the Hindus (ordinary sinners) do not think it necessary to wear beads; and it is only true worshippers (Bhakat) that show this external sign of religion. Accordingly the bead-makers are confined to the eastern parts of the district, where the manners of Bengal prevail.

28. The Mali or Malakar, who prepare garlands, collect flowers for offerings to the Gods, and make ornaments of the Sola (*Aeschynomene diffusa* W.), are pretty numerous, and many besides of the Moslems work in Sola, and prepare the apparatus used at the Mohurram; but they are very inferior to the workmen of Ronggopur. In many places all the Malakars not only make ornament but make the clay images that are used in the Durga Puja; for in the western part of the district these images are seldom made on any other occasion. In this district they do not make ink. The Malakars have therefore little employment, and almost all lease ground.

29. In this district mat-makers are of two kinds. One called Sapbuna make mats (Sap or Madur) such as are used in Calcutta for carpets. The operation I have mentioned in Ronggopur. Many farmers rear the plant (Motha) and make mats for their own family, but these are not included in the list. Many farmers also make the kind of mats called Khosla, which have



been mentioned in Ronggopur, and some poor people occasionally sell them at the markets; but as this does not interfere with their operations of husbandry, I do not include them among the artists.

30. The other mat-makers who live by this art as a profession are chiefly of the Tiwar and Ganggot tribes, and prepare mats from the common reed (*Arundo Donax*) called Nal in the dialect of Bengal and Narkat in that of Mithila. The stems are split longitudinally and laid open so as to form a kind of board, and these boards are interwoven.

31. Those who make thatching houses a profession live chiefly at the capital, and when not employed, cultivate the ground. In most other parts all the cultivators and day labourers thatch their own houses, or are employed by their more wealthy neighbours.

32. Basket-makers are of two kinds, Dom or Domra, and Dharkar or Betuya; the former work in bamboo alone, the latter work also in rattan. Although bamboos are scarce the workmen are numerous, a quantity sufficient for their purpose being readily procurable. They make chiefly baskets of various sizes and shapes, and umbrellas, neither mats (Chatais) nor grain measures nor fans for winnowing corn being in common use. They are however good workmen, especially in making a finer kind of mat interwoven with thin slips of bamboo. This serves for a kind of carpet, and is very easily repaired. They make very poor wages. There are in this district no persons who make a separate profession of preparing umbrellas.

33. The paper-makers are not near so numerous nor such good workmen as in Ronggopur, but they follow nearly the same process. They are all Muhammedans.

34. At the capital is one bookbinder, like those in Dinajpur.

35. Some of the tanners and shoemakers (Chamar or Muchi) are Muhammedans, and some are of the tribe called Kural. Many of them, especially about the capital, are better workmen than those of Dinajpur or Ronggopur, and make neat shoes after the country fashion. Their wages are also better. The



shoe-maker usually make the drumheads, and are very diligent in beating them.

36. Dabgars make leathern bags for holding oil and prepared butter (Ghi), using for the purpose ox-hides, although when they sell to a Hindu they pretend that the hide of the buffaloe has been used; the Hindu's conscience is satisfied, and he uses the Ghi without scruple, although strictly speaking, I believe his food ought to be considered as defiled by having been kept in a bag of any leather. A sight of the bags in use here would satisfy any reasonable European of the soundness of the Hindu doctrine, in considering them unclean.

37. Besides the shoemakers a few people, Badiyas or Daphalis, make drumheads, as has been mentioned in Dinajpur.

38. Those who prepare fireworks are nearly on the same footing as in Dinajpur.

39. In the south-west corner of the district two families live by making kites. In the other parts of the district, as well as in Dinajpur, it is not usual for idle grown fellows to gape whole days at a kite, as is common at Calcutta and some other eastern cities. These people are called Ghuddi. They are vastly inferior to the Chinese artists, who have bestowed great pains and ingenuity in bringing to perfection this slothful amusement of vacant minds.

40. No persons live by making wax candles or matches, but at the capital some people (Mushalchi) live by making torches of an exceedingly rude nature, such as are commonly employed in India. Some old rags are bound up into a roll, about 18 inches long and four inches in circumference. This is kindled at one end, and oil is occasionally poured on it from a brass bottle, while the torch is fastened on a sharp pointed iron by which it is held.

41. A good many people (Tekiyawalehs or Gulwalehs) live by preparing charcoal balls for the use of those who smoke tobacco.

42. Those who prepare tobacco for being smoked, by beating it with molasses (Tamakuwalehs) are many; although the people who retail provisions (Modis) are also very numerous, and in this district most of them



prepare and sell tobacco. These artists make but poor wages, although for the simple operation of mixing and beating their profit amounts to one-half of the raw materials; but a man does not sell more than from four to eight annas worth in a day, one-third of which is his profit.

43. The distillers are very numerous and well employed; they distil from rice alone, by the same process that I have formerly described.

44. The Pasis are those who extract palm wine. The restrictions laid on the profession, as I have already said, have reduced the number, and in some parts have deprived these people of the means of following their profession. Owing probably to the fear which this had inspired, the whole accounts that I procured concerning this profession are so contradictory that I think it needless to repeat them, as I am at a loss to say which, if any, is at all true.

45. The oilmen here have little capital, nor do any of them make advances for grain. Their mill is of the same kind with that used in Dinajpur, and the greater part possess only one of these wretched implements. Many are so poor that they have only one beast, which does not work half the day. The cattle are commonly worse than those used in the plough. The number of houses was estimated at 2,900, and of mills in all, 3,320. Almost the whole surplus belongs to the division of Nehnagar, where 100 men were said to possess 400 mills. This, it must be observed, is in the vicinity of that part of Dinajpur where the artists of this kind have the largest stock. At Nehnagar the oilmen keep two oxen and one man for each mill, which daily makes 5 sers (85 s. w.) of oil (almost 11 lbs.).

In general the oilmen of that place purchase the grain; but sometimes they take 5 sers of Turi seed, and deliver  $1\frac{1}{4}$  sers of oil, taking for their trouble what oil remains and the cake. We may be certain therefore, as I have before said, that the seed contains more than a fourth part of its weight of oil. In some places indeed I learned that the millers took three sers of Sarisha seed and returned one ser of oil, but then besides the cake they were allowed one Pan



of cowries for each ser of oil. This is probably therefore the real produce of oil, that is, a third of the Sarisha seed.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  seers of radish seed are said to give the same quantity of oil.

In some parts the millers are not only paid one Pan of cowries for each ser of oil, but only deliver a quarter of the weight of the seed. In this case they seldom keep more than one ox, nay they often will not be at the expense of one wretched beast, but turn the mill themselves.

46. The milkmen, who prepare curds and butter, are of both religions and of several castes. Those who follow these professions, in order to distinguish them from their brethren who merely tend the flocks, are here called Dahiyars or curd-men. Although they have some cattle, they are not near so wealthy as many of those who tend the cattle, some of whose herds are very numerous. Cows' milk in this district is very seldom made into butter. It is boiled, and allowed to become acid and to curdle, and then is sold. The buffaloes milk is almost always made into butter. Some of the curd-men boil it, others do not, and adhere obstinately to their custom. A man, whose father did not boil the milk when he was going to make butter, would incur severe disgrace were he to introduce into his economy this innovation; and on the contrary he who once has boiled milk will on no account omit that operation, neither has he any objection to make curds of boiled milk, the point of difficulty lies entirely in the butter.

The natives consider the Ghi that has been prepared from boiled milk, both as of a superior flavour and less liable to injury from being long kept; yet by far the greater part is here prepared in the other manner. The usual practice here is for the curd-man to deliver to the owner of the herd one ser of Ghi for every twelve sers of milk that he received from the man who tends the cattle, the remainder of the Ghi, and the curds, are the profit. It is said that in the winter eight sers of milk give one ser of Ghi, while in spring ten sers of milk, and in the rainy season twelve sers are required. At the latter time the cattle are always in the villages, and the curds or



butter-milk can be sold, while in the former period the cattle are generally in Morang, and there is no sale except for the Ghi. The curd-men often pay for the milk in advance, and are enabled to do so by money which merchants advance, for few have a capital sufficient.

The people use a good deal of milk merely boiled; for as it comes from the cow, it is considered too insipid; but they still more commonly use what has curdled by being allowed to stand until it sours. This is often done by the farmers themselves, but still the preparing of this is the chief employment of the curd-men. The buttermilk (Matha) being only that of the buffalo milk is in no great quantity, especially as a considerable share is lost in Morang. Very little dry curd (Chhana) is used, but a very considerable quantity of the insipissated milk (Mawa) is prepared.

47. Those who prepare sweetmeats after the fashion of Bengal (Mayras), are confined to the capital and a few places on the east side of the district.

48. The Halwais, who prepare sweetmeats after the Hindi fashion, are pretty numerous. In the north-east parts there are none of either of these professions, which is not to be regretted, as their performance is execrable. One of the Halwais preserves fruits (Morabba) in the same way as mentioned in Dinajpur.

49. In this district the Halwais prepare the Puya and Phulari, which in Dinajpur I have mentioned as giving employment to a separate profession. Here there are none who live alone by this art, which is carried on not only by the Halwai, but by the Bhujari or Bharbhunas, who also make all the things that I have mentioned in Dinajpur; but some of them are known by different names. Here the proportion of pulse used by such people is much greater, and that of rice less, than in the two eastern districts. A thing which they sell very commonly in the western parts is called Bhaka. It is a cake made of rice flour which is boiled and eaten when cold. On the whole the various articles prepared by Bhujaris are more in use than towards the east. The people who prepare



these things are mostly the women of poor families, all of whom prepare for themselves, and those mentioned in the list prepare for sale.

50. In every part the people grind their wheat and free the pulse from the integuments, and those who retail provisions (*Modis*) hire people to prepare what they want, but it is only in a few capital places that these operations form the sole occupation of any artists. They are here called *Dalhari* and *Mayda-Pesa*.

51. At the capital are seven houses of bakers (*Nanwai*), who prepare bread after the Muhammedan manner, which is fermented or leavened. They are also a kind of cooks, and sell ready-dressed meat, beef and mutton. Their oven is just the reverse of the European kind. It consists of a large jar of coarse potters' ware, in which a fire is kindled. The bread is stuck on the outside of the jar. It is well-raised good bread, but always in flat cakes. the oven would not be sufficient to bake a thick loaf.

52. 53. Butchers are of two kinds. The *Bukur* kill sheep or goats. The *Kussab* kill beef.

54. In the capital are ten families of cooks (*Bawarchi*), who on great occasions are employed by the Moslems. We may judge of their skill by knowing that they are paid by the *man* weight. The usual rate is eight annas for about every 82 lbs. of rice that they boil, the other articles go for nothing. Where lean tough fowls, kids, or goats are the only materials that can be procured, no doubt the Hindustani cookery answers better than the European, especially than the English; but where the meat is tolerable, I observe few Europeans that partake of these eastern dishes.

#### (b) WORKERS IN DURABLE MATERIALS.

55. In the dialect of Bengal carpenters are called *Chhutar*, and in that of Maithila, *Barhai*. They are pretty numerous, yet in most parts of this district they do not make the more common implements of agriculture, which is done by the blacksmiths. They make therefore chiefly household furniture, boats, and carts.



The quantity of household furniture is undoubtedly very small, and the proficiency of the workmen still less than that of those towards the east. The number of boats built is probably considerable; although from all the estimates which I received, I cannot state it to be such. In all the three districts that I have yet surveyed, the people seem shy on this subject, and in general when the boats are found on the stocks, it is pretended that the workmen are brought from a distance. The building is conducted on the same plan as towards the east, the merchant furnishes all the materials, and pays the workmens' wages. There are no builders who will contract to finish a vessel, and still less any who build and take their risk of selling her.

Perhaps the chief occupation of the carpenters in this district is the making carts or other wheel-carriages, in which they have shown considerable ingenuity, especially in fastening the wheels. These are suspended on a small iron spindle, supported between the carriage on the inside, and on the outside by two sticks, that are hung from above. Descriptions of machinery being understood with difficulty, I have procured a model, on which no doubt European ingenuity might make great improvements; but the plan seems to have many advantages. Its principal excellence seems to consist in the method of suspending the wheels, by which the friction is made to all equally on both sides, whereas with an axle-tree the friction is chiefly oblique, by which its effects seem to be greatly increased. A small Puraniya cart with two little wheels, and two oxen, will with ease carry 12 *mans* (96 s. w.) when travelling at the rate of 12 miles a day. For short distances, they take a half more, and the driver always rides on his cart. The roads although level are exceedingly rough, being either altogether unformed or miserably cut by the wheels, as they consist entirely of earth. The carriage used by persons of rank for travelling in, is exactly on the same principle, but the carpenter does not make the body; that is constructed by tailors, or tent-makers. In the model I have thought it unnecessary to add the



body, which may be of any shape that fancy or convenience may dictate.

A few carpenters in the north-west corner of the district are employed in making Catechu. The wood is either brought from Morang, or they go to that country when the season is favourable. They also work at the other branches of their profession.

56. Sawyers are here much more numerous than towards the east. In Dulalgunj there are said to be about 200 houses and 400 men, the families of artificers being commonly numerous. For employment they go as far as Murshedabad.

57. A great part of the carpenters are also turners, which enables them to complete the spinning wheel and bedsteads, the most common employment for the lathe; for the feet of bedsteads are usually turned. In the south-east corner seven families make turning a separate profession, and make the same articles with those of Dinajpur. I find that in giving an account of these I have fallen into two mistakes. Katuya does not imply a cup, as I there supposed, but a box with a cover, such as are chiefly used by women to hold their red paint. Belan does not signify a basin, but a rolling-pin for kneading cakes.

58. The potters of this district are inferior to those of Dinajpur, their ware being very bad, both coarse and brittle; yet in every part they procure a decent subsistence. They perform their operations nearly in the same manner. At Bholahat they make exceeding neat square tiles for pavements. Some of them make toys for children, and are called Chehrasaj. Except in the eastern parts it is not here the custom to offer at the shrines of saints images of horses made of baked clay; but the potters in many parts of the district make images of the elephant, one of which is put on the ridge of every house where there is a marriage, and remains until destroyed by accident. The images are truly wretched.

59. Those who mould images in clay for the celebration, of certain Hindu festivals are very rude workmen, partly Malis and partly potmakers. As only one deity, Durga, is here usually worshipped



after this manner, they have little employment, and that only at one season of the year.

60. The brickmakers are not so expert as in Dinajpur, nor can any of them, so far as I saw, carve that material. Several people annually come from Nepal to make bricks and tiles, at which they are more dexterous than the lowlanders.

61. The bricklayers are far from being good workmen. Several Nepalese are also employed in this line. They make very good walls of bricks and clay, but never use plaster or lime, with which they are totally unacquainted.

62. Those who collect shells and burn lime are not near so numerous as in Ronggopur, a good deal of lime being imported from the south side of the Ganges. The workmen are of several different castes.

63. Some men live by making handmills of stones, which they are said to procure from Patna. They also pick the surfaces of these stones to restore the necessary roughness after the stone has been worn by grinding, but in most places this operation is performed by the carpenter.

64. The workers in the precious metals are numerous, but are said to have little employment. One man, I was informed by the officers at Krishnagunj, was one of the best native workmen that they had ever seen; but this is a very uncommon case. In general their work is extremely rude, and they have no capital. Several of the goldsmiths in this district engrave seals, but also practise the other branches of their profession. There is none who lives by engraving alone.

65. There are very few who make new vessels of copper, brass, or bell-metal, almost the whole of which are imported from Kangtoya and Murshedabad. The tradesmen of this district are chiefly employed to repair. The few who make new vessels are said to do it by the hammer alone, and do not cast their work in moulds. It must be observed that, in the western parts of the district, the same names Kasera and Thathera are indiscriminately given to those who make vessels and those who make ornaments of brass, pewter (Justah) or tin. I have therefore been under



the necessity of joining the two professions under one head, because I had proceeded over a good part of the district before I was aware of the circumstances, thinking that the two professions, as in Bengal, were distinguished by different names.

Here, as well as in Dinajpur and Ronggopur, among the Muhammedan copper-smiths are some artists who tin the inside of vessels used in cookery. They also work in other branches of the art, and do not form a separate class of tradesmen. This is an art introduced by the Moslems, and the Hindus have not yet had the sense to use vessels secured in this manner from the deleterious effects of the copper.

At Puraniya in Abdullahnagar are ten houses of copper-smiths, descended from Mohan Saha, who only make the covers (Serposh) for the bowls of the implement used for smoking tobacco. They are considered as very fine workmen, and will not instruct any interloper. Their work is chiefly used in the country, but in Calcutta is in high repute, and sells dear. It is often inlaid with silver. One or two families confine themselves entirely to making that part of the instrument used in smoking tobacco, which holds the water for cooling the fumes.

66. At Puraniya, I had a full opportunity of examining the process for making the compound metal called Bidri, in which the workmen of that town have acquired some celebrity, and by a subdivision of labour very unusual in India, have acquired some dexterity. I soon learned that I had been totally misinformed with regard to the ingredients, and that the metal contains no iron. The workmen are usually divided into three classes, and sometimes into four. One set melt and cast the metal; another turn it to complete the shape; a third carve and inlay the work with the silver; and a fourth give it a final polish, and stain the metal black, which is done in order to show the inlaid figures to advantage, and to conceal the tarnish which in time the metal would acquire. The same set of workmen often finish both of the last-mentioned operations.

The grand component part of the Bidri is the metal called by the natives Justah, which is imported



by sea, I believe from China. In my account of the former districts I have called it pewter, but I believe it is a tolerably pure zinc, and the same with the Tutenago of the older chemical writers; but I have had no convenience for assaying it. The other ingredients are copper and lead. In the experiment that I saw, the workmen took 12,360 grains of Justah, 460 grains of copper, and 414 grains of lead. The greater part of the Justah was put in one earthen crucible; the lead, copper, and a small quantity of Justah were put in a smaller, which was covered with a cap of kneaded clay, in which a small perforation was made. Both crucibles were coated outside and inside with cow-dung. A small pit was dug, and filled with cakes of dry cow-dung, which were kindled, and when the fire had burned some time, the crucibles were put in, and covered with fresh fuel. When the workman judged that the metals were fused, he opened the fire, took up the small crucible, and poured its contents into the larger, where the surface of the melted matter was covered with yellow scorice. He then to prevent calcination threw into the crucible a mixture of resin and bees' wax, and having heated the alloy some little time, he poured it into a mould, which was made of baked clay. The work is now delivered to men who complete the shape, by turning it in a lathe.

It then goes to another set of workmen, who are to inlay flowers or other ornaments of silver. These artists first rub the Bidri with blue vitriol (super-sulphate of copper) and water, which gives its surface a black colour, but this is not fixed and is removable by washing. It is intended as a means of enabling the workman more readily to distinguish the figures that he traces. This he does with a sharp-pointed instrument of steel. Having traced the figure, he cuts it out with small chisels of various shapes, and then with a hammer and punch fills the cavities with small plates of silver, which adhere firmly to the Bidri.

The work is then completed either by the same men or by another set. A final polish is given to the whole by rubbing it, first with cakes made of shell lac



and powdered corundum, and then with a piece of charcoal. When the polish has been completed, a permanent black stain is given to the Bidri by the following process:—Take of salammoniack 1 tola, of unrefined nitre  $\frac{1}{4}$  tola, of a saline earth procured from old mud walls  $1\frac{1}{4}$  tola. These are rubbed with a little water into a paste, with which the Bidri is smeared. Then it is rubbed with a little rape-seed oil, and that with powdered charcoal. These are allowed to remain four days, when they are washed away, and the Bidri is found of a fine black colour, which is not affected by water, nor is the metal subject to rust. It yields little to the hammer, and breaks when violently beaten, but is very far from being brittle. It is not nearly so fusible as tin or as Justah, but melts more readily than copper.

The articles chiefly made of Bidri are various parts of the implements used for smoking tobacco, and spitting-pots. Many other things are made, when commissioned; but these are the only articles for which there is a common demand. The art seems to have been introduced by the Moguls from the west of India. The melters and turners make but poor wages, the inlayers and polishers receive high pay. The goods are usually made entirely by the people who sell them and who hire the workmen from day to day.

67. The people who make ornaments of tin are confined to the south-east corner of the district, where they are called Bako as well as Kangti-hara. They are on the same footing as in Dinajpur.

68. Those who make flexible tubes for smoking tobacco (Naychahbund) in the town of Puraniya, are considered as good workmen and make good wages.

69. Those who make instruments from the cocoa-nut shell for smoking tobacco do very little. The shell is imported ready prepared, and a carpenter is hired to turn the tube, which is made of wood. These artists therefore merely fit the tube to the shell, and retail their work. Three men in this line have capitals of Rs. 500, and import the shells. The others are very poor.

70. None of the blacksmiths have any celebrity. The common run merely make the ordinary implements



of agriculture, and finish the wooden work as well as the parts made of iron. They are commonly paid in grain, make good wages, and are constantly employed. The better workmen make very coarse knives and scissors, swords, spears, lamps, locks, and such other hardware as is in demand; but all that has any pretension to goodness is imported.

71. Cutlers are on the same footing as towards the east.

(c) MANUFACTURERS OF CLOTH.

72. The Dhunaru, or those who clean cotton by an instrument like a bow, are in this district very numerous. In some parts, as in Dinajpur and Ronggopur, these people prepare that cotton only which is intended for quilts, but in some places they also fit it for being spun. They take a little cotton at a time, beat it, and give it at the markets to the women that spin, from whom they in exchange receive thread. The thread they again give to the merchant, and receive more cotton and a little money for surplus value of the thread. They have no capital, and are in general most abandoned drunkards. At Puraniya it was said that they bought the cotton wool at  $3\frac{1}{4}$  sers (85 s. w.) for the rupee, and sold the clean at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  sers ( $82\frac{1}{2}$  s. w.) for the rupee. In cleaning, each ser of 85 s. w. is reduced only to  $82\frac{1}{2}$  s. w., for the operation is not done completely so as to fit the wool entirely for being spun. On every rupee's worth of cotton they have therefore a profit of  $4\frac{3}{4}$  annas, and a women can daily sell from 1 to 2 rs. worth, which her husband has cleaned. When they choose to be sober and work, they therefore make very large profits, from 4 to 8 annas a day.

73. No caste is here disgraced by spinning cotton, and a very large proportion of the women spin some every day, when their other occupations permit; but no great number sit constantly at their wheel. In the south-east corner some fine thread is made with the small iron spindle (Takuya), but by far the greater part is coarse, and is spun by a wheel. At Bholahat it was stated that a woman who does not beat rice, and does no work but spin, cook, and look after her family, can in a month spin on the wheel  $1\frac{1}{4}$  sers of middling



fine thread, which sells at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ser for the rupee = 1 r. 2 annas 8 pice. She buys 5 sers of cotton with the seed, which costs 8 annas, and goes herself through all the operations of cleaning and spinning. Her gain is  $10\frac{3}{4}$  annas. The ser is 75 s. w. (1. 925 lb.). A woman spinning fine thread with a spindle (no distaff) buys 1 ser of rough cotton, which gives  $\frac{6}{16}$  of wool prepared for spinning, and this gives  $\frac{5}{16}$  of a ser of thread, worth one rupee. The wool here being worth  $1\frac{1}{2}$  annas, her monthly profit will be  $14\frac{5}{12}$  annas. It is chiefly women of rank who spin in this manner, and these do no other work.

The greater part of the thread is, however, made from the cotton wool that is imported from the west of India. At Dulalgunj the most common thread is worth  $1\frac{3}{4}$  sers (80 s. w. or lb. 2.05 the ser) for a rupee. The weaver usually gives  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ser of the clean wool for 1 ser of thread.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  chhatak or  $\frac{1}{16}$  part is lost in the operation; the woman therefore for spinning  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ser of wool has  $6\frac{1}{2}$  chhataks of thread, worth almost  $14\frac{1}{2}$  annas; but she takes two months to spin this quantity.  $3\frac{1}{4}$  sers of wool selling for a rupee, every 100 rs. worth of this will produce 174 rs. worth of thread. This is about a fair state of the coarser kind of thread.

The native agents dependent on the Company's factory at English Bazar, whom I found very intelligent men and, from the kindness of Mr. Seton, very attentive, agreed sufficiently near with the accounts given by the spinners of Bholahat, because they dealt in the fine threads, which sell at from 10 to 16 s. w. for the rupee. They say that the women in the vicinity of Kaligunj spin with a fine spindle made of bamboo, to which weight is given by a little ball of unbaked clay. The material is the cotton wool from the west of India, which in cleaning, for such fine thread, loses a quarter of its weight, and scarcely amounts to more than a sixteenth part of the value of the thread. Women, according to these people, at their usual rate of spinning clear only four annas a month, but if a woman sat close and did no other work, she would clear fifteen annas.

We thus have the proportion of the value of the raw material to that of the thread varying from 1 : 16



to 1:17.4. From the ignorance of accounts under which most of the manufacturers labour, it becomes almost impossible to draw general results except by vague conjecture, and I often find occasion on such subjects to change my opinion. I am persuaded that in Dinajpur I have made the average rate of profit too high, having taken my estimates from the chief manufacturing value. I do not, however, think that I have overrated the total amount of the thread, and must therefore suppose that the quantity of raw material is greater and the profit of the spinners less. The merchants dealing in cotton were indeed said, in a general way, to be very rich and to deal largely; but the quantity they stated as imported was small, and probably they were afraid, and concealed a great part.

In this district, I suspect the same has taken place. If indeed we allow the thread spun here to be worth 13,00,000 rs.—and I do not think, as I shall afterwards state, that it can be less—and the value of the raw material to be three lakhs, it would leave a profit somewhat adequate to the number of women that are supposed to be employed, but this would raise the proportion of the value of the thread to that of the raw material as 13 to 3. The value of the thread used in finer goods is said to be about 3,57,000 rs., and of this the raw material probably does not exceed one-tenth part. The remaining 9,43,000 being coarse, the raw material may make a half of the value; so that in all the raw material may be worth 5,12,000 rs.—a vast deal more than the merchants and farmers stated. Both probably concealed a part, but I must confess that any increase of the raw material would, on such a quantity of thread, so much curtail the profits of the spinners that I doubt it cannot be admitted, without increasing also the quantity of cloth and thread manufactured.

I shall afterwards have occasion to mention that the weavers state the produce of their looms uncommonly low, indeed so low as to be totally inadequate to provide for their subsistence. They endeavour to account for this in a different manner, but I suspect that they weave more than 13,00,000 rs.

worth of yarn and that more raw material is used; for I do not think that we can allow the raw material to make less than 38 per cent. of the thread, as before stated, nor that the vast number of women who spin in this district can gain less than 10,00,000 rs. a year, which would require at least to the value of 6,00,000 rs. of the raw material. All these circumstances, however, being conjectures incapable of proof, I shall adhere to the statements that I received, especially as they are on the safe side of moderation.

74. Dyers are on the same footing as in Dinajpur. In the south-east corner about 50 houses (Rangkar) are employed for the weavers to dye silk thread with indigo and lac. The remainder (Rungrez), scattered through the country, are chiefly employed to dye turbans and girdles with perishable colours (turmeric and safflower), which are renewed occasionally as the cloth becomes dirty. These men make high wages, from 6 to 8 rs. a month. In many parts the women on festivals dye their own clothes with safflower. I have nothing to add to the account of the processes that I have already given. The women also give a yellow colour to the old clothes, of which they make the quilts that are used in cold weather. This is done with the flowers of the *Nyctanthes arbor tristis*, but I have not learned the process.

I have nothing to add to the account that I gave in Dinajpur concerning the processes used by the weavers in dyeing, which are exactly the same on both sides of the Mahananda, where the manufacture of dyed goods prevails.

75. The men who weave silk alone possess only 125 houses, and are said to have 200 looms. They work chiefly thin coarse goods for wrapping round the waists of women and children, and worth from Re. 1-10-0 to Re. 1-12-0. The silk costs about Re. 1-3-0. A man can make usually twelve pieces a month. The total value of the goods will therefore be 48,600 rs., and of the raw silk required 34,200 rs. These people are said to make 3,000 rs. worth of the Chikta silk, which is spun from the cocoons that have burst.



76. The weavers who make the cloths of cotton and silk mixed, which are called Maldehi, are nearly on the same footing as in Dinajpur. They work almost entirely the smaller pieces, from three to six rupees value, which are sent to the west of India by the Gosaing merchants. An estimate which I procured from a very intelligent man so nearly agreed with the statement made at Dinajpur that I place great reliance on its accuracy. He said that the journeymen, as there, received one-eighth of the value of their hire, and usually made from 2 to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  rs. a month, which would make the average rate of a loom, working these coarser goods, 18 rs. a month. Of this the value of the silk is one-half, and of the cotton thread  $\frac{1}{3}$ .

The whole manufactures of the banks of the Mahananda near Maldeh, although situated in different districts, are so intimately blended that, even after having examined both, I find it very difficult to form a conjecture concerning the share each possess; and while in Dinajpur I laboured under difficulties, the effects of which I must now endeavour to obviate. I have reckoned the whole raw silk made on the banks of the Mahananda in both districts to be worth 7,43,000 rs., of which 1,50,000 rs. belong to Dinajpur; in that district to the value of 63,000 rs. and in this district to the value of about 34,000 rs. are used for making cloths entirely of silk, while to the value of 6,000 rs. may be used in borders, strings, &c. leaving to the value of 6,40,000 rs. which is entirely woven into mixed goods; and, as this part of the material forms one-half of the cost, the whole amount will be worth 12,80,000 rs.

Now I was assured by a Gosaing, who had made a fortune by trade and had purchased an estate, that his brethren residing in this district annually send about 1,000 bales to the west of India. These are commonly valued at 650 rs. a bale, because they pay the transit duties by value; but their actual cost here is 800 rs., making in all 8,00,000 rs. The exports from Maldeh were stated at 2,50,000 rs., making in all 10,50,000 rs. and leaving a deficiency of 2,30,000 rs.



Perhaps 30,000 rs. worth is used here and in Dinajpur, some is sent from this district to Murshedabad and Calcutta, and the goods said to have been exported from Maldeh have probably been valued at the custom-house rate. These accounts therefore, derived from agricultural and commercial calculations, agree so well that they strongly confirm each other. Allowing therefore the exports and internal consumption of Dinajpur in mixed cloth alone to amount to 3,00,000 rs., which would consume the whole silk raised on that side of the river, we must allow that about 67,000 rs. worth of raw silk are sent to Dinajpur for goods made entirely of silk, and for borders; but this was not mentioned in my account of that district. We must also suppose that about 10,80,000 rs. worth of mixed goods are woven in the district of Puraniya. It was stated that in the vicinity of English Bazar about 7,000 looms are employed in this manufacture, belonging to about 4,300 houses, but of the 7,000 looms only about 3,000 are constantly employed. These will make annually 6,48,000 rs. Allowing the others to be employed half the year, they will make 4,32,000 rs., in all 10,80,000 rs.

I am inclined, however, to think that the export of raw silk to Dinajpur from this district is more considerable, and that the proportion of the goods woven there is greater, for the people in making their estimates of the exports seemed to be guided entirely by the place where the merchant resided. The difference, however, would be so immaterial that it will not be necessary to make any alteration; the surplus silk imported, and not noticed in my account of Dinajpur, would nearly balance any addition to the export of cloth that could be allowed. I shall not therefore in this district mention the cloth imported from Maldeh, nor the silk exported. Almost the whole silk-weavers are extremely necessitous, and involved in debt by advances.

77. The Patwars, who knit silk strings, are much on the same footing as in Ronggopur. None of them are good artists.

78. The weavers of cotton are pretty numerous, and are mostly employed to work very coarse goods



for country use. The only fine manufacture is that of a beautiful white calico called Khasa, about forty cubits long and from two to three cubits broad, and worth from 6 to 15 rs. a piece. Formerly the Company dealt to a considerable extent in this kind of manufacture, but in the year 1808-09 the cloth sent to English Bazar was only 1,100 pieces, worth unbleached 8,000 rs., and I believe that this was chiefly if not solely intended to supply the private use of individuals.

The weavers of these goods live in the divisions of Kharwa, Nehnagar, Dangrkhora and Gorguribah, that is, on the low lands near the Mahananda and Nagar, and may have about 3,500 looms, of which 2,400 are wrought by men who could weave such goods as the Company would receive. These formerly were wont to make one piece a month for the Company, and at their spare time wrought common goods for country use. The money advanced by the Company was a regular supply, which they were anxious to receive, although whenever they got other employment they made higher wages; but they finished their engagement with the Company when no other employment offered.

Several private native traders from Murshedabad and Calcutta now make advances for about 1,50,000 rs. Some is sent to Dinajpur and Patna, and a good deal is consumed in the district. They may now weave in all to about the value of 3,00,000 rs., of which the value of the thread will amount to three-quarters. At other times they work for the weekly market, chiefly pieces 36 cubits long by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  broad, which contain from 800 to 900 threads in the warp, and are worth from  $2\frac{3}{4}$  to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  rs. Two-thirds of the value arises from that of the thread. A man, his wife, and a boy or girl, can make 12 rs. worth in a month, and have 4 rs. profit. This class of weavers, on the whole, may make to the value of about 12 rs. a month, and the thread will probably cost about  $8\frac{1}{2}$  rs. The advances have rendered them necessitous; and a large proportion have no capital to buy thread, but when they do not receive advances,

work by the piece, the good women of the vicinity furnishing the material.

In other places the goods are all coarse for country use, the greater part of the thread is purchased, and the weaver sells at the market what he makes every week. The following estimates were given of the annual labour of a man assisted by his wife to wind and warp. The estimate was formed on the cloth most commonly woven in the vicinity :—

DIVISION.	Value of cloth annually made.		Value of thread required.	
	Rs.	A.	Rs.	A.
Sibgunj ... ..	112	8	73	2
Bhunia ... ..	120	0	82	8
Dangrkhora ... ..	112	0	68	0
Dulalgunj ... ..	112	0	84	0
Bahadurgunj ... ..	84	0	60	0
Gondwara ... ..	120	0	88	8
Udhraill ... ..	112	8	78	12
Haveli ... ..	120	0	97	8
Krishnagunj ... ..	120	0	90	0
Dhamdaha ... ..	76	8	42	12
<b>TOTAL</b> ... ..	<b>1,089</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>765</b>	<b>8</b>

This gives on an average rather less than 109 rs. a year, for the value which is made by each loom. The reason of so small an amount is alleged to be the uncommon sloth of the people. By the small profits of their business they can pay the rent of a good farm, which they cultivate by means of those who take a share of the crop, and they live on the remainder. It is probable, however, that they are not quite so lazy as they pretend, and that in fact they weaved more than they allowed.

On the above grounds 3,500 looms, employed occasionally in finer work, will make cloth to the value of 5,06,000 rs., of which the thread costs 3,57,000 rs. The 10,000 looms employed on coarse goods will make cloth to the value of 10,89,500 rs. of which the thread costs 7,65,500 rs. Even allowing the weavers to have reported the full amount of their labour, the total value of the thread must therefore be at least 11,22,500 rs. besides a very considerable quantity (1,57,500 rs.) used in mixed cloth, and some for various other purposes, so that the total amount,



exclusive of a little imported, cannot be less than 13,00,000 rs.

Among the cotton-weavers above-mentioned, there are in the north-east corner of the district about 80 houses of Chapals, who are said to have 90 looms employed in weaving checkered cloth, such as I have described in giving an account of the adjacent parts of Ronggopur. This manufacture seems to be almost entirely confined to the small space near the upper parts of the Karatoya and Mahananda, which is to be regretted, as it forms a much neater dress for the women than plain unbleached linen. Besides these professional weavers, some farmers towards the frontier of Dinajpur keep a loom, and occasionally, when at leisure, weave cotton cloth; but this custom is not near so prevalent as in the district above mentioned. I heard indeed only of 500 such persons, the whole of whose labours do not probably exceed the value of 10,000 rs. In this district also about 100 barbers keep a loom, for weaving cotton cloth at their leisure hours.

79. The number of women who flower muslin with the needle is quite inconsiderable, and they are confined to English Bazar.

80. The weavers of cotton carpets (Sutrunji) are confined to the capital, and the nature of their manufacture is much the same as at Ronggopur. The most common size is four cubits by two, and such are used for bedding. There are two men to each loom, and these take two days to make a piece. The thread costs nine annas, the dyeing one anna, and the carpet sells for a rupee; allowing the men therefore to work 300 days in the year, they will in that time make only 150 rs. worth, of which 84 rs. 6 a. will be the value of thread, 9 rs. 6 a. the charge of dyeing, and 56 rs. 4 a. the price of labour, giving only 28 rs. 2 a. for each man; but this is greatly underrated. These men have no land, and their annual expenditure is certainly not less than 42 rs. and more probably is 48 rs.

81. The tape-makers (Newargar), are entirely confined to the capital. Their work is exceedingly coarse, mostly like girths for horses' saddles, but



greatly inferior to that in strength and neatness. The same people make also tent ropes of cotton.

82. In the north-east corner of the district the manufacture of sackcloth from the *Corchorus* is very important, and gives employment to a very great proportion of the women in that part. On all the eastern frontier a great proportion of the women are clothed in the coarse linen made of this material, of which there may be annually consumed to the value of 70,000 rs. None of it is dyed. In the cold weather the poor cover themselves by night, and often by day, with a sackcloth rug, and the rich usually put one under their bedding, but the demand for this purpose is not so general as in Ronggopur. The annual consumption may be 30,000 rs.

The quantity required for tobacco bags is very trifling, and does not exceed in value 1,000 rs. The quantity required for the exportation of grain is not great, because wheat, pulse, and oil-seeds, and even a great deal of rice are usually stowed in bulk; but a great deal of this description of sack-cloth is sent to Calcutta, Patna, and Pachagar in Ronggopur. To the former is sent to about the value of 25,000 rs., to the second 12,000 rs., and to the latter and its vicinity 35,000 rs. The quantity required for grain, sails, etc., in the district may be worth 15,000 rs. Total 87,000 rs.

For pack-saddles the quantity required may be worth 1,500 rs. What is used for packages and pack-saddles in this district, amounting to 18,000 rs., is chiefly made by the petty traders (Sungri) who are employed to purchase the commodities. There is a little (perhaps 8,000 rs.) imported from Morang, the remainder is wrought by the women of the Koch tribe. The number of looms, which they are said to employ, is mentioned in the Table.

83. The chintz-makers are on the same footing as in Dinajpur.

84. Blanket-weavers are of two kinds: first, the Gangreri, who rear the long-tailed sheep. Some men have no flocks, and live entirely by weaving, others have both looms and flocks, and others have flocks and no looms. All however rent arable lands,



because owing to the frequency of disease, the produce of their flocks and consequently of their looms is extremely uncertain. At present, owing to the scarcity of wool, few can find employment as weavers.

The wool of the two first shearings from every young sheep is separated into white and black, and is woven into fine blankets. That of the first shearing, and some of the finest of the second, is woven without dyeing; but some of the second shearing that is white, or of an indifferent black, is dyed of the latter colour. All the wool of the subsequent shearings is mixed, and is spun and woven without distinction, so that if properly mixed the colour should be grey, but no pains is bestowed on this, and in the same blanket some threads are black, some grey, and some white, all irregularly disposed. The goods are indeed very unseemly, but of great advantage to the poor, who are exposed to the winter cold, or to the rain.

There are two processes used for dyeing the wool black. First take  $\frac{1}{2}$  ser (1 lb.) of the Babur fruit (Trees no. 73), beat it, and boil it for three hours in 10 or 12 sers of water, so that one-fourth evaporates. Pour this upon the blanket, which is put in a small pit in the earth, and is then covered up. Before the blanket is put into the earth, it is first washed with cold and then with hot water. When it is taken out, it is washed again with cold water. The dye I presume is the iron contained in the earth, which the astringency of the Babur pods fixes. The second dye is the fruit of the Tairi used in the same manner. The Tairi is the same species of *Cæsalpinia* that in Dinajpur is called Chamolloti.

The women tease, and spin the wool on the common small wheel; the men warp, and weave on the same miserable loom that is used for making sack-cloth. The cloth is therefore woven in very narrow slips (Patis), from seven to five of which are usually stitched together to form a blanket. The blankets made of the first quality of wool usually contain seven breadths, and are from  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to  $3\frac{3}{4}$  cubits wide by  $5\frac{1}{2}$  or 6 in length. They weigh, when ready, about



$3\frac{1}{2}$  sers or 7 lbs., and require 4 sers or 8 lbs. of wool. They sell from 2 to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  rs., and a man and woman require fifteen days to make one. Wool of the second quality is woven into blankets of six breadths, being from 4 or  $4\frac{3}{4}$  cubits long by  $2\frac{3}{4}$  broad. One requires 3 sers of wool, and occupies the man and woman ten days. This kind sells from 24 to 22 annas each. The third kind requires 2 sers of wool, and contains five breadths. It is 4 cubits long by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  broad, and is worth  $1\frac{1}{4}$  r. A man and woman make six in a month. This, being made of the coarse wool, is by far the principal object. The wool, good and bad, is bought at three sers for the rupee, and afterwards sorted. The wool for six coarse pieces will cost 4 rs., and the price of the goods being  $7\frac{1}{2}$  rs. the man and woman have  $3\frac{1}{2}$  rs. for profits. They make a little more on the finer goods, but not enough to make up for times when they cannot work, the above estimate allowing for no leisure time. These weavers are very inferior in skill to those of the south of India.

The other blanket-weavers do not keep sheep, but purchase the wool of the common sheep of Bengal (Bhera, Bheri). Their blankets are as bad as those made by the shepherds; but it is to be regretted that the people have not extended toward the east, where the wool is entirely lost. The women buy, wash, and dry the wool; the men spin and weave it. They give one pan of cowries for the wool of each sheep, and it requires from 20 to 25 fleeces to make a blanket 5 cubits long by 3 wide. The blanket sells at from 12 to 16 annas. The raw material, therefore, amounts to  $\frac{11}{112}$  parts of the value of the goods. If they could procure a sufficient quantity of wool, each man and woman might make four blankets a month, which would give about two rupees for their wages. The number of sheep in their vicinity, however, does not always admit of a constant employment, and at intervals they collect shells and make lime, or work as day labourers. There is, indeed, another reason for their working merely at intervals. The blankets are only saleable in the cold weather, and they are too necessitous to be able to work at anything for which they have not an immediate demand.



*(d)* MANUFACTURERS OF SUGAR.

85. The manufacture of sugar is at very low ebb, and is conducted on the same plan as at Ronggopur; but about one-half of the raw material is procured from Dinajpur. The whole is consumed in the country, and is far from being adequate to its supply.

*(e)* MANUFACTURERS OF INDIGO.

86. I have little to add to what I have said on this subject in Dinajpur and Ronggopur. The factories and machinery are in general on a larger scale than in Ronggopur, but are in general less judiciously constructed, and on a more expensive scale. Much of the water is raised by pumps. The only superiority that they have is in the vats being covered. Near the Kosi some of the factories have vats constructed entirely of Sal timber. I am told that even where the timber is cheapest, on the Morang frontier, a pair of small vats, the steeper 28 feet by 16, and 4 feet deep, with the necessary apparatus will cost Rs. 2,400, which is more than if it were built of brick, and the annual repairs are enormous. The wooden vats are however said to make the best indigo.

The manufacturers in many parts here, as I have said, give only one anna for the bundle of weed, but the bundle is smaller than in Ronggopur, and the manufacturer cuts and carries it home, and owing to the frauds to which he is subject, this costs as much as the weed. I am told also that at least one-third of each bundle consists of grass, which will in some measure account for the small quantity of indigo procured from a given number of bundles, that I have stated in the account of the agriculture. These, together with heavy losses by bad debts and large outstanding balances, seem to me the natural result of giving for the weed a price far below its value, that is far inferior to the cost of raising it. Yet by far the most successful planter has adopted this plan. He has indeed had very long experience of the natives, and may be supposed to know well the manner of proceeding that is suited to their ideas;

the plan, however, appears to me so likely to be ruinous to all parties that I consider his success as a mere accident.

In my account of the agriculture I have already mentioned whatever has occurred to me respecting the subject of indigo manufactured both after the method of Europe and after that of India.

(f) MANUFACTURERS OF SALTS.

87. In this district the people who manufacture salts are called Beldars, that is, men who use the hoe; but all Beldars do not make salt, many are employed to dig tanks and to make roads. The number of those who can make salts is estimated at above 500 houses. Their chief employment in the fair season is to make saltpetre. In the rainy season they weed, reap, and perform other operations of husbandry for daily hire. Some years ago the Company suddenly withdrew the advances for saltpetre, and the monopoly in that article rendered the business illegal. The people, of course, made privately as much as they could sell; but this quantity not giving them sufficient employment, they betook themselves to prepare culinary salt (muriate of soda) from a saline earth that is found in many parts of the district.

It may indeed be convenient and in some respects economical for the Company, when a reduction in the quantity of the saltpetre investment is necessary, to abandon entirely a certain number of the factories, especially those that are the least productive; but this will not only distress exceedingly many individuals, thrown on a sudden totally out of the employment to which they have been accustomed, and which thus becomes illegal; but will also be always attended with consequences similar to those above mentioned. The people will not choose to starve, and will run many risks in contraband work. Throwing into prison people in this condition is doing them a kindness.

The whole of the Company's advances for cloth were always so trifling, when compared with the demands necessary for clothing the people, that any change made in their system of advances could only



produce temporary evils, such as arise to all manufacturers from the occasional stagnations of trade to which they are always subject; but with the Beldars, the suddenly withdrawing the advances is to deprive them of the means of subsistence. They are not only unemployed by the Company, but are prohibited from working for any other person. The Company also, by the illicit business that of necessity follows, is a considerable loser. When the investment of saltpetere is therefore to be diminished, a certain deduction from each factory, I am persuaded, would be more advisable; as then a few men only in each place would be suddenly thrown idle, and these would readily find other employment. This year, 1809-1810, the Company has restored the manufacture to this district. It was not therefore known, when I travelled through it, to what extent the produce would attain.

In this district nitre is never found in the soil at a distance from houses. The natives consider it as entirely the produce of cows' urine, and during the whole dry season, where the soil is favourable and wherever cows are kept, it effloresces on the surface. The only thing requisite seems to be a clay soil, which prevents the animal matter from being suddenly absorbed. The Beldars therefore frequent the farmyards, and scrape the surface of the ground wherever the cattle have stood, and this may be repeated every third or fourth day. The people who have most cattle, being either pure Hindus or Moslems of rank, have an aversion to allow this operation, as they either abominate the Beldars as impure or are jealous of their prying near the women. The Beldars, therefore, meet with considerable difficulty in procuring a quantity sufficient; and would obtain very little in that way, were not they in the employ of the Company, whose agent protects them. They have therefore recourse to another method.

Between the middle of July and the middle of September they repeatedly plough a plot of ground, and throw on its surface all the earth, from which saline matter had been separated by filtration. This earth is called Sithi. They then daily collect as



many cattle upon the plot as they can, and keep them there as long as possible. About the end of October the nitre begins to effloresce, and the surface of the plot may be scraped once in four days, so long as the fair weather continues. The earth scraped from the field gives less nitre than that procured from farm-yards, but the nitre of the latter contains more impurities. In order to avoid offence, the method of procuring the saline earth by ploughing a field seems to be preferable. The quantity of ground and expense is considerable, for from one to two acres are quite insufficient to supply a Kuthi or set of works, and a great deal of labour would be saved, which is now bestowed in bringing the saline earth from a distance. The lands for the purpose now belong to the Company. The only difficulty is to procure cattle; but the whole people of the village would, in all probability, consent to allow their cattle to stand on the plots half an hour, morning and evening, rather than submit to the intrusions of the Beldars, which however constitute a service that long-established custom has rendered legal.

The Beldars allege that they have another process by which they can procure nitre. After having boiled the brine twice, and taken from it the saline matter that subsides, there remains a thick brine which they call Jarathi. The Beldars say that they spread out some of the earth procured in filtering the brine, and on this pour the Jarathi. After two days' exposure to the air this may be again lixiviated, and produces a brine containing saltpetre. The native agent of the Company at Gondwara, however, assured me that the Jarathi is chiefly employed to obtain an impure culinary salt, which the natives call Beldari Nemak, the use of which being prohibited, it is of course smuggled, and mixed with the salt procured from the south. This indeed some of the Beldars confessed was the case, although they alleged that they usually mixed the Jarathi with the earth left by lixiviation (Sithi), as above described. The saline earth procured by mixing the evaporated brine (Jarathi) with the Sithi is called Bechuya, and before water is filtered though it, is usually mixed with the



Cheluya, or earth procured from the farmyard or cultivated plot; but both it is said would separately give saltpetre.

The whole operation of filtering and boiling is performed in the open air, by which occasional losses are suffered, especially in spring, when there are often heavy showers that curtail the season. A shed, 25 cubits long by 16 wide, would enable a family to reserve as much saline earth as would give them employment to boil the whole year. At present in general they work only six months; but in the remainder of the year there is abundance of employment in agriculture. The chief advantage of the shed is that it enables them to turn the Jarathi, or ley remaining after evaporation, to better advantage. The Beldars say that if mixed with the earth called Sithi, exposed for some days to the air, and then collected in heaps for some weeks or months, the produce of nitre is great, and some rich men have sheds for this purpose.

The apparatus, as usual, is very simple. A circular vessel called a Kuthi, about three feet in diameter and one foot deep, is formed of unbaked clay on the surface of the ground. A small hole in the bottom at one side allows the water poured into the vessel to flow into a pot, which is placed in a hole formed by the side of the vessel. A little straw having been put on the bottom of the Kuthi, it is filled with a saline earth, which is well trodden with the feet, and a quantity of water is filtered through it, sufficient to produce a strong brine. The people do not seem very careful to extract the whole saline matter, nor by repeated filtrations to saturate the water. The last is a gross neglect in the economy of the operation, the former is perhaps of little consequence, as the same earth is always again used, and owing to the saline matter which it is allowed to retain, in all probability becomes the sooner impregnated. At any rate it is notorious that all earth, which has once contained nitre, more readily than any other favours its generation.

Some of the Beldars inform me that they always mix the ashes of straw with the saline earth, in the



proportion of one-twentieth part. Others allege that this is by no means necessary, and that the operation may be performed without any addition. They however confess that they usually put a small quantity of ashes on the straw that lines the bottom of the filtering vessels (Kuthi), which, they say, makes the brine flow more readily. They also add some ashes when the saline earth is very dry. It is very doubtful whether there is lime in the soil, and most certainly none is ever added. In India, therefore, lime would not seem to be necessary to the generation of nitre, as is alleged to be the case in Europe.

The brine procured by filtering water through the earth is called Ras. This is evaporated in earthen pots of hemispherical form. Six for each Kuthi are supported contiguous to each other in two rows, over a cavity in the earth that serves as a fire-place, and the fuel, chiefly stubble, is thrust under by a small slope at one end, while the smoke goes out by an opening that is formed opposite. While the brine is boiling, a woman who attends the fire stirs the pots occasionally with a small broom, fixed at right angles to a stick. This removes the froth called Khari, which like the ley (Jarathi) is mixed with the earth called Sithi, and according to the native agent greatly increases the quantity of nitre which that yields; but the Beldars allege that it might be made into a kind of salt called Khari Nemark, which is prohibited.

I suspect that this prohibition has arisen from an idea of the Khari and Beldari salts being the same. That such a mistake has been made, I think highly probable; because in a correspondence between the Secretary to the Board of Trade and Mr. Smith, I observe that the salt which is prepared by the Beldars of this district is by both gentlemen called Kharu Neemuck or Caree Noon. Both the native agent of the Commercial Resident and the Beldars assured me that the two salts are different, and that the whole Khari Nemark used in the district is imported from Patna. They could have no interest in deceiving me, as the preparing culinary salt is still more illicit than making nitre. The Khari Nemark sold in the markets is an impure sulphate of soda, and



could never be employed as a seasoning for food, but is highly useful as a medicine both for man and beast; and if I am right in supposing that the prohibition has arisen from this mistake, it should certainly be removed.

When the evaporation has been carried to a certain length, the brine is taken out and allowed to cool. Then the nitre subsides, leaving a brine which is again put into the boilers, and treated in the same manner. When the evaporation is complete, this brine is again cooled, and deposits more saltpetre, which is called Kahi. The brine or ley that remains is again evaporated, and deposits a third kind of nitre called Tehela; but all the kinds are sold intermixed. The ley that remains after the third boiling is the Jarathi above mentioned.

The saltpetre (Abi) thus procured is exceedingly impure, and is delivered to the Company's native agent at two rs. for the *man*. The native agent at Gondwara and the Beldars differ very much concerning the weight. The former says that the *man* contains 40 sers of 92 s. w. or is nearly  $94\frac{1}{2}$  lb. (94.45); the latter maintain that the *man* contains 8 Pasures, each holding  $7\frac{1}{2}$  sers of 72 s. w., or is near 111 lb. (110.88). The Company's agent dissolves the crude nitre (Abi) in water, frees it from many impurities, and again evaporates it, producing the Kulmi or common saltpetre, such as is exported by the Company. In this operation the salt loses a quarter part, and the expense may be accurately known by the books of the factory.

The proper attendants at one Kuthi, according to the Company's agent, are three men to collect and lixiviate the saline earth, and one woman to collect fuel and manage the fire; and where he sees that a family is active and has such a number of hands, he advances 40 rs. He therefore expects that, in the course of the season, they will make 20 *mans*. This is a very poor reward for six months' labour of four people, and implies clearly to me that the Beldars carry on an illicit gain. I was indeed assured by one of the Beldars that a man, his wife, and a boy or girl able to work, the usual strength of a family, could



make from four to six *mans* a month. A good deal is therefore probably smuggled, especially to Nepal.

The account which the workmen give of the manner of making the culinary salt, called Beldari Nemak, is as follows:—They observe that in certain places, especially old mango groves, the cattle in dry weather are fond of licking the surface of the earth, and then they know that the earth of the place is saline. Every old mango grove contains more or less; but it is also found in many waste places. The Beldars scrape off the surface, lixiviate, pour the brine on some straw, and allow it to evaporate, when the straw is found to be covered with a saline efflorescence. The straw is then burned, the ashes are lixiviated, and the brine evaporated to dryness. The result is the Beldari Nemak, which although it must be a very impure material is sold for 4 rs. a *man*, and mixed with the sea salt brought from Calcutta.

I have already mentioned that the ley remaining after the extraction of nitre (Jarathi) may be mixed with earth, and if treated in the same manner with the saline matter found in old mango groves, will yield the culinary salt called Beldari Nemak; but it is alleged that, by a long exposure to air, the saline matter of the earth and ley mixed is converted into nitre.

The whole subject relative to the Beldari and Khari Nemak, both being illicit, is very difficult of investigation. Once when in Tirahut I heard a similar process given for the preparation of the latter; but the cattle licking the earth is a pretty clear proof that the saline earth here contains a muriate and not a sulphate of soda. And the Beldars here allege that the Khari Nemak is made from the scummings and not from the ley. The process in both cases may probably be similar. The use of burning the straw in this operation is not evident, the basis of both Khari Nemak and culinary salt being soda, and not potash.

I have procured specimens of all the saline substances to which I have alluded, and their analysis will throw much light on the subject; but as yet I have had no opportunity of having the processes conducted with the accuracy that would be necessary.



## CHAPTER III.

### COMMERCE—EXPORTS AND IMPORTS.

Here, as in the two districts formerly surveyed, I have been under the necessity of proceeding by conjecture, founded on what was stated by the merchants, and other intelligent people. Such statements, as might be naturally expected, often are widely different from each other. I have selected such as appeared to me most probable. Here I have included the cattle, and the goods sold at the fairs on the banks of the Ganges. The former are too important to be with propriety omitted, and the fairs are the chief means of intercourse between the two neighbouring districts of Puraniya and Bhagalpur. I shall now proceed to make some observations on the different articles:—

The rice formerly was mostly sent to Murshedabad and its vicinity; but in this year, 1810, most of it has gone to Patna, where there has been a scarcity. A little goes to Bhotan from Udhraïl. The rice that is imported comes mostly from the territories of Nepal, but at Dimiya a good deal comes from Tirahut, and in the manufacturing districts near the Mahananda some is brought from the district of Dinajpur.

The wheat is almost all sent to Murshedabad. A little fine is imported from Patna, chiefly for the use of Europeans.

The pulse exported is mostly sent to Murshedabad, a little to Dhaka. A little of a finer quality than usual is imported from Patna.

The seeds for yielding oil are sent mostly to Murshedabad. A part of the imports are from the north-west corner of Tirahut, and a smaller part from the territories of Morang. The oil is sent to Bhagalpur and Murshedabad. That imported is from Dinajpur.

With regard to prepared butter (Ghi) the accounts given by the natives were so grossly underrated that

I have laid their statements entirely aside. I have already had occasion to mention how far their statement of the milk falls short of the accounts given by the author of the Remarks on the Husbandry of Bengal, and that they seemed to me to have concealed a great part of the produce: but allowing that their statement of the milk is true, the quantity of Ghi exported must be pretty considerable, although they are not willing to allow of more than the most trifling quantity, all of which, they say, comes from Morang. With regard to the last circumstance, I would observe that as the whole cattle belong to this district, I look upon the Ghi as exported from the dairies of their owners, and allow of none from Morang, although a small quantity is no doubt made there and brought here. The cattle of Morang are not able to support Nepal, and probably all the rent paid for the buffaloes is not adequate to make up deficiencies.

I allow therefore the cows' milk to supply the inhabitants with curds and the other preparations that are used, and all the buffalo milk to be made into butter. Neither is strictly exact, but the errors on one side will be nearly balanced by those on the other. I then make a most ample allowance of prepared butter for the consumption of the district, and suppose that the remainder is exported to Murshedabad and Calcutta. Some is imported from Patna to parts of the district where there are few buffaloes.

The betelnut imported is all dry, mostly from Murshedabad, some from Dinajpur and Calcutta, and a little from Dhaka.

The coconuts are from Yasor (Jessore, Rennell) and Dhaka, and the coconut shells are brought from Murshedabad. The latter are used for making implements to smoke tobacco.

A little tobacco is sent to Morang and some to Murshedabad. A little is imported from Dinajpur.

The hemp buds are imported from Yasor (Jessore, Rennell). The opium is imported from the Company's factory at Patna.

The turmeric and ginger are the only things sold by the Jhalwalehs that are exported or imported. They are sent to Murshedabad and Calcutta. A



little of both is brought from Patna, a large share of the ginger is brought from the part of Morang that is subject to Nepal.

The goods sold by Pasaris or druggists comprehend the following articles:—

1. Black pepper. 2. Spices, including the small cardamom of Malabar, cloves, nutmeg, mace and cinnamon. 3. Camphor. 4. Asafoetida. 5. Paints—vermilion, yellow, cinnabar, blue and green vitriols, verdigris, rouge for ladies' feet and hands (Alta). Peuri, red starch of Zedoary root (Abir), white lead, prepared mica (Khari), and chalk. 6. Quicksilver. 7. Tin leaf. 8. Sandalwood. All the above come from Murshedabad. A little goes to Morang.

9. Seed of Ajoyan (Coriander), Mauri, Jira, Kalajira (*Nigella sativa*), Kashni (*Chicoreum*), Methi (Fenugreek), Papita, Long pepper and Isubgol (*Plantago*). A little of these are imported from Tirahut.

10. Leaves and bark of the Nepal cinnamon (Tajpat). 11. Medicinal roots and herbs, chiefly from the territory of Nepal, as will be mentioned when I give an account of that country; almost the whole of these is again exported to Murshedabad, but a little goes to Patna and a little is consumed in the district. A very small quantity of a drug called Atis comes from Tirahut. 12. Coarse Glaubers salt (Khari-nimak) from Patna, and Sandhap salt from Murshedabad. 13. A little saflower from Rajmahal. 14. Some stick lac is imported from Mushedabad, and a little goes to Bhotan. 15. The musk comes from Nepal, and goes to Murshedabad and Patna.

All these I have included in one general head. The lac and black pepper are the only articles of which the value amounts to anything considerable.

Several other things are bought and sold by druggists, but the export and import trade is carried on entirely by other people. These are:—

16. Manjit or Nepalese Madder, is brought from that country and sent to Murshedabad.

17. The indigo of the European kind is sent to Calcutta. I have valued it here at Rs. 140 a factory



*man* (lb. 72), and given what I considered as about the average quantity. Last year it was not near so much. The dye manufactured after the country fashion is said to be entirely for country use, but some I know is sent to Nepal, and I imagine this is a pretty considerable article, although as much of the weed is probably stolen from the European manufacturers, it was carefully concealed.

18. The Elachi or cardamoms of Nepal are brought from that country, and sent to Murshedabad and Merzapur.

19. The catechu imported into this district is of three kinds. The best comes from Tirahut. At Nathpur it is called Padmapati, and at Puraniya it is called Pakhra. The next comes from Morang, and at Nathpur is called Bengri. The greater part of both these is again exported. A few of the workmen employed in Morang go from this district, and the produce of their labour ought perhaps to have been added to the manufactures of this district, and not included among the imports. For the carpenters go to Morang, cut the trees and extract a part of the catechu there, while they bring down some of the wood, from which the extract is made at home. They pay a trifle to the government of Nepal for permission to cut, and perhaps buy there a little provision; but all the remainder of the value is a clear gain to this district. By far the greater part, however, of what is made in Morang, is by the people of that territory. The tree which grows in Morang seems to me to differ somewhat from what I have seen in Ava, in the Konkan, and in Dinajpur. The third kind of catechu comes from Bhagalpur, and at Puraniya is called Palasi. This is chiefly used here for chewing with betel. The others are sent to Murshedabad.

20. Writing paper is imported from Ronggopur by the way of Murshedabad. A little fine comes from Patna. I could procure none that was at all tolerable.

21. Beeswax and a very little honey are brought from the dominions of Nepal. The former is sent to Murshedabad and Patna. The wax candles are



imported from Dinajpur and Calcutta, and are used in the district.

The salt chiefly comes from Murshedabad. A good deal is exported to Tirahut and the dominions of Nepal. The saltpetre is valued at the advance price. I had no opportunity of learning what additional charges are incurred at the Company's factories, and which ought to have been added to the price. I suspect that a good deal is smuggled to Nepal.

Most of the metals are from Murshedabad, but some iron comes direct from Virbhūm, and some by the way of Bhagalpur and Patna. The European iron is commonly used, but some iron is brought from the dominions of Nepal. This is of a different quality from the iron of Bengal, and some of the latter is therefore sent to Nepal. Most of the copper is imported from Nepal; the remainder, and the other metals, come from Murshedabad, and a little is sent to Nepal.

The red lead is prepared here, and exported to Bhagalpur and Tirhut.

The vessels of brass, copper, and bell-metal come chiefly from Kangtoya. A few are exported to Nepal and Tirahut. The ironmongery consists of hoes and bills sent to Dinajpur, and some arms, hatchets, hoes and pots brought from Mungger.

The Bidri ware goes to Murshedabad, Calcutta, Dhaka, Dinajpur and Ronggopur. Among this is included some ware made of copper, annexed to the implements used in smoking tobacco, of which I have given an account among the manufactures. They are very often sold together, one part of the implement being of Bidri and the other of copper.

The Manihari goods are the same as in Ronggopur and Dinajpur. They come from Murshedabad and a small quantity is sent to the dominions of Nepal.

The glass ware consists chiefly of looking-glasses and lanterns from Murshedabad.

The shells are from Murshedabad. The lime is from the district of Bhagalpur. The stone ware, consisting of plates, cups and grind-stones, is from Patna.



The timber comes mostly from the dominions of Nepal. That country produces many fine kinds, valuable for their scent and the polish which they will receive, as well as for being strong and durable, but Sal or Sekhuya (*Shorea robusta*) is almost the only one in request. In the table of exports and imports, for the sake of uniformity, I have valued it at the price for which it is sometimes sold and is nominally valued at the places where the timber merchants reside, which are often at a considerable distance from the frontier. To this valuation there are however two objections: firstly, most of the merchants being mere agents for others residing at Calcutta, Murshedabad, and places where the timber is used, would not sell the timber at any price lower than that for which their principals could sell, the whole expense of delivery to the principals having been already incurred. A stranger therefore arriving here; and being in immediate want of timber, would not probably be able to purchase a quantity sufficient to build a house or large vessel without giving the Calcutta price; nothing indeed can be done at a reasonable price without money advanced before the beginning of the cutting season, at the end of which, part of what has been agreed for will be delivered, but perfectly green and unfit for immediate use. Now as almost the whole labour and expense of the carriage to Calcutta is laid out by the people of this district, the exported timber ought perhaps to have been valued at the price for which it is deliverable at Calcutta, almost all of which is returned to this district. Secondly, the whole value stated in the table of imports does not go to the people of Morang, and cannot be charged as a balance against this district, as will appear from the following account of the manner in which the trade is conducted:—

The timber which comes down the Kosi is mostly purchased by about 35 merchants (Kathaiya Mahajans), who reside in Dimiya and Matiyari near the banks of the river, and are supposed to trade to the extent of from one to ten thousand rupees each. These never go near the forests, but make an agreement with another class of men called Kathaiyas, who for a fixed price engage to deliver a certain



quantity at Calcutta, or at whatever town the merchant's correspondent resides. The merchant usually advances two-thirds of the whole of this price by instalments, and the remainder is paid when the timber is delivered at its place of destination. Formerly several Europeans dealt in timber, acting as these merchants; but I believe that they in general lost, and all have now given up the trade. Their loss may be in a great measure attributed to their having completed the purchase here, and sent the timber to Calcutta on their own account. Many boats were lost and part only of the timber was recovered, while the logs, as they passed the various towns on their route, gradually diminished in size; so that even when the number despatched was delivered complete, the logs which had left Dimiya of the largest size, on their delivery at Calcutta had dwindled down to the smallest. The native merchant avoids most of these frauds by paying only for what is delivered, at a certain rate according to its size.

The Kathaiyas also reside in the Company's territory, and some of them have a little capital, with which they purchase timber that they sell either to the timber merchants for ready money, or retail on the way to Calcutta, as they pass along with the floats which have been commissioned. A great part of their stock, however, consists in the oxen, carts, and boats which are necessary for the exportation of the timber. The Kathaiya about the middle of November goes into the territory of Nepal, and sometimes makes an agreement with the people called Dufadars, who are natives of that country. Each Dufadar engages a gang of workmen (Kularhiyas), and agrees to cut and square the timbers and to place them on the carts of the Kathaiya, on which they are carried, so soon as cut, to the Kosi or to some branch of that river, such as the Tiljuga, which is capable of floating them. At other times again the Kathaiya hires the workmen by the month. From the Tiljuga and other tributary streams the logs are floated with canoes. The Kosi at all seasons admits of the boats called Malnis, and the logs are brought near the residence of the merchant so soon as a quantity sufficient to construct a float



can be collected. The cutting season lasts from the middle of December until about the middle of April, when the forests become dreadfully unhealthy. The Kathaiyas and their servants then retire to conduct their timber to the destined market, and the Dufadars and their gangs retire to cultivate their fields.

The timbers are of five kinds, Chaukar, Dokar, Bali, Khamba, and Khambi. They are always sold by girth, and this is estimated by a cubit called Durgadasi, which is 22 inches long. The Chaukars are squared by cutting an equal quantity from four sides, and are from 14 to 18 cubits long and from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 cubits round. The larger sizes are very rare. The Dokars are flat beams, that is, only two sides are cut away, and therefore they contain much more white wood than the Chaukars, and do not last so long. They are from 14 to 18 cubits long and from 2 to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cubits round. In the operation of cutting and squaring the wood-cutters are entirely ignorant of the use of the saw, and work entirely with the hatchet and adze. The Batis are round logs, freed only from the bark, and are intended chiefly for plank. They are of the same lengths with the squared timbers, and are from 33 inches to 41 inches in girth, measured one-third of their length from the root end. The Khambas also are round, and are from 8 to 12 cubits long and from 1 to  $1\frac{1}{4}$  round. The Khambis are from 6 to 8 cubits long and under 1 cubit in girth. These two last are chiefly used in this district.

I shall now give an estimate of the expense attending various parts of the operation:—One cart requires ten oxen; one pair called Dhuriya, worth 75 rs., one pair called Bharka, 25 rs., three pair called Chhor, 42 rs. The cart, 20 rs. The stock therefore amounts to 162 rs. The feeding for the cattle, consisting of cotton seed, pulse, oil-cake and straw is 22 rs. a month. One driver,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  rs. a month, 4 under-drivers, 8 rs. a month, 1 messenger, (Bahardar), 3 rs. Oil for the wheels, 8 annas. Ropes  $1\frac{1}{2}$  rs. 10 Kularhoyas or wood cutters, 30 rs. a month. The monthly expense is therefore  $67\frac{1}{2}$  rs.



This gang can bring monthly to the river 12 Chaukars, 5 Dokars and 4 Batis. These are seldom sold at the place of embarkation, so that it is difficult to put a fair value on them, but it is said that the 12 Chaukars may be worth 48 rs., the 5 Dokars worth 15 rs., and the 4 Batis worth  $4\frac{1}{2}$  rs.; equal merely to the monthly expense. The cattle, indeed, in other seasons do as much work as defrays their maintenance and that of their servants, but the whole of the interest on their value and the sums necessary to keep up their number must be added to the expense of the four months of the cutting season: 142 rupees at 25 per cent., the lowest actual interest given in this country, will amount to 35 rs., and one-seventh of the value of stock, or 20 rupees, must be allowed for annual purchases of cattle. For the cart, 5 rs. for interest, and as much for purchases, must be allowed. The total expense of four months will then be—

	Rs.
Stock ... ..	65½
Feeding cattle ... ..	88
Oil and ropes ... ..	8
Servants ... ..	62
Duty to the Nepal Government at 10 rupees per month.	40
Additional duties under various pretexts (Kharchab).	15
Woodcutters ... ..	120
	<hr/>
	Rs. 888½

For this the Kathaiyas bring to the water 48 Chaukars, 20 Dokars, and 16 Batis.

The expense of bringing down is as follows:—A canoe may be hired at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  rs. a trip, and two men to attend her get 6 rs. Each canoe brings four timbers, so that his 84 timbers will cost on delivery to the merchant as follows:—

	Rs.	sa.	p.
Hire of 21 canoes at 8½ rupees ... ..	178	8	0
Duty to the Nepal Government ... ..	42	0	0
	<hr/>		
Cutting charges ... ..	220	8	0
	<hr/>		
Total cost ... ..	609	0	0

When sold at Dimiya, the following may be the usual rate of value, although as I have said, a stranger would often not procure any lower than at the Calcutta price:—

				Ra.
48 Chaukars at Rs. 10-8-0	...	...	...	504
20 Dokars at Rs. 5-0-0	...	...	...	100
16 Batis at Rs. 2-8-0	...	...	...	40
				<hr/>
				Ra. 644

When the timber is brought on boats (Malnis) from near the Kosi, the expense is considerably less; but timber has there become scarce, and being less select, sells lower. Considerable deduction must however be made from the profits, because all the workmen must be paid in advance, and none of them can be induced to work for the whole of what they have received.

From this it will appear that on 644 rupees value the real return to Nepal consists of 120 rupees given to the woodcutters, and 97 rupees paid for duties, in all 217 rupees; but to this we must add the provisions sold both for men and beast, which may bring the whole to 300 rupees on 644: so that on the value which I have stated in the Tables of imports only about 50 per cent. should be charged to the credit of Nepal.

When money is advanced to Dufadars, who agree to load the cart with timber, the Kathaiya pays 18 annas for each Chaukar, of which 6 annas [are] duties; for each Dokar 4 annas are duties, and 8 annas hire; for each Bati, 2½ annas duties and 5 annas for hire.

			Duty.			Cutting.		
			Ra.	as.	p.	Ra.	as.	p.
48 Chaukars	...	...	...	18	0 0	36	0 0	
20 Dokars	...	...	...	5	0 0	10	0 0	
16 Batis	...	...	...	2	0 0	5	0 0	
			<hr/>			<hr/>		
			Ra.	25	0 0	51	0 0	

The cart then pays only 7½ rupees duties for the whole season. This is vastly less than is paid where the cutters are hired by wages, but a great deal of money is lost by the Dufadars taking advances and



giving no timber, for although an officer of Nepal is deputed to give justice, the sort of justice that is there administered is not suited for the recovery of debts for the creditors. The whole that can be recovered usually goes to the judge.

The great advantage here over the woodcutters beyond the Testa is that much larger timbers are brought out, not owing to the trees of the forest being of a larger size, but to a greater exertion on the part of the workmen. This cannot be entirely attributed to the use of oxen and carts, although those contribute to reduce the price of the operation; for in some parts of the forests here, the roads will not admit of carts, and timbers of the same size are carried out entirely by men, and the expense is said not [to] be very materially higher, the people of Nepal being much more active than those of the Company's territory.

The cart is of the common form, but more strongly constructed [than] that in use for conveying other goods.

The following estimate was given of the expense of sending to Calcutta :—

			Rs.
To 8 Malni boats hire, at 16 rupees	...	...	128
To 2 men for each, at 8 rupees each	...	...	128
To ropes	...	...	16
To 2 Palwar boats to attend	...	...	24
			<hr/>
			Rs. 296

The prices at which the Kathaiyas agree to deliver the wood to the merchants at Calcutta are about as follows :—

	Rs.	a.	p.
48 Chaukars, at from 14 to 25 rupees average 16 rupees.	768	0	0
20 Dokars, at from 8 to 10 rupees average 9 rupees.	180	0	0
16 Batis, at 5 or 6 rupees ...	80	0	0
	<hr/>		
	1,028	0	0

			Rs.
Total cost as imported	...	...	609
Carriage to Calcutta ...	...	...	296
			<hr/>
			Rs. 905

The merchant seldom purchases the Batis. These are usually carried by the Kathaiyas on their own account.

The whole of the charges, it is evident, except the provisions which the boatmen may purchase by the way, and that is a trifle, most of what they use being taken with them, is gained by the people of this district, which ought therefore to be credited with an addition of 296 rupees on 609 rupees of the timber which I have stated as exported.

The quantity of timber that comes down by the Kosi is not so considerable as that which is floated by the various branches of the Kankayi into the Mahananda, and which is chiefly purchased by the merchants of Arariya and Dulalgunj, with a few in Nehnagar and Bahadurgunj. In that vicinity one-half of the Kathaiyas belong to Nepal, on which account a much larger share of the prime cost must go to the credit of that country. The Kathaiyas there seldom contract to deliver the goods at Calcutta, but sell it entirely to the merchants of this district, who send it under charge of their own servants, and are usually miserably defrauded, as I have already mentioned. The duties payable to Nepal are levied entirely on the boats which float the timber out of that country.

The timber was stated to be in general smaller than that brought down the Kosi, but the prices are fully as long. Some of the expenses are more moderate. At Arariya it was stated that of the 56,000 rupees worth imported and delivered to the merchant, there was as follows:—

	Pieces.
Rs. 14,000 worth of Chaukis from 14 to 16 cubits long by 2½ to 3 cubits round, at from 18 to 20 rupees a pair.	1428
Rs. 28,000 worth of Dokars from 16 to 18 cubits long by 2½ to 2¾ round, at from 10 to 12 rupees a pair.	5000
Rs. 10,500 worth of Batis from 16 to 18 cubits long by 1½ to 2 cubits round, at 5 or 6 rupees a pair.	3618
Rs. 3,500 worth of Khambas, from 8 to 18 cubits long by ½ to 1½ round, at from 2 to 8 annas each.	11200



Now at the place of embarkation the owners of the carts are said to deliver these at the following rates:—

To 1428 Chaukars at from 10 to 12 rupees a pair.	Rs.	as.	p.
	7,964	0	0
To 5090 Dokars, at from 6 to 8 rupees a pair.	17,815	0	0
To 3818 Batis, at from 3 to 4 rupees a pair.	6,681	8	0
To 11200 Khambas, estimated on the same average rate as the above.	2,164	0	0
	Rs.	34,624	8 0

Farther, the owners of the carts pay to those who cut and load the timber as follows:—

To 1428 Chaukars at 3 for a rupee ...	Rs.	as.	p.
	478	0	0
To 5090 Dokars at 4 for a rupee ...	1,272	8	0
To 3818 Batis at 6 for a rupee ...	636	5	4
To 11200 Khambas, estimated at the same rate, in proportion to their value.	158	14	8
	Rs.	2,543	12 0

Arariya exports nearly a half of all that goes by these rivers, and by doubling each of the above estimates we may obtain one for the whole. It is said that in this part of Morang about 200 carts are employed. They are said to work six months in the year. According to the above estimate, each cart pays to the woodcutter about 25 rupees a year and sells its wood at 345 rupees, leaving 320 rupees for the expense and profit of the owner.

A cart is said to cost 30 rupees, the annual charge on which is ...	Rs.	as.	p.
	15	0	0
Cost of cattle, 2 Bagodhas*(Sic.) ...	Rs.		
	35		
Eight common cattle ...	100		
	Rs.	135	
Interest at 25 per cent. ...	33	12	0
Keeping up the stock at 1/7 ...	19	0	0
Oil, ghi and rope ...	2	0	0
Food for the 2 large oxen ...	45	0	0
Duty to the Nepalese ...	7		0
One chief carter, 4 under-carters and one herdsman at 12 rupees a month.	72	0	0
	Rs.	194	13 0

A duty of four rupees on each boat loaded with timber is taken by the government of Nepal, and may amount to 6000 rupees a year, which with 1500 rupees duty on the carts can be well afforded, as the only price given for the timber to the owner of the soil. Some more exactions (Khurchah) are made, which will probably increase the amount of the duties to 10,000 rupees.

The charges for bringing a load of timber from the place of embarkation to the residence of our merchants are enormous. The boat takes 10 Chaukars, worth at the place of embarkation, 55 rupees. The boat hire is 5 rupees; 2 men's wages, 6 rupees; rope, 1 rupee; in all, 12 rupees. The charges to Calcutta are more reasonable: 12 rupees for a boat, 16 rupees for 2 men, and 1 rupee for rope; in all 29 rupees for 10 Chaukars.

The duties, the trifle paid to the woodcutters, and one-half of the gain on the carts are all for which credit can be given to Nepal, which will fall very nearly as much short of what I have taken as the import price, as the statement on the Kosi. The export price ought also to be raised by the hire given to those who carry the wood to a distant market.

Down the Kosi some of the timber called Sisav (see Trees No. 87) is annually imported, and the greater part is sent immediately to Calcutta. The quantity is about 2000 timbers, from 7 to 9 Durgadasi cubits (22 inches) long and from 2 to 4 cubits round. In general they are round logs, but a few of great dimensions are squared. Their value at Dimiya is estimated at from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 rupees a log. The cutter agrees to deliver them at Calcutta at from 4 to 6 rupees a log. They are floated down without the assistance of a boat, being much lighter than the Sal.


A very few trees, perhaps 150, of the species of *Cedrella*, called Tungd at Calcutta and Paungya here, are brought down the Kosi, and sent to Calcutta. The logs are of the same size as those of the Sisav, and are delivered in Calcutta at from 6 to 7 rupees a log.

Perhaps 150 logs of a timber called Satsal are also brought down, and exported to the same place. It is more fitted for joiners' work than the Sal. The



logs are of the same length with those of the two last-mentioned timbers, but are only from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 cubits round. The price for those deliverable at Calcutta is from 4 to 5 rupees.

From Bhagalpur are brought some posts, beams and planks, chiefly of a tree called there Sekhuya, which is the Hindi name for the Sal or *Shorea robusta*. It is all used in the southern parts of the district.

Canoes are a considerable article of import from Morang, and a large proportion of them remain in the country, but many are exported to various places down the Mahananda and Ganges. They are exceedingly rude in their shape, and are not opened by fire as those of the eastern parts of Ronggopur; but the tree is flattened on two sides, in one of which the excavation is made, so that the transverse section is somewhat thus . There are two kinds; Sugis, which are sharp at both ends, and Saranggas, which terminate in a blunt kind of goose-tail head and stern. These last are by far the most common, and by far the greater part of both is made of Sal timber. Both kinds are between 18 and 22 common cubits in length. The Saranggas are from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to  $2\frac{1}{4}$  broad in the beam, at midships, and are worth from 6 to 16 rupees each, where delivered in the Company's territory, near the residence of the merchant. The Sugis are from  $\frac{3}{4}$  to  $1\frac{1}{4}$  cubit wide, and sell from 5 to 6 rs. They are most miserable conveyances; nor is there any of the Saranggas so fine as many procured near Goyalpara, where the timber is probably larger.

Canoes made of Sal last ten years. The canoes made of Karmain timber last twelve years, and are about  $\frac{1}{16}$  part dearer. They are of the same sizes with those above mentioned. Very few are procured. Some of the canoes are also made of the Simal (Trees No. 56) but none of these are exported. Saranggas sell from 5 to 7 rupees each. Every canoe, good or bad, exported from Nepal by the Kosi pays to the government  $1\frac{1}{2}$  rupees, and probably those sent by the other rivers pay as much.

Ploughs ready made are imported from Morang to the divisions adjacent that are bare of timber.

The wooden furniture is imported from the district of Bhagalpur.

Mats made of reeds (Nal) are exported as dunnage in boats loaded with grain. The mats of Sap (*Cyperus*) used for bedding are imported from Dinajpur, and are sent to Murshedabad. The sackcloth is partly exported as packages for rice and saltpetre, and partly is sent empty for sale. A great part of the latter is sent to Pochagar in Ronggopur, and a good deal to Calcutta. The Commercial Resident at Patna has a native agent in the north-west part of the district, where he makes advances to about the value of 12,000 rupees a year. The imports are from Morang.

The Pata or San, that is, the fibres of the *Corchorus*, is sent chiefly to Murshedabad and Patna. A little is brought from Dinajpur. The Sabe is a rope made from a grass that grows in Morang, and is a species of *Ischaemum* not described in any of the botanical books that I possess.

The Company has in this district three subordinate factories for purchasing the hemp made of the *Crotolaria* called here Gor San. I did not exactly learn the amount, which probably however does not exceed 5 or 6,000 rupees. Most of what is procured at English Bazar is brought from other districts. I have therefore only taken this article at what I conjecture may be grown on the Company's account in this district.

The cotton wool is all from the west of India. Part of it comes from Merzapur, Kanpur, and Patna, and part by the way of Bhagawangola. A small quantity is sent to Dinajpur, and a little to the territory of Morang. The cotton in the seed comes from Morang. A little of it (Kukti) is of the colour of nankeen. Some is sent to Maldeh from the vicinity of English Bazar.

All the cocoons are taken to the Company's factories at English Bazar and Junggipur. The cloth made entirely of silk goes partly to the same factories, and is partly exported by private merchants to Dinajpur, Bhagalpur, Murshedabad, etc. A little is brought from Banaras and from Murshedabad. A



very little Chinese satin (Kuehin) comes by the way of Lassa and Morang.

The silk made from spun cocoons (Chikti) is sent to Kumarkhali, or in packages from English Bazar. The silk cloth called Tasar comes from Virbhum.

The cloth made of cotton and silk mixed is mostly sent by the Gosaing merchants to the west of India. Some is sold in the neighbouring districts, and some goes to Murshedabad and Calcutta. That imported comes partly from Banaras, and partly from Bhagalpur.

The cotton thread comes from Patna and Dinajpur. The cotton cloth, fine calico (Khassas) is exported to Murshedabad, Calcutta, Dinajpur, Patna, Bhagalpur, Tirhut and Morang. The cotton cloth is imported from Dhaka, Tirahut and Dinajpur. The two latter send coarse cloth, the former fine muslin.

Cotton carpets are sent to Murshedabad and imported from Patna. A kind called Dalka is brought from Morang. Bags made of cotton cloth, and called Karti, are imported from the same country.

The tents and covers of cow-coaches made of cotton cloth are sent to Dinajpur and Ronggopur.

Chintz is brought from Patna and Gazipur. Kharwa cotton cloth comes from the same places. The shawls come from Murshedabad and Patna.

The broadcloth that is used in the district is very trifling, and is usually commissioned by rich men from Murshedabad, when a friend visits that city. It is not in any shop.

The woollen cloth called Tus comes from Nepal. Bhotan blankets come by the way of Morang. Some blankets are imported from Patna. Woollen carpets are brought from Patna and Murshedabad.

The fine bull tails of Thibet (Chaongris) comes from Morang; a few are sent to Murshedabad.

The goods imported from Gazipur, Bar and Patna, by the perfumers called Gandhi, are of the same kinds that I have mentioned in Ronggopur.

The ivory comes from Morang, and is sent to Murshedabad. The elephants are usually imported from Morang, but occasionally one from Silhat comes this way.

The horses are a few Tanggans brought from Bhotan, by the way of Nekmurdun, and a few Sarisha from Tirahut.

The oxen sold are chiefly sent to Nekmurdun, from whence they are distributed all over Dinajpur, Ronggopur, and the places to the south. Many also go direct to Murshedabad. In the low lands near the Nagar, where the greater part of the cultivation is rice sown broadcast, the farmers every year in winter buy oxen from Dinajpur, and plough their land, which is sown in spring. The cattle are then again sold to the farmers on the high lands of Dinajpur, who in the rainy season cultivate the rice that is transplanted. This kind of exchange I have not entered into the Tables.

The sheep go to Murshedabad. The swine, goats, and fowls go to Morang.

The birds are imported from Morang, and they are sent to all the great towns in Bengal.

Some dry fish go to the same quarter. Some fish are sent from the southern part of the district to Murshedabad, where they arrive half-rotten, as I have mentioned in the account of the fisheries. Some also are sent living to Calcutta in boats half-filled with water.

The fruit consists of oranges of a most excellent quality, brought from Morang, and of fine mangoes sent from the vicinity of English Bazar to Murshedabad, Dhaka and Calcutta.

The sugar comes from Dinajpur, Tirahut, and Patna. The greater part is fine sugar, made in imitation of what we called clayed, and which the natives call Chini; but there is a very little of a kind called Sukkur, which comes from Tirahut. It is very inferior in quality to the Chini. A small quantity of Chini is sent to Nepal. The extract of sugarcane (Gur) comes from Dinajpur and Patna. The molasses treacle (Math and Kotra) come from the same places.

The only external commerce which this country possesses, is with the territories of Gorkha or Nepal. This might be of very great utility to both nations, as it chiefly consists in the exchange of articles that may be considered in a rude state, and for which there is



a mutual necessity. To the Nepalese it is undoubtedly most advantageous, as a considerable part of their export is grain; but the dependence on that country arising from an importation of grain is counter-balanced by its inhabitants being chiefly paid in salt, which next to grain is one of the most necessary articles.

The whole exports to Nepal I have estimated at Rs. 71,000, the imports at Rs. 364,000; the balance is paid by the Company's territory in silver. I have already said that I have stated the import price of the timber at which it is supposed to cost the timber merchant on delivery within the district, and that this exaggerates very considerably the apparent balance due to the Nepalese. The balance, however, that must be paid in cash is not much less than what I have stated, because the rents of pasture afforded to the people of this district must be brought to account. This balance in part enables the court of Nepal to purchase arms and clothing for their troops, and the luxuries that are sent from Patna to Kathmandu (Catmandu, Rennell). Some gold dust from Bhotan probably comes this way, and of course will add to the return in silver, but no estimate can be formed of the quantity, all transactions in the precious metals being carefully concealed. Not that the government of Nepal has had the imbecility to lay any restrictions on this commerce, nor do its inhabitants raise the hue and cry of a deficiency of circulating medium, but no man in either country wishes it to be known that he deals in a property so tangible by men of power in Nepal, and by robbers in the territory of the Company.

Although, in respect to money, the government of Nepal has far surpassed in wisdom many nations that have advanced much farther in science, yet commerce, both external and internal, labours under many difficulties; nor can these be obviated by any other means than by making the governors wiser, which would be a task of very great difficulty. All attempts to secure commercial advantages by treaty with such a people, I am afraid, will end in disappointment. Not that the difficulty of procuring such a treaty might be



great, but abundant means will always offer to frustrate every hope of the treaty being observed, whenever there is an appearance of a momentary advantage. I am indeed persuaded, from having seen a good deal of people in this state of society, that all interference of other governments by treaty does injury, and that the merchants will suffer less and push the trade farther, if left entirely to their own exertions. The only remedy, in many cases where one of these governments establishes a monopoly, as they are much in the habit of doing, is to establish one in opposition. This indeed will seldom give them offence. The shunning of mutual intercourse being a favourite maxim of all eastern governments, they are in general much satisfied by having frontier marts, which prevent strangers from having a pretext to spy their land, and prevent their subjects from seeing strange customs and from visiting those who may despise their power.

The Gorkhalese, since their conquest of Nepal and Morang, do not in general seem to have acted very unreasonably towards our merchants, nay, they seem in some cases to have shown them a particular indulgence. Instead of exacting the payment of the duties on timber before the commodity quitted their territory, the collector of the customs on the Kosi established an office at Nathpur, where some of his people attended to receive the money as it became convenient for the merchants to pay it. I understand that lately this man has been ordered by the Magistrate to withdraw. I am quite at a loss to assign a good reason which could have led to this order, but presume that the Judge may have considered that this custom was establishing a foreign jurisdiction within the bounds of his authority. The consequence of this will no doubt be that no timber will be allowed to leave the territory until the duties are paid, and that the merchant will have no remedy against any exactions that may be made by the receiver. Here, without an application to the Company's officers, the receiver could take nothing more than the merchant consented to give.

When I say that the Gorkhalese have not in general acted very unreasonably towards our



merchants, I must only be understood to speak of what is to be reasonably expected from such a people. Although the government itself has, in some cases, had the honour to discharge its debts, and even to assign for the purpose some of its most valuable districts, the collections from which were delivered into the hands of our merchants until they were paid, yet it is totally inconsistent with the nature of their government to attend to complaints for the recovery of money from their subjects. The losses of our merchants by bad debts are therefore heavy. Farther, when any plan of sudden profit appears within reach, little or no attention is paid to future consequences. In autumn 1809, for instance, there being at Nathpur a great demand for grain in order to send it to Patna, the merchants made large advances to the farmers of Suban Saptari, where there was a good crop, and agreed to give a rupee for two *mans* of rice in the husk, and for other grains in proportion. When harvest came, the Nepalese Collector issued an order that no grain should be exported, alleging that the Raja was afraid of a famine and would purchase whatever the tenantry had to spare. Large stores were erected and the grain was received; but the Raja gave only his own price, that is, one rupee for four *mans* of rice, and in proportion for the other kinds. The tenantry suffered a great loss, and of course will give over cultivating more grain than they can consume. Our merchants have lost all that they have advanced; and the Raja's profit is not likely to be great. The merchants of Nathpur have been invited to go to the stores, where they are offered the grain cheap, that is, for twice as much as it cost the Raja, but in August 1810 they still decline to purchase, as their compliance would no doubt encourage the repetition of such enormities. The grain will probably be lowered until the profit of the Raja will be next to nothing, and until the advantage of the purchaser will be so great that some one will grasp at it; and all the others will follow, but their profit will by no means compensate for the loss that they suffered by the advances.

## CHAPTER IV.

### PERSONS BY WHOM COMMERCE IS CONDUCTED.

The persons who export and import goods from this district, besides the servants of the Company, are of the following descriptions:—

Goldar Mahajans, or wealthy men who keep stores, are here reckoned of two kinds—Gharla or Bhusi Mahajans, who ought properly to deal in grain alone; and Kerana, who deal in salt, betelnut, sack-cloth, prepared butter, extract of sugar-cane, and iron—but it is only in the capital that this distinction is observed. In other places the Garla Mahajans deal in all these articles. Some traders called Katheng-jas deal in every kind of grain except rice, but in general these have not a capital sufficient to entitle them to the appellation of Mahajan, and are classed among the Paikars or petty dealers.

About one-half of the principals reside, but not more than one-half of these are natives of the district. The other half have a factory here and at their native place, and sometimes reside here and leave the care of their affairs at home to an agent; at other times again they go home, and send their agent to this district. A few of the natives of this district are pretty considerable merchants, and have not only factories in several towns here, but also some in other districts. Among the agents of the foreign merchants (Gomashtahs) few are natives, and both the strange agents and principals belong chiefly to Murshedabad and Patna. In this district the Kengiyas are not numerous.

The Gosaing or Sannyasi merchants are very numerous, and export almost the whole of the silk cloth. Some of them also deal in money and jewels, or in grain and the articles usually sold along with it; but they are not considered as belonging to the classes which deal in these articles. The greater part are



principals, and the agents which they send to dispose of their goods are usually those whom they pretend to instruct in the religious duty of contempt for worldly affairs (Chelas), and who in fact are young men whom they adopt, and to whom they bequeath their estates and the neglect that they show for the wealth of others.

The cotton merchants of Puraniya form the class of next importance. They are almost all strangers, but most of the principals reside.

Some merchants who do not pretend to despise mammon reside in the south-east corner of the district, and purchase cotton and silk cloth, which they export. Some are agents, but some are principals and have pretty large capitals.

Timber merchants deal pretty extensively, and are mostly natives of the district.

The Upri Beru or Bhasaniya Mahajans, that is, foreign or floating merchants who bring investments in boats, dispose of these, and purchase others, are not so numerous as in Ronggopur; still however they carry on a considerable share of the trade. A few of them live in this district, especially in the south-east corner; but the greater part seem to have their families about Rajmahal, Junggipur and Murshedabad, or in the Nator district. They bring most of the salt, betelnut, and iron, and take away grain. They deserve particular encouragement as dealing for ready money; whereas all the others deal chiefly in advances, and the nominal wholesale price of many articles is often little, if at all, lower than what it sells for by retail, the whole profit being derived from the enormous charges made on the money advanced.

On the banks of the Ganges are some merchants who export fish by wholesale. They are called Pajaris, but have trifling capitals, not exceeding 50 rupees each. Few of the people of this class belong to this district: those who come here belong mostly to Bhagawangola.

The same is the case with a few who export mangoes, and are called Amiya Beparis.

Some people also live by buying up cattle for exportation. They are called Lavanas. Among them



are many Brahmans. Their capitals will not admit of their buying more than four or five head at a time. Many of the people of this description are strangers; 40 or 50 of them come together and take away a large herd, which they are able to protect from thieves. In some places the dealers in cattle conceal the opprobrious nature of their commerce by calling themselves Dalals or brokers, as if they only put a value on the cattle to assist the buyer and seller.

Respecting the shopkeepers, I shall follow the same plan that I did in Ronggopur:—I shall give a mere list of the different kinds which are found in the district, referring to my account of those in Dinajpur when nothing new has occurred. Shopkeepers here are reckoned of five kinds; 1st., Mahajans who have considerable capitals, and import by wholesale but sell by retail; 2nd., Paikars, who take, at once, from the merchant a considerable quantity of goods and retail them; 3rd., Those called Chandina Dokandar, who have what we would call a shop, that is, a house in which their goods are exposed for sale, but deal to a small extent; 4th., Aftabi Dokandars, who cannot be called stall-keepers, because they have no stall, but sit on the ground in some corner of a street and retail their wares; 5th., Tahbazaris, who sit in the same manner, but they have no regular place, and attend on market-days only, going one day to one Hat and next day to another, whereas the Aftabi sits regularly from morning until evening every day, and his place is considered as his property.

Amdahwalehs are only found in the south-east corner of the district. In other parts men of the same description are called Paikars, and many small merchants (Garlas) purchase and sell investments, but do not retail.

In this district Modis are very numerous. Many of them sell Pasari-goods, and almost all entertain strangers, supplying them with food, fuel and lodging, that is, with the corner of a hut, where one may spread a mat and sleep. From their caste they are often called Baniyas, and in the capital they are called Khichri-Furosh.



The Bhanaru sell Chura and Okhra, two preparations of rice. They are generally Aftabis, and have capitals of from 1 to 10 rupees.

Luniya or Labaner or Nunki Phariyas retail salt, and generally deal in betelnut.

Chauler Phariyas deal in rice.

Kathengjas deal in every kind of grain except rice. Their capitals are from 20 to 150 rupees.

Pasari or Baniyas. Two or three of them are rich and import their own goods. The others are mere retailers who have not above 50 rupees capital.

The Jhalwalehs of Dinajpur are here called Khathi and Bukali.

Pan Supyari Walehs.

Gurwalehs.

Ghiwalehs retail prepared butter. Their capitals are from 10 to 15 rupees.

Teli, who purchase oil, and retail it. The same name is given to those who express the oil, and in general these also retail. These, who merely buy and sell, have capitals of from 2 to 5 rupees.

Gangjawalehs, some here have a capital as high as 200 rupees.

Basanwaleh, some here have pretty large capitals, import their ware, and are called Mahajans; others have but trifles, and are called Paikars; but all retail.

Maniharis are on the same footing with the Basanwalehs; but many of them are too poor to be called Paikars, and are only Aftabis.

Cotton Paikars and Phariyars retail that article with small capitals.

Kathrawalehs.

Kathariyas retail firewood. They have capitals of from 5 to 20 rupees.

Gandhi or perfumers, besides the articles mentioned in my former accounts, here sell toothpowder.

Buzaz are dealers in fine cotton cloth, chintz, blankets, Thibet bull tails, musk, and silk cloths. Some who import and are rich are called Mahajans; others who have small capitals are called Paikars, and some are mere Aftabis; but all retail.

Kapariya Paikars deal in unbleached cloth.

Kungjras of two kinds. Some deal in fish and have capitals of from 5 to 10 rupees. The others retail vegetables, and have only from 1 to 10 rupees capital.

Some people retail potters' ware, and do not make it. They have capitals of from 5 to 30 rupees, with even which they contrive to make advances to the potters.

The artists who retail in shops [numbers refer to Chapter II] are as follows:—

No.				
58	...	...	...	... Kumar or Potters.
77	...	...	...	... Patwar.
23	...	...	...	... Lahari.
70	...	...	...	... Lohar.
55	...	...	...	... Carpenters.
60	...	...	...	... Nariyali hokka makers.
45	...	...	...	... Oilmen.
81	...	...	...	... Newargar.
20	...	...	...	... Sangkhari.
71	...	...	...	... Sikulgur.
68	...	...	...	... Naychabhund.
25	...	...	...	... Sisahgur.
35	...	...	...	... Chamar.
72	...	...	...	... Dhuniyas.
48	...	...	...	... Halwai.
40	...	...	...	... Bhujari.
53	...	...	...	... Kussab.
02	...	...	...	... Chunawaleh.
41	...	...	...	... Tikiyawaleh.
50	...	...	...	... Maydawaleh.
38	...	...	...	... Atushbaz.
21	...	...	...	... Missiwaleh.
27	...	...	...	... Malakat.
32	...	...	...	... Basket makers.
48	...	...	...	... Goyala.
47	...	...	...	... Mayra.
51	...	...	...	... Nanwai.
52	...	...	...	... Bukur Kussab.
42	...	...	...	... Tobaccoonists.
50	...	...	...	... Dalhari.
43	...	...	...	... Shurabwaleh.
30	...	...	...	... Ghuddiwaleh.
44	...	...	...	... Pasi.

In this district, as I have said, some of the Paikars are like the Amdahwalehs of Dinajpur, that is, they purchase by wholesale cargoes imported by foreign traders, and retail the articles of which these consist. Other Paikars again are a kind of shop-keepers, that possess rather more capital than the stock which in this country the common retailers



usually have. By far the greater part of the Paikars, however, trade exactly on the same footing as those of Dinajpur, which has been already described.

In this district a division, owing to caste, has taken place among the people of this profession. The men of pure birth, who ought to abhor afflicting the sacred beast by the carriage of burthens, are alone called Paikars, while a set of unmerciful low people do not hesitate to make a profit by the toil of the ox, and are therefore called Baldiya Beparis. These trade exactly on the same footing with the Paikars, only they keep oxen with which they transport their purchases to and from market. The Paikars ought only to hire men to transport their goods, and should not witness the miseries which these inflict on the wretched animals. Some Paikars have indeed relaxed so far as to keep a few oxen for their own use, but none have yet become so abandoned as to let their oxen for hire. The Baldiya Beparis have in general little capital except their cattle, and therefore often transport goods for the Paikars, taking hire for the labour of their cattle. The little capital in money which they have is usually laid out at markets in purchasing rice in the husk, which they clean at home, and sell to those who export or retail.

The Kathaiyas, of whom I have given an account in describing the timber trade, are exactly on the same footing with the Baldiya Beparis, only they have in general a greater capital, some of them having four or five hundred rupees, besides carts, cattle and boats; and they deal in timber alone.

The Beparis of Dinajpur, in order to distinguish them from the Baldiyas, are here called Grihastha Beparis. Most of those belonging to this district are not nearly so wealthy as those of Dinajpur, and few have above four or five hundred rupees more than the value of their cattle, and the stock of their farm; but towards the frontier of Dinajpur many of the Moslems are rich, and some possess from 5,000 to 20,000 rupees in cash or grain. In order to conceal their wealth, these live exceedingly meanly.

There are a few Pheriwalehs or pedlars, who trade in brass, copper, and bell-metal vessels, in cloth,



in sweet-meats, in oil, in betel leaf and perfumes, and in parched grain, forming thus six classes, according to the articles in which they deal. They have no cattle and very little stock, and hire men to carry their little bundles from one house or market to another.

In the parts of the district where fine cloths are manufactured, there are some Dalals or brokers. Some of them have small capitals, and make purchases as Paikars; but are still employed by merchants to procure goods at a proper value.

At Dulalgunj, where much grain is exported, there are brokers for its purchase; and in some parts there are brokers for sale of cattle; but as I have mentioned, these are in fact dealers.

The bankers, who give bills of exchange for money, are called Kothiwalehs. There are seven houses at Puraniya, and one of these has an agent at Nathpur. Two of the principals, the houses of Jagat Seth and Lala Meghraj, reside at Murshedabad. The agents of these and Baidyanath of this district will both grant bills for money paid to them and will discount the bills of others. The others, all natives of the district, deal only in the former manner. Their great profit lies in dealing with the landlords, keeping their rents, and discharging the taxes. If large exchanges of gold and silver are required, they can only be procured from these Kothiwalehs. Jagat Seth's house will draw at once for 100,000 rupees. The others will not exceed half that sum. Jagat Seth and Meghraj do not deal with the zemindars. The former will grant bills on any part of India, the others only on Calcutta, Dhaka, Murshedabad, and Patna.

The Surrafs of this district exchange gold and silver, but do not deal in bills. They are entirely confined to the capital, and have stocks in trade of from 500 to 1000 rupees. They not only deal in exchange money, but purchase and sell wrought bullion. They are not however, gold or silver smiths. One of them is a jeweller.

The Fotdars, who exchange cowries and silver, are here more usually called Surrafs, and are not numerous, most of the shopkeepers giving change to those who purchase, and supply themselves with



cowries from the hucksters who retail fish, greens and other trifling articles. Both classes of Surrafs advance money to those who are living on monthly salaries or wages.

The money-lenders called Rokari Mahajans, that is, merchants who keep accounts in cash, or Nagadi Mahajans, that is, dealers in ready money, are on the footing as in Ronggopur. Some Sannyasi merchants deal exactly in the same manner, but are not called by either of these names.

## CHAPTER V.

PLACES WHERE COMMERCE IS CARRIED ON—COINS,  
WEIGHTS AND MEASURES—CONVEYANCE OF GOODS.

### (a) PLACES WHERE COMMERCE IS CARRIED ON.

In my account of Dinajpur I have given a sufficient explanation of the nature of these, and their number will be seen in the Index to the Map, which is constructed on the same plan with that of Ronggopur. On this head I shall have only here occasion to mention that I heard very heavy complaints concerning the illegal exactions made at market places, and I was assured by many people that those who attended suffered less when there were regular legal duties, than they now do. Concerning all such complaints, I am somewhat inclined to be sceptical; but I have no doubt that exactions are made, nor is it in the power of the officers of police, even were they all inclined, to prevent it. The trouble and expense of making an application for justice, and the extreme ignorance and poverty of those usually aggrieved, seem to me complete bars.

The goodness of the Company, in the government of Lord Cornwallis, has raised the zemindars to the rank which the European landholders obtained in the 10th and 11th centuries, when the fees of land became hereditary. The next step in improvement would be to give the towns and markets a privileged municipal government, the want of which in all eastern monarchies seems to have been the grand check that has hitherto prevented the people of Asia from making great advances in civilization. Whether Bengal is sufficiently matured for such plan I will not venture to assert; but it must be recollected that in Europe the grant of a municipal government to towns followed immediately that of the hereditary right of succession to lands. Of course I would not propose to establish at once privileges similar to those which London or



other great cities enjoy. Such must be the work of much time; privileges similar to those which were granted by early kings to their towns and cities would as a commencement be sufficient.

(b) COINS, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

On the subject of coins, most of what I have said in Dinajpur is applicable to this district. The old unmilled coinages of rupees usually called Sunat or

COINS.

Purbis are still pretty numerous, and in many markets are current for the same value with the milled money (Kaldars) lately coined at Calcutta. The reason of this seems to be that a batta, or certain allowance for the coin being worn, is taken by all persons in power, whether the rupees be of the present coinage or not. It is of little consequence therefore to the poor what rupees they take.

As I have said in Ronggopur, there can be little doubt but that the coinage of these Sunat rupees is going on somewhere or other, and is by all possible means encouraged by the bankers and money changers. These people are happily, however, daily losing ground, and the present abundance of silver, and the introduction of bank notes, have greatly diminished their profits. In a country so exceedingly poor, a gold coinage is highly distressing to the lower classes, and in my humble opinion ought to be entirely discontinued. Even a rupee in this country is a large sum; for being a ploughman's money wages for two months, it may be considered as of as much importance in the circulation of this country as three or four pounds sterling are in England. In the present circumstances of the country, nothing larger than four anna pieces ought probably to be coined. The gold has fortunately almost vanished, and perhaps should never be allowed to return, by being no longer held a legal proffer of payment.

In most parts of the district the currency consists entirely of silver and cowries. Towards the western parts a few of the copper coins called Payesa, worth about one-sixtieth of a rupee, are current; but even these are too large for the small money of a country.



where two of them are equal to the comfortable daily board wages of a manservant. On the frontier of Nepal, the silver currency of that country occasionally appears in circulation.

All that I have said concerning weights in my account of Dinajpur is applicable to those of this district, only that here the Paseri varies from 5 to  $7\frac{1}{2}$  sers. It is only in a few places in the eastern and southern parts of the district that grain measures are used. These are of the same imperfect nature as in Dinajpur, and the denominations are usually the same; but in the south-east corner the standard basket is called Ari, and in different places contains from two to six sers. In most parts of the district grain is on all occasions estimated by weight.

In some large marts there are grain measures (Kayals), but they are not appointed by any public authority, give no security for the honesty of their dealings, and in case of fraud can only be punished by an action at common law, which is totally inadequate to obtain fairness. They are in fact generally appointed by merchants who have made advances to farmers for grain, and are commonly supposed to possess a considerable sleight of hand.

No pains are taken by the officers of police for the regulation of weights or measures. Notwithstanding that by far the greater part of the rent that is due to the landlords ought to be levied by an annual measurement of every field, the progress in practical geometry in most parts of the district is still less perfect than in Dinajpur, and it is so more especially in the parts that ought to be annually measured. The field is not measured with a chain, but by a rod; and this is not laid down so as to make a mark to which the end of the rod may be again applied, until it is seen whether or not the rod is placed in the direct line which ought to be measured. The measurer takes the rod by the middle, walks along hastily, putting down its fore-end at what he calls the length of the rod from where he began, and makes a mark. He then puts the hind-end of the rod near the mark and



walks on, until he advances what he thinks another length of the rod, and then makes another mark, and so he proceeds until he has measured his line, which may thus contain almost any number of rods that he pleases.

Little or no pains have been taken to prevent frauds. The measurers are not professional nor sworn men, and indeed the ground is usually measured by some agent of the landlord, strongly interested to defraud the tenant. Application, it is true, may be made to the Judge for a measurer deputed for the particular case, but the expense attending this is quite inconsistent with common practice, and from the character of those deputed the remedy is extremely uncertain. No public standards are kept, and in case of dispute a reference can only be made to the Judge, who must be guided by oral evidence, which in this district is of very little value. I have no doubt that, owing to a want of standards, government has been largely defrauded by the owners of free estates, who have contrived to establish a customary measure for their own lands much larger than that used in the vicinity; and when their charters (Sunud) specify a given number of bigahs, thus hold much more than what is their due.

#### (c) CONVEYANCE OF GOODS.

As will appear from the account that I have given of the rivers, this district is on the whole well provided with the means of using water carriage; and the natives possess more boats in proportion than those of either of the two districts towards the east. The most numerous boats of burthen in the district are the Ulaks, of which I have given an account in describing those of the two districts already surveyed. They carry from 200 to 1500 *mans*.

In the eastern low parts of the district the most common boats of burthen are called Kosha. They are clinker-built of Sal; both ends are nearly of the same shape ending in a sharp point, and rise very little above the water, or to use the technical term, the



boats have no sheer. Their bottoms are perfectly flat without any keel. They therefore have a great resemblance to the Patela of Patna, but are not so broad in proportion to their length. They are therefore rather unsafe, but drawing very little water, are exceedingly convenient in the Mahananda and its numerous branches. The Koshas are from 50 to 1000 *mans* burthen.

The hire for boats of these two descriptions, from the southern part of the district and from the Mahananda as high up as Dulalgunj, is to Murshedabad about 7 rupees for 100 *mans* of the Calcutta weight, and to Calcutta 14 rupees. The load is estimated by the quantity of grain she will carry, and much less than her nominal burthen of any valuable article is entrusted. From the capital, in the rainy season, the boat-hire is about 14 rupees for the 100 *mans* to Calcutta and Patna, and 9 rupees to Murshedabad. No boats go in the dry season. From the upper parts of the Kosi the boat-hire to Bhagawangola, in the dry season, varies from 5 to 10 rupees; to Patna at all seasons, from 15 to 18 rs.; to Murshedabad in the rainy season from 5 to 10 rs.; to Calcutta at the same time, from 12 to 15 rs. The boat-hire everywhere is liable to most enormous variations according to the demand, for the persons called Majhis, having unlimited influence, occasion a complete combination whenever there is any extraordinary demand. At Duniya I have stated the usual limits, but at the other places I have only stated the rate when there is no extraordinary demand.

The boats used for floating timber are called Malni or Malnhi. They are long, low, and narrow at both ends. They are usually of two sizes, one carrying about 60 *mans* called Pangchoyat, and one carrying 80 *mans* called Satoyat, but some carry as much as 150 *mans*. They are occasionally employed to transport rice, and in some places indeed are kept for that purpose alone. They usually have no deck, even of bamboos, and no cover; but on long voyages to Calcutta a small platform of bamboos is made for the people at their middle, and is covered with a low arched tilt made of mats.



Dinggis are open boats used for fishing, for carrying goods from one market to another, and for ferries. They usually carry from 50 to 100 *mans*, but some employed in commerce carry from 100 to 300 *mans*, and those used to go from market to market are usually from 25 to 30 *mans* burthen. Such a boat with one man will get four annas for a trip of eight or ten miles. Some of them in the eastern parts are built like the Koshas and are called Kosha-dinggis, but in general the planks do not overlap as those of clinker-built vessels do. On the Ganges and Kosi, where they are largest, they are very fine safe vessels, sharp at both ends and widest abaft the beam, as in the Ulaks; but they have little sheer, that is, their ends do not rise high above their middle, and they draw a good deal of water, so that in these large tempestuous rivers they are a safe conveyance.

There are boats called Palwar, but that word signifies a boat applied to a particular purpose, and not one of a particular construction. They are employed to attend those that are laden, to find out passages among the sands, and to carry out hawsers to assist in warping them off when they get aground. In fact they are a kind of pilot vessels. In some places they are large canoes, in others small Ulaks or Dinggis. Boats that row well are usually chosen.

The Pansi is shaped like a small Ulak, but in proportion to its breadth is generally longer, and over the after part has a tilt for the accommodation of passengers. It is for the conveyance of these alone that this kind of boat is intended. They could carry from 50 to 100 *mans*. A Pansi of 80 *mans* burthen, 19 cubits long, 4 broad, and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  deep at the well, costs about 62 rs., thus:—

	Rs.	as.	p.
Two Sal timbers, 18 cubits by 2½ girth ...	...	29	0 0
Sawing the above ...	...	5	8 0
Carpenters' wages ...	...	10	0 0
Ditto, for board wages ...	...	2	0 0
The Pengehra, who bends the planks ...	...	8	0 0
60 lbs. iron and nails ...	...	10	0 0
Ropes and bamboos ...	...	8	8 0
Total ...	...	62	0 0

Such a boat lets at 3 rs. a month, besides the hire of the crew.

The Bhauliya is intended for the same purpose, and is of about the same size. It is sharp at both ends, rises at the ends less than the Pansi, and its tilt is placed in the middle, the rowers standing both before and behind the place of accommodation for passengers. On the Kosi, the Bhauliya is a large fishing boat, carrying six or seven men.

The canoes carry from 10 to 40 *mans*, and in the rainy season are in many parts almost the only good conveyance from market to market. Many people, however, resort to a bundle of sticks or bamboos supported by earthen pots, and many cannot afford even this, but when necessitated to go anywhere beyond their depth, tie together two or three stems of plantain trees, on which they can go to market with some small wares.

In the dry season a good deal of commerce is carried on by means of floats (Ber or Singri) made of two canoes connected by a platform of bamboos. These are very useful, as even where the quantity of water is very trifling, they will convey from 80 to 100 *mans* of goods. At the capital such floats are much used. In the dry season boats come no higher than Chuniyapur, 22 *coses* south from the town; and all goods are transported to and from that place on floats, carrying about 100 *mans* (85 s. w. the *ser*) or 8.727 lbs. A float makes only two trips in a month, the windings of the channel being exceedingly numerous. The hire is four rupees, or more than half as much as from Chuniyapur to Murshedabad. The float is attended by two men. In all the branches of the Mabananda canoes are much used, and are the largest and best in the district. A vast number of floats are employed in carrying down goods from Kaliyagunj to Nawabgunj, where boats of burthen at all seasons can reach. The hire is one *anna* a *man* (82 lbs.) the distance in a direct line being about 44 miles, but the river winds a great deal. A float of two canoes will carry 100 *mans*.

A great many of the boats of burthen belong to merchants, and being reserved for the conveyance of



their own goods, are not let to hire. Many however belong to men called Naiyas, who professedly let them. Most of these men are fishers, but some of them, especially in the eastern parts of the district, are farmers. In every part, however, it is very difficult to procure boats to hire, and everything seems to be under the authority of certain persons called Ghat-majhis, whose conduct is much the same as in Ronggo-pur. Indeed, in this district almost the whole persons of every trade and profession, in each vicinity, have submitted themselves to the authority of some leading man, who is called a Majhi or Mandal, and without whose consent nothing can be done or procured. The great object of this seems to be to enable the company under his authority or protection to defraud those who want to employ them, which they attain by implicitly following the dictates of these men, who are generally the most cunning litigious fellows that can be found. They are, I believe, appointed by no one in authority, but generally endeavour to persuade the public that they have some powerful friend or protector, and do everything in his name.

Near the capital and some indigo works a few roads have been made, but in general, although carts are much in use, they are left

#### ROADS.

to find a road in the best manner that they can. A great part of the country is high and sandy, and therefore carts do not absolutely sink even after rain; but the roads are miserably cut, and the wheels soon make deep ruts, which require a constant change of place. In such lands this does little harm, because they are generally waste: nor would raising mounds in such situations do any good, no hard material being procurable except by burning bricks, an expense which has never been proposed. Even where the soil is rich, and by rain is converted into a sticky clay through which a cart cannot be dragged, some people think that the raised mounds which I have proposed for roads do not answer; for in rainy weather the softness of the material does not enable them to resist the wheel, and if they are cut in any particular place there is no means of avoiding the ruts by going aside.



This in some measure is undoubtedly true, but in such soils I am persuaded these mounds are the only roads that should be permitted: for first, without going to the expense of bricks it is impossible that any road consisting entirely of mould should ever in rainy weather resist the action of cart wheels, and in that season no carts should be on any account permitted to travel where the road is not made of brick. If at the commencement of the rainy season all ruts were filled, the surface strengthened by the grass roots that would spring would continue a tolerable road throughout the dry season, which is all that can be expected. Secondly, from being well raised the occasional showers of spring produce little effect on such mounds, and at the close of the rainy season they become much earlier practicable. Thirdly, mounds answer one purpose of enclosures, and prevent travellers from encroaching on the fields when they find a rut by which they are diffculted. This I know is a great nuisance to the carters and to gentlemen driving buggies, but it is of vast use to the farmer, to whose crops the natives in particular show no sort of regard.

Making roads, digging tanks, and planting trees, among the Hindus are religious duties, and almost every rich man performs one or other, and often the whole; but as the inducement is to obtain the favour of God, public utility on these occasions is not at all consulted, nay, the works often turn out nuisances. The plantation consists of trees totally useless, or of sour resinous mangoes, the worst of all fruit, and soon runs into a forest harbouring wild beasts; the tank is a dirty puddle, which is soon choked with weeds and becomes a source of disease; the road is never intended for the traveller; it does not lead from one market-place to another, but usually from the house of the founder to some temple that he chooses to frequent, or to some tank or river where he bathes; and as it usually intersects some public routes, a breach must be formed to allow travellers to proceed, and this renders the road itself impracticable, even when it might happen to be in a line that was useful.



Little attention seems to have been paid by the Magistrates in keeping up the great lines of communication, either with the military cantonment or with the capitals of the adjacent districts. The convicts indeed occasionally work on them, but the effects of their labour is little perceptible, much of their time having been employed on less public roads. On this subject I have already had occasion to explain my opinion.

In my account of the manufactures I have mentioned the advantages of the carts, and the load that

they can take. A great part of

CARTS.                      them belong to people who live  
by letting them out to hire, but  
many of them belong to merchants. A great part is  
hired by the indigo planters for carrying home the  
crop. The usual hire is about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  annas a day, but  
they are often hired by the job; for instance, from  
Sahebgunj to Dimiyaghat at Nathpur, a distance of  
about six miles, they take according to the demand  
from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  rs. for the 100 *mans* ( $82\frac{1}{2}$  s. w. the  
ser) or 8,483 lbs.

The horses (Tatus) for carrying loads are kept  
by the smaller traders, Paikars and Beparis. They  
carry from 2 to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *mans* each,  
and go much faster than oxen;  
HORSES.                      but in this country, where  
goods are only carried one or two stages to some place  
of embarkation, that is of little consequence to the  
merchant. One man manages two horses, three men  
only are allowed to ten oxen, which makes a most  
essential difference in the rate of hire. Mares are  
seldom employed, so that the number in the 33rd  
Table includes chiefly the males fit for work. Horses  
of this breed are usually worth about five rupees.  
They commonly are allowed nothing but pasture; when  
however this is entirely burnt up, and they are  
wrought, they sometimes get a little straw.

Very few live by keeping oxen for hire, but many  
who occasionally trade will let their cattle; in pro-  
curing which, however, there  
is always much difficulty, as  
indeed there is in finding any,

OXEN.

sort of conveyance. Oxen hired by the day, in general as in Gondwara are allowed  $\frac{1}{2}$  anna for every man they can carry, but in other places as Kaliyachak, the hire is double.

Scarcely anything, except fish, vegetables, milk or such trifles, is carried to or from markets by porters, and such people cannot in most parts be procured. In the division of Kharwa, however,

## PORTERS.

porters are the principal conveyance, and there are a good many who carry on a pole passing over their shoulders (Bhariya) and often go to other places for services. Some of them who engaged with me were contented with four rupees a month. They carried about 60 lbs. weights, proceeding by very easy marches and long halts. In most other parts of the district the porters (Motiya) that can be procured, will carry only on the head. They are therefore chiefly employed in removing goods from the warehouse to boats, or from boats to the warehouse, or from one warehouse to another at a short distance. The Motiya or man who carries on the head, it must be observed, can take a package 60 lbs. weight, and the Bhariya who carries on a pole, must have this load divided into two equal portions; but then any number of Bhariyas may be employed on one package by suspending it to a pole, so many men going to one end and so many to another, while the Motiyas will not act in concert. A man of either class loses caste if he attempts to innovate in his manner of carrying.

No regulation respecting ferries seems to be observed. The Darogahs of the Thanahs in some places, indeed, compel the

## FERRIES.

ferry-men to enter into agreements for the due execution of their office; but as I find that on frontier rivers the prerogative is disputed with eagerness, I presume that this anxiety after trouble chiefly arises from a desire to share in the fees of office, and I am pretty confident that it does not extend to any superintendency of the stipulations in the agreement being executed.



When troops march, the native officers of police call on the zemindars to furnish proper boats; but on common occasions everything is left to the Majhi's discretion, and the boats are very unsafe, and generally much overloaded. On the Ganges and Kosi the only proper boats are large fishing Dinggis, which as I have said are very safe, if not overloaded. On smaller rivers single canoes are most commonly in use, but on the Mahananda and Nagar small boats of 40 or 50 *mans* are employed. Only one of these is, however, allowed for each ferry, so that they cannot be united to make a float for conveying horses or carts. No Dinggi of less than 200 *mans* burthen should be permitted on such rivers as the Ganges or Kosi. Such can take carts with great safety.

A regulation of ferries by government seems to be much required. In this district no land seems to have been attached to them, or at least, whatever may have been formerly attached has now been seized by the Zemindars. The owners of land or other rich men appoint Manjhis Ghatiyals or ferry-men, who usually furnish the boats and pay a share of the profit to the person who pretends to give him a licence. I understood, for instance, that the ferries in Gondwara paid in all 365 rupees a year; one of them, Saptami, paid 105 rupees. In Sibgunj again the ferrymen found boats and servants, and were contented with one-third of the fare, accounting to the landlord for the remainder.

In this district there is some accommodation for the traveller, besides the casual hospitality or charity of rich men. Those who retail provisions (*Modis*), as I have mentioned may be said to keep

INNS.

inns, and they are much more numerous than towards the east. There are in the southern part of the district some of the kind of inns called Bhathiyar-khanahs, where strangers are accommodated with lodging and food. In order to exclude the rabble, the price is high, and damsels attend to supply the wants of the guests, to whom it is supposed that they are so kind as to refuse no favour.

## APPENDICES.

TABLE No. 1. General Statistical Table of the District or Zila of Puraniya.

[This Table has been reproduced by Martin on page 698 as B. The words "In Square Miles" at the end of the title are Martin's own. In the columns headed "Clear or deserted" and "Woods, bushes and deserted villages," the totals have been transposed. The former should be "78" and the latter "93."]

TABLE No. 2. Estimate of the quantity of land in each division of the district of Puraniya that is regularly inundated throughout the rainy season, that is liable only to occasional floods, or that is entirely exempt from inundation.

[This Table is sufficiently summarised by Martin as C on page 699. He omits divisions and details.]

TABLE No. 3. Explaining the manner in which the people of the district of Puraniya are lodged.

[This Table is sufficiently summarised by Martin as D on page 699. He omits divisions and details.]

TABLE No. 4. Abstract of the number of houses and people in the district of Puraniya taken from the returns made by the native officers of police.

Names of the Thanes.				Houses.	People.
1				2	3
Haveli	...	...	...	33,864	153,915
Dangrkhora	...	...	...	25,634	103,362
Gondwara	...	...	...	23,548	151,334
Dhamdaha	...	...	...	23,765	102,137
Carried over				...	...



Names of the Thanas.				Houses.	People.
1				2	3
Brought forward				...	...
Dimiya	...	...	...	18,991	73,034
Matiyari	...	...	...	21,479	117,354
Arariya	...	...	...	19,531	86,845
Bahadurganj	...	...	...	22,947	93,081
Udbrail	...	...	...	15,270	32,288
Krishnaganj	...	...	...	20,285	47,844
Dulalgunj	...	...	...	12,777	54,320
Nehnagar	...	...	...	20,260	103,691
Kharwa	...	...	...	7,433	28,025
Bholabhat	...	...	...	14,365	75,516
Sibgunj	...	...	...	9,502	39,037
Kaliyachak	...	...	...	14,439	81,188
Gorguribah	...	...	...	19,435	69,482
Manihari	...	...	...	8,523	56,780
Total				332,092	1,429,111

[The greater part of this Table is reproduced by Martin on page 697 as A. Buchanan's title is :—]

" TABLE No. 5. State of the Population of the District of Puraniya and of some of the causes by which it is affected."

[Martin omits the Section " Health " under which are the following sub-headings :—]

" Proportion inoculated.	Suritri.
Fevers annually.	God.
Mahavyadhi.	Galaganda.
	Koranda."

He also omits the section: " Houses occupied by prostitutes."

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TABLE No. 6. Containing an estimate of the monthly expense of different classes of people in the district of Purniya and of the number of families belonging to each class.

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TABLE No. 6. Containing an estimate of the monthly expense of the number of families

	Families consisting of about two hundred persons.		Families consisting of about a hundred persons.		Families consisting of from sixty to fifty persons.		Families consisting of about forty persons.	
	No.	Expense.	No.	Expense.	No.	Expense.	No.	Expense.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.
Haroli					15	300		
Dangkhora			4	450				
Gondwara					3	200		
Dhandaha								
Dinriya					1	350	6	200
Matiyari								
Arariya					1	300		
Behadurgunj	3	500						
Udhrail								
Krishnagunj					3	500		
Dulaingunj			2	500	1	200		
Nahnagar								
Kharwa								
Bholahat								
Bibgunj								
Kaliyabot								
Gorguribah								
Maulhari								
Total	3		6		23		6	

of different classes of people in the district of Puraniya and belonging to each class.

Families consisting of about thirty persons.		Families consisting of about twenty-five persons.		Families consisting of about twenty persons.		Families consisting of about fifteen persons.		Families consisting of about twelve persons.	
No.	Expense.	No.	Expense.	No.	Expense.	No.	Expense.	No.	Expense.
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
	Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.
...	...	...	...	80	100 0	100	25	...	...
...	...	20	50	...	...	100	25	...	...
...	...	...	...	50	40 0	...	...	909	15
5	90	...	...	...	...	200	30	...	...
1	125	1	300	8	50 0	3	70	3,385	24
...	...	...	...	50	30 0	100	20	...	...
...	...	50	50	...	...	200	25	...	...
...	...	...	...	200	50 0	1,294	15	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	10	50	...	...
...	...	...	...	100	50 0	2,048	30	4,095	18
...	...	40	75	...	...	301	50	...	...
...	...	...	...	25	37 8	550	25	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	10	40	...	...
...	...	...	...	100	125 0	308	60	...	...
...	...	...	...	15	100 0	124	140	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	30	50	100	40
...	...	...	...	100	50 0	258	30	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	105	30	...	...
6	...	151	...	898	...	8,063	...	8,491	...



TABLE No. 6. Containing an estimate of the monthly expense of the number of families

	Families consisting of about ten persons.		Families consisting of about eight persons.		Families consisting of about seven persons.		Families consisting of about six persons.	
	No.	Expense.	No.	Expense.	No.	Expense.	No.	Expense.
—	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
		Rs. a.		Rs. a.		Rs. a.		Rs. a.
Havelli ...	...	...	6,894	10 0	...	...	...	...
Dangrkhora ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9,067	5 0
Gondwara ...	...	...	...	...	6,364	7 8	...	...
Dhamsaha ...	7,753	15 0	...	...	10,338	7 8	...	...
Dimsya ...	...	...	4,063	12 0	...	...	2,708	6 0
Matiyari ...	4,899	12 8	...	...	6,532	6 0	...	...
Amariya ...	2,698	15 0	5,277	8 0	...	...	7,516	4 8
Bahadurgunj ...	6,194	15 0	...	...	10,369	7 8	...	...
Udhrali ...	300	25 0	2,123	10 0	4,316	8 0	...	...
Krishnagunj ...	...	...	6,144	7 8	...	...	12,286	4 8
Dulalgunj ...	1,344	15 0	5,377	8 0	...	...	9,409	4 8
Nahnagar ...	2,551	15 0	5,100	8 0	...	...	11,900	3 12
Kharwa ...	300	20 0	1,672	12 0	...	...	4,430	7 8
Bholahat ...	2,423	35 0	...	...	6,066	10 0	...	...
Sibgunj ...	2,604	13 0	...	...	5,207	7 8	...	...
Kaliyachak ...	...	...	1,210	12 0	...	...	3,627	6 0
Gorguribah ...	797	10 0	2,191	8 0	...	...	5,507	4 0
Manihari ...	876	15 0	...	...	3,544	7 8	...	...
Total ...	31,422	...	41,056	...	53,978	...	69,570	...

of different classes of people in the district of Puraniya and belonging to each class.

Families consisting of about five persons.		Families consisting of about four persons.		Families consisting of about three persons.		Number of necessitous mendicants.	Total.
No.	Expense.	No.	Expense.	No.	Expense.	—	—
28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.		
12,068	4 0 0	8,617	2 8 0	...	...	800	27,742
18,115	3 0 0	9,057	2 0 0	...	...	300	35,304
12,728	3 12 0	9,091	2 0 0	...	...	400	29,148
12,922	4 0 0	10,338	2 8 0	...	...	1,000	41,554
4,002	5 0 0	7,449	2 8 0	...	...	1,000	21,088
9,798	3 0 0	4,899	2 0 0	...	...	300	26,378
...	...	5,277	2 0 0	...	...	400	21,349
14,283	4 0 0	10,398	1 12 0	...	...	800	41,755
16,980	4 0 0	10,613	2 0 0	...	...	300	54,171
8,192	2 8 0	...	...	...	...	500	22,568
5,376	2 0 0	...	...	...	...	200	21,861
6,800	2 8 0	...	...	...	...	40	27,126
6,690	2 12 0	5,016	2 0 0	...	...	200	18,048
7,267	5 0 0	3,332	2 0 0	...	...	80	19,481
7,810	3 12 0	5,309	4 12 0	...	...	800	20,980
6,652	3 12 0	7,802	1 8 0	...	...	200	19,461
4,854	2 0 0	...	...	...	...	200	17,115
6,201	3 12 0	10,629	2 4 0	7,067	1 4 0	50	28,447
180,197	—	107,776	—	7,067	—	7,140	485,559



TABLE No. 7. Estimate of the manner in which the people of Puraniya are covered by day and by night.

	Average.
Women who in the cold season in general dress in silk and in the hot season in fine muslins.	006
	8
Women who on high occasions dress in silk, and on common [occasions] use often but not always bleached or dyed linen or Kukti.	192
	1
Women who always use bleached linen. ...	192
	19
Women who in full dress use bleached or dyed linen or Kukti but not on ordinary occasions.	192
	14
Women who use unbleached cloth alone ...	96
	14
Women who always use Megili or Tat ...	96
	6
Women who on common occasions use Megili or Tat ...	96
Women who dress in Erendi ...	3900
Families who dress partly in Tasar ...	2270
Men who in dress use shals or silk and woollen cloth and always use bleached linen.	1550
	7
Men who always use bleached linen but have no shals, silk nor broadcloth.	384
	19
Men who only use bleached linen or Kukti in full dress	192
	83
Men who use unbleached cotton cloth alone ...	384
Men who partly dress use Erendi cloth ...	220
	1
Families the heads of which sleep on bedsteads with curtains (Palangga).	384
	26
Families the heads of which sleep on wooden bedsteads (Charpayi) without curtains.	192

	Average.
Families the heads of which sleep on bamboo or very coarse wooden cots (Khatya).	61
	384
Families which sleep in the cold season on sackcloth blankets or Sutrunjis in summer on mats.	78
	192
Families which sleep on coarse mats made of reeds, grass, straw or Motha.	63
	192
Families that anoint themselves almost daily with oil	27
	192
Families that anoint themselves once or twice a week	45
	192
Families that use oil for unction only on great occasions	34
	96

[The list of Divisions and the figures belonging to each *thana* have been omitted.]

TABLE No. 8. Estimate of the manner in which the people of Puraniya are fed.

[This Table is sufficiently summarised by Martin on p. 699 as E. He omits Divisions and details. Where there are blanks in the Averages, the paper is torn. For "Ghe" in l. 6 read "Ghi" and for the last entry, "Families that procure salt in very small quantities" read "Families that procure salt very little or none."]

TABLE No. 9. Estimate of the extent of luxury in shewing smoking and drinking that prevails among the people in Puraniya.

Men who are addicted to Tari ... ..	3
	64
Men who are addicted to Liquor ... ..	19
	64
Men who use opium ... ..	1
	58
Men who smoke Ganja ... ..	5
	64



Men who use Siddhi	...	...	...	2580
Men who use Charas	...	...	...	1200
				66
Men who smoke prepared tobacco in abundance	...			—
				80
				5
Men who smoke abundance of tobacco partly prepared, partly unprepared.				—
				42
				1
Men who cannot smoke abundance of any kind of tobacco or who reject its use.				—
				16
				9
Men who smoke prepared tobacco	...	...	...	—
				64
				5
Women who chew tobacco	...	...	...	—
				64
				9
Men who chew tobacco	...	...	...	—
				64
				2
Men who use snuff	...	...	...	—
				64
				27
Men and Women who have betel in abundance	...			—
				64
				21
Men and Women who are stinted in betel	...			—
				64
				4
Men and Women who seldom procure betel	...			—
				16

[The divisions and separate details have been omitted.]

TABLE No. 10. Estimate of the various kinds of fuel and lamp oil that are used in the district of Puraniya.

Firewoods	...	...	...	...	15
					96
Bamboos	...	...	...	...	6
					96

Bushes and reeds	...	...	...	14
				96
Woody stems of cultivated plants such as Mulberry, Indigo, cotton, etc.				2
				96
Straw and husks	...	...	...	17
				192
Cowdung	...	...	...	97
				884
Mustard seed oil	...	...	...	163
				192
Linseed oil	...	...	...	21
				884
Sesamum oil	...	...	...	1500
Castor oil or that of the Ricinus	...	...	...	2
				96
Oil of safflower or Carthamus	...	...	...	750

[The divisions and separate details have been omitted.]

TABLE No. 11. Showing the manner in which the natives of Puraniya are accommodated with attendants and conveyances.

Tame elephants	...	...	...	55
Tazi Horse	...	...	...	167
Saresa Horse	...	...	...	192
Tanggans or Ponies	...	...	...	611
Doasia Tanggans	...	...	...	290
Tatus or Ponies	...	...	...	2,707
Rath or 4 wheeled cow carts	...	...	...	86
Majholi or Raharu 2 wheels riding cow carts or couch				607
Palanquins, Palki, Kharkhariya, Mahapa and Chaupala				899
Male free domestic servants, Bhandaris, Khedmutgars, or Tahaliya.				4,226
Female free domestic servants, Chakranis, or Dasia				825



Balams, servants who get only food and raiment called also Golams and Laundas some plough some are domestics.	2,250
Slaves entirely domestics ... ..	790
Khawas or slaves partly employed in agriculture partly in service.	1,700
Slaves mostly employed in agriculture ... ..	8,650
[The divisions and separate details have been omitted.]	

TABLE No. 12. Explaining the state of education among the people of the district of Puraniya.

[This Table is sufficiently summarised by Martin on p. 699 as F.]

*Note.*—In the second entry for “ sign their names ” read “ sign their name.”]

TABLE No. 13. Explaining the manner in which the cultivated lands of the district of Puraniya are occupied.

[This Table is sufficiently summarised by Martin on pp. 699-700 as G.]

The following errors and omissions are to be noted :—

p. 700, 1. 1. For “ do. do. [i.e. Broadcast summer rice] by Masur ” read *here and in the next 19 entries* “ do. do. followed by Masur, ” etc.

1. 8. For “ 1400 ” read “ 14000. ”

1. 12. For “ do do. by transplanted winter rice ” read *here and in the next entry* “ do. do. followed by transplanted winter rice, ” etc.

1. 15. For “ do. do. by Khesari, ” etc., read *here and in the next 4 entries* “ do. do. followed by Khesari, ” etc.

1. 19. For “ do. do. by China ” read “ do. do. followed by China. ”

I. 21. For "do. do. by transplanted winter rice" read here and in next entry "do. do. followed by," etc.

1. 33. For "do. do. with Arahar" read here and in the next three entries "do. do. mixed with," etc.

p. 701, 1. 23. For "(Gangji)" read "(Gangja)."

*Note.*—The divisions and details of each division are omitted.]

TABLE No. 14. Explaining the cultivation of Grain, etc., in the Division under Thanah HAVELI.

[Buchanan's headings and sub-headings are as follows :—]  
Kind.

Labouring season.

Number of double ploughings.

Number of hoeings.

Seed time.

Quantity of seed required for one bigah in sers.

Season for transplanting.

Number of smoothings with the Moyi.

Number of weedings with the Bida.

Number of weedings with the spud.

Harvest Season.

Average produce of one bigah in sers.

Average number of sers sold at harvest for one rupee.

Number of bighas cultivated in this manner.

Total produce in mans and sers.

Total value in Rupees and annas.

Produce for consumption after deducting seed in Mans and sers.

TABLE No. 15. Ditto for Thanah DANGRKHORA.



TABLE No. 16. Ditto for Thanah GONDWANA.

---

TABLE No. 17. Ditto for Thanah DHAMDAHA.

---

TABLE No. 18. Ditto for Thanah DIMIYA.

---

TABLE No. 19. Ditto for Thanah MATIYARI.

---

TABLE No. 20. Ditto for Thanah ARARIYA.

---

TABLE No. 21. Ditto for Thanah BAHADURGUNJ.

---

TABLE No. 22. Ditto for Thanah UDHRAIL.

---

TABLE No. 23. Ditto for Thanah KRISHNAGUNJ.

---

TABLE No. 24. Ditto for Thanah DULALGUNJ.

---

TABLE No. 25. Ditto for Thanah NEHNAGAR.

---

TABLE No. 26. Ditto for Thanah KHARWA.

---

TABLE No. 27. Ditto for Thanah BHOLAHAT.

---

TABLE No. 28. Ditto for Thanah SIBGUNJ.

---

TABLE No. 29. Ditto for Thanah KALIYACHAK.

---

TABLE No. 30. Ditto for Thanah GORGURIBAH.

---

TABLE No. 31. Ditto for Thanah MANIHARI.

TABLE No. 32. GENERAL ABSTRACT of the Value and produce of Lands occupied by farmers who cultivate with the plough in the district of Puraniya.

[This Table is sufficiently summarised by Martin on pp. 701-702 as H.

Note the following errors and omissions :—

- |         |        |  |
|---------|--------|--|
| 11.     | 2-3.   | of Table. For " value in Rupees 342971 " read " value in Rupees and anas 342971.9. " |
| 1.      | 5.     | For " 1538207 " read " 1538207.20. "   |
| 1.      | 6.     | For " Bajri " read " Bajra, etc., " and for " 1664502 " read " 1664502.20. "         |
| 1.      | 7.     | For " Value in rupees 594731 " read " Value in rupees and anas 594731.8. "           |
| 1.      | 8.     | For " 33433 " read " 33433.10, " and for " 2062502 " read " 2062502.20. "            |
| 1.      | 9.     | For " Value in rupees 1146924 " read " Value in rupees and anas 1146924.11. "        |
| 1.      | 10.    | For " 178262 " read " 178262.20 " and for " 3087103 " read " 3087103.5. "            |
| 11.     | 10-11. | For " Value in rupees 1657185 " read " Value in rupees and anas 1657185.15. "        |
| 1.      | 12.    | For " 185556 " read " 183556.20 " and for " 2135835 " read " 2135835.25. "           |
| 1.      | 13.    | For Value in Rupees " 2288514 " read " Value in Rupees and anas 2288514.4. "         |
| 1.      | 14.    | For " 56361 " read " 56361.11½. "  |
| p. 702, | 1. 2.  | For " 22316 " read " 22316.35 " and for " Value in Rupees and anas 86950.13. "       |



1. 5.	For " Value in Rupees 303093 "	read " Value in Rupees and anas 303093.4. "
11. 6-7.	For " Valuable in Rupees 61940 "	read " Value in Rupees and anas 61940.4. "
1. 7.	For " 61 "	read " 61.10. "
11. 7-8.	For " Value in Rupees 622 "	read " Value in Rupees and anas 622.14. "
1. 8.	For " Value in Rupees 408 "	read " Value in Rupees and anas 408.4. "
1. 11.	For " 197 "	read " 197.20. "
1. 12.	For " 4 "	read " 4.35. "
1. 14.	For " 1295865...1363246...1450195 "	read " 1295865.12...1363246.5 ...1450195.4. "
1. 15.	For " 1876350...1137620...976471...1193318 "	read " 1876350.10 ...1137620.11 ... 976471.11 ... 1193318.14. "
1. 16.	For " 2224701...1141218 "	read " 2224701.11...1141218.8. "
1. 17.	For " 1159220 ...470159 ...645371 "	read " 1159220.10...470159.2 ...645371.13. "
1. 18.	For " 923738 ... 817647 "	read " 923738.12...817647.6 "
1.19.	For " 735806 ... 21097192 "	read " 735806.5...21097192.6. "

*Note.*—The details for each Thanah have been omitted.]

TABLE No. 33. Estimate of the live stock in the district of Puraniya.

[This Table is sufficiently summarised by Martin on p. 702 as I.

There is the following omission from line 15 of the Table, after " value 126500 :—

Young cattles	No estimate.
Old cattles	No estimate." ]

TABLE No. 34. Estimate of the quantity and value of milk procured annually in Puraniya.

[This Table is sufficiently summarised by Martin on p. 702 as K, but besides omitting the names of the Thanas and the individual figures relating to them, he has also omitted several headings. They are as follows :—

Average yearly produce of each cow.

Price of the milk in Sers.

Total number [of cows] 57,750.

Number giving milk 6,830.

Average yearly produce of each cow.

Total milk in Mans 7,086.

Price of the milk in Sers.

Total value of milk in Rupees 7,112.

Average yearly produce of each Buffalo.

Price of the milk in Sers.



TABLE No. 35. Estimate of the proportion of land rented by the different classes of tenantry and of the proportion of plough held by their owners or men of their family, by those who cultivate for a share and by hired servants or slaves.

	Haveli.	Dangrekhor.	Gondwana.	Dharwad.	Dindya.	Mattyar.	Amritya.	Bahadurganj.	Vidnall.	Krishnagunj.	Dolagunj.	Nohagar.	Kharwa.	Bholabat.	Sibgunj.	Kalliyachak.	GorgurDab.	Manhart.	Average.
Rent paid by high castes ...	5	8	2	1	6	1	1	2	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	45
	10	16	19	4	10	4	4	16	8	4	32	10	8	4	4	6	4	16	102
Rent paid by tradesmen ...	...	...	...	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	6	1	1	1	1	1	11
	33	8	64	8	8	8	8	16	32	16	64	8	16	4	8	8	8	16	90
Rent paid by ploughmen ...	...	...	...	1	1	10	10	10	27	11	40	12	1	1	10	8	10	10	127
	19	11	51	16	1	16	16	16	32	16	64	16	2	2	16	4	16	16	102
Ploughs held by persons who rent land	...	...	...	21	16	1	3	1	1	1	6	8	3	7	1	0	1	1	65
	6	10	33	33	32	3	4	2	4	8	10	16	32	16	4	32	2	2	102
Ploughs held by those who cultivate for a share	...	...	...	1	1	1	3	6	9	10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	37
	4	32	16	32	32	8	16	16	16	16	2	4	5	128	4	4	4	8	83
Ploughs held by servants or slaves ...	...	...	...	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	13	1	0	...	1	1	28
	8	32	4	4	22	25	53	6	10	8	8	8	32	16	16	...	4	10	102

Ploughs held by undertenant	...	$\frac{1}{16}$	$\frac{1}{32}$	...	...	...	$\frac{1}{32}$	$\frac{1}{16}$	$\frac{1}{16}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{16}$	$\frac{1}{128}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{16}$	...	...	$\frac{11}{102}$
Ploughs held by Alhoyars servant	...	$\frac{3}{16}$	$\frac{1}{32}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{32}$	$\frac{11}{33}$	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	$\frac{1}{16}$	$\frac{6}{96}$
Ploughs held by Bahaniya	...	...	...	$\frac{3}{64}$	$\frac{1}{32}$	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	$\frac{1}{102}$
Proportion of rents farmed	...	$\frac{31}{32}$	$\frac{63}{64}$	whole	whole	$\frac{10}{16}$	$\frac{43}{64}$	$\frac{31}{32}$	$\frac{16}{16}$	$\frac{31}{32}$	$\frac{14}{10}$	$\frac{1}{16}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{16}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{10}{16}$	$\frac{49}{96}$
Proportion of rent collected by stewards	...	$\frac{1}{32}$	$\frac{1}{64}$	...	...	...	$\frac{1}{64}$	$\frac{1}{32}$	$\frac{1}{16}$	$\frac{1}{32}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{16}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{8}{16}$	$\frac{14}{96}$



TABLE No. 36. Proportion of cattle required for each plough in the different divisions of the district of Furaniya.

	Harrell.	Dangrkhore.	Gondwana.	Dhandaba.	Dimly.	Malliyar.	Arniya.	Rahadergunj.	Uthraill.	Krishnagunj.	Dulaganj.	Mohnagar.	Kharwa.	Bhojbat.	Sibgunj.	Kalliyachak.	Goguribab.	Maulbari.	Average.
Ploughs with 3 cattle	...	...	...	...	1	4	1	14	almost whole	almost whole	1	6	1	3	1	1	...	1	517 1000
Ploughs with 4 cattle	...	...	1	very few	1	1	1	10	very few	100	10	0	10	1	...	1	almost whole	6	361 1000
Ploughs with 5 cattle	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7 1000
Ploughs with 6 cattle	...	...	10	almost whole	10	4	10	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	0	517 1000

TABLE No. 37. Estimate of the number of Artists in the district of Puraniya.

[This Table is sufficiently summarised by Martin on pp. 702-3 as L.

There is the following variation from the original:—

p. 703, l. 22. *For* "Narayali" *read* "Nariyali."]

TABLE No. 38. Estimate of the value in Rupees of the exports and imports of the district of Puraniya.

This Table is sufficiently summarised by Martin on p. 703 as M.

There are the following variations from the original:—

p. 703, l. 14 (of Table). *For* "Import 685" *read* "Import 625"

p. 704, l. 5. *For* "Bidri vessel" *read* "Bidri vessels"

Martin's Appendix N., Market Towns in Puraniya (pp. 704-6), is taken from Buchanan's Index to the Map.

The following variations occur between the printed copy and the text:—

p. 704, l. 8. (of Appendix N). *For* "Naya-Baidyanathgung" *read* "Naya-Baidyanathgunj" *and for* "Ganespoor" *read* "Ganespur."

*Note.*—Martin has altered all Buchanan's place-names ending in "pur" to "poor."

1. 12. *For* "Maharampoor" *read* "Moharampur" *and for* "Cotakpoor" *read* "Kotakpur."

1. 20. *For* "Azmgungj" *read* "Azimgunj."

1. 22. *For* "Vernagar" *read* "Virnagar."

1. 27. *For* "Nawalgunj" *read* "Nawabgunj."

1. 28. *For* "Mahaswari" *read* "Maheswari."

1. 29. *For* "Kursakhata" *read* "Kursakata."



- p. 705, 1. 1. *For "Kazergunj" read "Hazergunj."*  
 1. 2. *For "Merzapoor" read "Mirzapur Khapriya."*  
 1. 5. *For "Madanpoor" read "Madunpur."*  
 1. 8. *For "Kanphuliya" read "Kumphuliya," and for "Palasi" read "Palusi."*  
 1. 14. *For "Hasan" read "Hasan dumuriya."*  
 1. 16. *For "Semeswar" read "Someswar."*  
 1. 19. *For "Govindhagunj" read "Govindagunj."*  
 1. 30. *For "Khojasur" read "Khojasur or Nalkundi."*  
 1. 35. *For "Harrigachhi" read "Harragachhi."*  
 1. 36. *For "Karhi-Motalpoor" read "Karhi-Motalpur."*  
 1. 47. *For "Nathurapoor" read "Mathurapur."*  
 1. 51. *For "Govindhapoor" read "Govindapur."*  
 1. 54. *For "Nawadbah" read "Nawadah."*  
 1. 55. *For "Barabazar Pokhariya" read "Pokhariya [or] Barabazar."*  
 p. 706, 1. 2. *For "Mazumpoor" read "Mazumpur or Budhwari."*  
 1. 6. *For "Burkuttabad" read "Burkutabad."*  
 1. 10. *For "Malitipoor" read "Malatipur."*  
 1. 17. *For "Chuniya Rampoor" read "Chuniya Rampur."*

## PURANIYA VOL. I.

A list of papers, etc., respecting the state of the district of Puraniya transmitted to the Secretary of Government for the Public Department.

Book 1. A Topographical account of the district of Puraniya and its antiquities.

Book. 2. An account of the people of Puraniya.

Book. 3. An account of the natural productions of Puraniya.

Book. 4. An account of the state of agriculture in Puraniya.

Book. 5. An account of the state of Arts and Commerce in Puraniya.

Appendix containing an account of the territory adjacent to Puraniya and subject to the Raja of Gorkha and Nepal. [Not copied.]

Index or key to the Map of Puraniya. [Names only copied for reproduction in the Map.]

Index of native words used in the account of Puraniya with the native character annexed. [Not copied.]

Comparative vocabulary of some of the languages spoken in or near the district of Puraniya. [Missing.]

Thirty-eight Statistical tables respecting the district of Puraniya, viz.

[Here follow the titles of the Tables as given below.]

DRAWINGS, MAPS AND PLANS BELONGING TO THE ACCOUNT OF  
PURANIYA.

(1) Geographical sketch of the district of Puraniya. [Missing.]

(2) Plan of Gaur. [Reproduced.]

(3) Plan of roofs. [Missing. This appears to be the drawing containing the sketches A and B reproduced by Martin on p. 97. The sketch was originally marked by Buchanan "Plate no. 3."]

(4) Sheep called Garar. [Missing.]

(5) Bag net used in the Kosi. [Missing.]



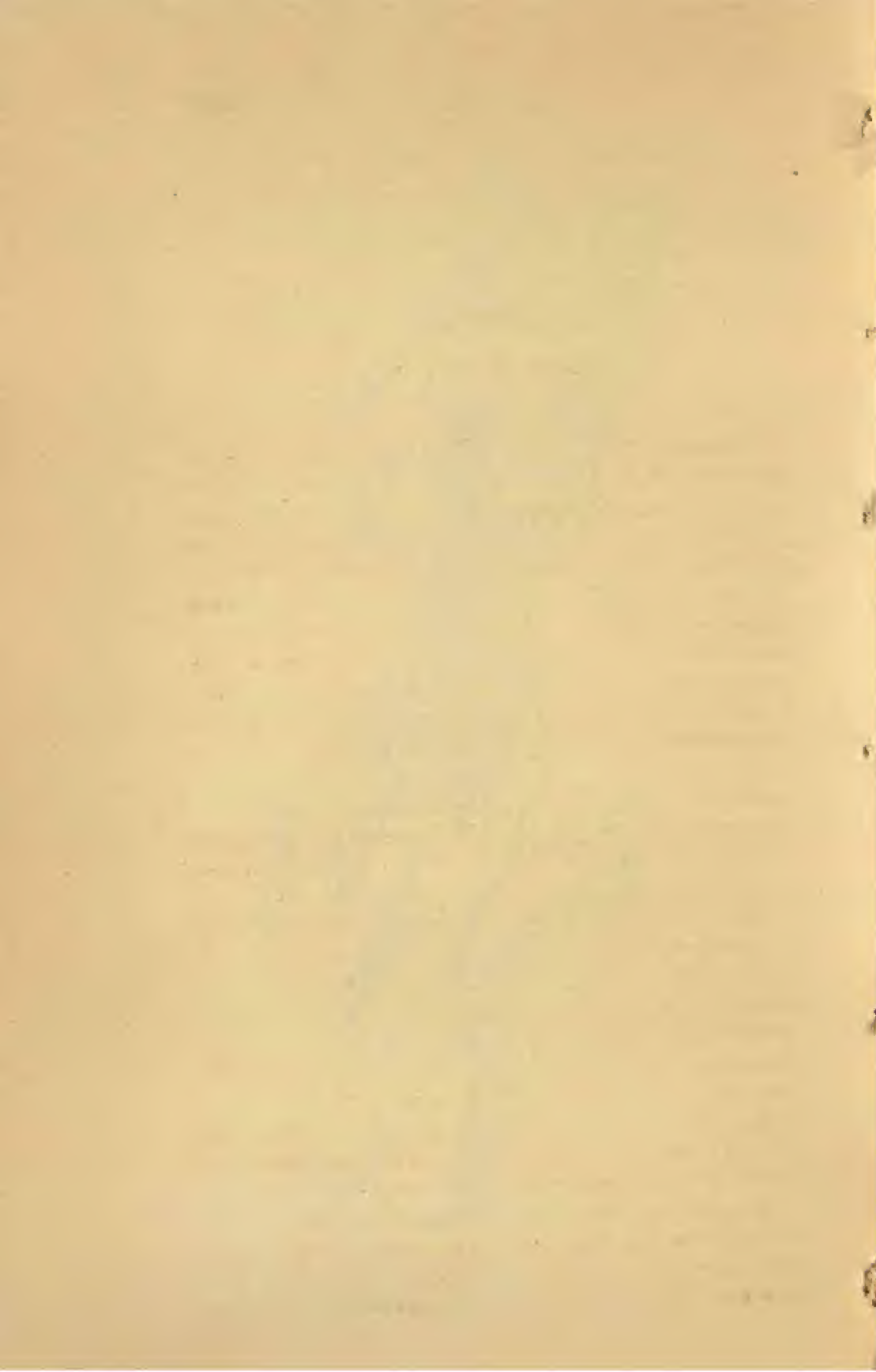
- (6) Map of Sikim. [Not worth reproducing.]
- (7) Alphabet of the Bhotiyas. [Missing.]
- (8) Map of the whole eastern parts of the dominions of Gorkha. [Not worth reproducing.]
- (9) Map of Chayenpur and Vijaypur. [Ditto.]
- (10) Model of a cart. [Missing.]

PLAN  
of the City of  
GAUR

Scale of Miles  
1 2 3 4 5 Miles







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